

VOLUME

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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY DENNIS TAAFFE.



IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

THOUGH the ancient History of Ireland, as comprising the period of her glory and independence, may be generally more flattering to the feelings of Irishmen, yet the period since the English invasion is more interesting and instructive to the mixed race who now inhabit this island. The turbulence, the almost constant wars, the perpetual struggle between the invaders and the invaded, the one contending for power, the other for independence and property; the massacres, confiscations, famine, and other cruel methods resorted to, are distressing to a feeling mind: but, narrated with impartiality and judgment, it will afford a most instructive lesson to statesmen and to people; teaching the remedy of present ills from the experience of the past ages. Governors may therein learn the impolicy and weakness of the former system of ruling Ireland, acknowledged by her ablest statesmen when debating on the Union; and the people may learn to mitigate the asperity of religious prejudice, on seeing that English and

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Anglo-Irish catholics were poisoned with illiberal prejudice against ancient Irish catholics, and rioted in the licentiousness of oppression as madly and wickedly, if not more so, as English or Anglo-Irish protestants can be accused of.

This is the proper office and the great end of history: it is then truly philosophy teaching by examples. Written in the spirit of conciliation and truth—'tis the school of moral and political wisdom. 'Tis the more necessary in this age and country, as we are still torn by religious and political animosities, inflamed, instead of being healed, by the perusal of almost all the histories hitherto published. The sacred duty of the historian was basely transgressed, and truth was sacrificed to the spirit of party. The English and Anglo-Irish writers on Irish affairs, generally brandished the pen of defamation with a mind no less hostile than that of the warrior wielding the sword in battle: all was panegyric for one side, all satire for the other, dated from the first English libeller, Gyraldus Cambrensis, through the whole pedigree of his successors, Campion, Morrison, Cox, Burnett, Clarendon, Temple, Musgrave, &c. &c.

To give one instance, a little ludicrous, of the extreme partiality of those writers to their own nation and colony, we shall quote Campion. In a battle between the English and

Irish, both Catholics, in which the latter were worsted, this chronicler gravely asserts, that the sun stood still four hours, to enable the conquering army to make a hearty slaughter of their vanquished fellow Catholics.

By this continual havoc of national character, continued so many ages, by writers of different descriptions, the minds of many are so embittered, that truth dare not appear before them in a History of Ireland, but as a lawyer goes to court. It must be armed with documents and evidences; it must be supported with critical ability, to unravel the tissue of falsehood, compiled, sometimes with ability, but always with malice: it requires the abilities of a pleader to detect and expose the false evidence of lying history, by cross-examination and comparison, by chronological accuracy and moral probabilities. Even thus supported, with all requisite authorities and evidences, the number is small, who can so divest themselves of party prejudice, early imbibed and constantly inculcated, as to acknowledge its force. This was not the only obstacle historical truth had to encounter. Power, in the hands of guilty men, dreading its appearance, consigned numerous records to destruction, and made its publication dangerous: nevertheless, the historian must not desert his duty, however arduous or hazardous. When truth advocates

for a fallen people, once renowned for learning, sanctity, and valour, it would be cowardice to abandon it from motives of personal interest or safety; where it lays open their errors and their crimes, it must not be concealed from their posterity by any blind partiality. It is the right and the interest of the present and future generations, to receive nothing but the wholesome instructions of sacred truth, from those who write for them. This shall be inviolably adhered to, with all possible care and caution, in the following work. A faithful portrait shall be given of the parties, whether English or Irish, Protestant or Catholic; in so doing the liberal spirit of our Irish annalists shall be followed, who wrote in their native tongue of the transactions of the English and their Irish colonists with as great impartiality as if they were a neutral and friendly nation who had not inflicted a wound.

It will not appear amiss to preface the narrative with a brief delineation of the state of Ireland at the arrival of Strongbow. Without this the reader will find it difficult to reconcile the ancient and modern history of Ireland. After reading the monuments of Irish valour, displayed in their domestic and foreign wars, he will be astonished at the facility with which a handful of foreigners obtained such ample possessions, in spite of so brave a people; nor can he

easily reconcile it with the long and obstinate wars afterwards maintained by the natives in their own defence.

Before the arrival of the English the constitution of Ireland was annihilated; anarchy and insubordination succeeded to order and regular government, and facilitated the subjugation of the country. We are not to suppose, with some prejudiced writers, that the Irish were a barbarous and uncivilized people, destitute of laws and regular government, because the English found them in a state of anarchy on their arrival. A constitution that lasted upwards of 3000 years, under which learning and religion flourished to that degree, that Ireland became the mart of literature, and merited the title of The Island of Saints, could not be entirely destitute of merit. It was at once the most ancient and the most simple; the most conformable to the laws of nature and the revealed law of God. The land was distributed among the clans, as among the tribes of Israel; the landed property among both nations was inalienable; and in each nation measures were adopted to prevent any great inequality of property from intermarriages or mortgages. By the law of Moses, landed property reverted to the original owners at the fiftieth year, or the year of jubilee. By the law of Ireland, every chieftain, at his accession to power, might, with the consent of the seniors of the

clan, cause a survey to be made of the territory of the clan, and a fresh distribution thereof, if any great inequality was apparent. The authors of those laws wisely considered, that any considerable inequality of property would be subversive of liberty.

The boasted constitution of Great Britain is destitute of these salutary precautions and remedies, without which liberty, however obtained, cannot subsist long: her property is power. If the property of a country be in the possession of a few thousand families, the power of the country is consequently in their hands, notwithstanding any popular forms of freedom that may subsist.

The tributes, paid to the chieftains of clans, provincial kings and monarchs of Ireland, were very moderate, and unalterably fixed by the constitution. No monarch, king or chief, could at his pleasure, or by the vote of any body of men, levy a new tax, that was not marked in the constitutional laws of the country; nor can there be found a departure from this fundamental law of the Irish constitution, except in the single instance of the Boroimhe Laighean, or Leinster tribute, the exaction of which frequently occasioned bloody wars between the prince of Leinster and the monarch.

The government was patriarchal; that is to say, it was monarchy, partly hereditary, partly elective, through all its gradations, from the

monarch to the chief of a clan; as Justin describes the original governments of mankind to have been. It was hereditary in some certain branch of a clan; but not in any one particular line, descending from father to son, as in the modern hereditary monarchies. It was, by necessity, a free constitution; because a king or chief, who could not encroach upon the property of his subjects, nor keep up a standing army, was utterly unable to enslave his people, who might with greater propriety be stiled his brethren than his subjects. There were no hereditary titles, as at present in Europe, for all were considered equally noble: the only distinction was that of office and profession. Like the Hindoos, the ancient Persians and Egyptians, they were divided into seven casts; that is, warriors, druids, who professed both philosophy and religion, bards, lawyers, antiquarians, mechanics and tillers.

The chief defect in this constitution consisted in the weakness of the supreme executive, and the excess of liberty which frequently degenerated into anarchy and insubordination. In their jealous precautions against the encroachments of tyranny, and for the security of liberty, they did not sufficiently provide for the support of the monarchical government. Without distinguished abilities, virtue and valour, no monarch of Ireland sat securely on his throne, nor always with

them, so that few of the Irish monarchs died a peaceable death. To remedy these deficiencies in the constitution, some wise monarchs, favoured by circumstances, adopted some useful plans: the first was, the institution of the famous Militia of Ireland, called *Feine Erin*, probably occasioned by a dread of the Roman power, composed of seven battalions, of 3000 select men each: the second was, the annexation of Meath, both east and west, to the crown, as an hereditary domain. The alienation of that domain, by a monarch of the Hy-Niall race, was one of the greatest faults ever committed in politics, which finally led to the overthrow of the monarchy and nation; for a king of Ireland, deprived of that domain, was little better than an emperor of Germany without his hereditary states.

The second cause of the downfall of the monarchy and the people, arose from the long and bloody wars between the Normans and the Milesians. For though the conquerors of England and France, after a warfare of two hundred years, were unable to subjugate Ireland; but, on the contrary, were utterly defeated, and irretrievably overthrown, by the victorious arms of the great Brien Boiroimhe; yet the long and bloody contest shook the machine of government, and enabled the conquered to break the feeble springs of a too weak executive.

The usurpation of a provincial king, Brien Boiroimhe, on the hereditary rights of the Hy-Niall race of kings, who commanded respect more from the veneration of the people to the antiquity of their race, and their personal virtues, than from revenue or a standing force, of which they had but a shadow, proved fatal. Other provincial kings followed the example, and the chieftains of clans thought themselves entitled to resist provincial kings, as they had resisted the monarch. Thus, though Roderic O'Connor be commonly considered the last monarch of Ireland, the monarchy may be fairly considered as extinguished by the usurpation of that illustrious hero, Brien Boiroimhe. The south would not acknowledge a monarch of the northern race, and the north would not acknowledge a monarch of the southern race, so that an inexpiable war broke out, which ended in the ruin of the contending parties and of the nation.

Some time before the arrival of the English, Murchertach O'Neill, prince of Ulster, set up his claim to the monarchy. Endeavouring to limit the extravagant pretensions of subordinate chieftains to independence, but by means too harsh, and unsuitable to the turbulent temper of these anarchists, a formidable confederation of chieftains was formed against him secretly, who

suddenly came upon him unawares, with an army of seventy thousand men, headed by Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, demanding his surrender of the diadem. This brave but unfortunate monarch scorned to parley; and, at the head of three thousand men of the Hy-Nial race and their followers, formed the magnanimous resolution to dispute it with the sword against such mighty odds. Unfortunate in his plan of a night attack, in the execution of which his little army, divided into two parties, missed their way, met, mistook, fought, and slaughtered each other miserably; the next day he died, fighting at the head of his men for the hereditary rights of his family, and with him expired the greatest support of Ireland. It sunk under the dominion of the same people, under a new name, whom it had successfully combated during two hundred years, and finally expelled the country scarcely a century before.

The catastrophe, though unexampled for continuance and cruelty, is not without a parallel, as to change of dominion, among other nations renowned for science and valour. Greece, divided at home, was subdued by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans. Egypt, subdued by the Persians, passed from them to the Greeks, afterwards to the Romans, thence

to the Saracens, and lastly to the Turks. Spain, partly subdued by the Carthaginians, entirely by the Romans, afterwards by the Goths, then by the Saracens, whom after a long struggle she finally expelled. But the fate of Ireland was by far more lamentable than that of any of those ancient people; for other conquerors, even heathens, contented themselves with wresting a portion of land from the conquered countries. Rome, for example, took the one-seventh, and left the remainder to the ancient possessors: the Visigoths and Burgundians, on establishing themselves in Gaul, divided the land into three parts, two of which they took to themselves, leaving the third to the vanquished: Clovis, king of the Franks, used a similar policy to those whom he subdued; but those who submitted by treaty and capitulation had not to share their lands with the Franks. But the invaders of Ireland were not satisfied with a part, they should have the whole. From the very commencement they doomed the ancient proprietors to extermination and plunder, following in this the maxim of Gyraldus Cambrensis, *debilitentur deleantur*, i. e. let them be weakened and exterminated. Henry II. after confirming to each provincial king and chieftain the possession of their territories, honors, and rights, immediately afterwards, without the least

cause of complaint, bestowed three-fourths of Ireland on the adventurers.

Besides the forementioned downfall of the monarchy, and the anarchy and interminable feuds which succeeded that fall, other causes contributed to facilitate the reduction of the kingdom. The difference of arms; the superiority of the English, accustomed to continental wars, in planning and conducting a campaign; their knowledge in the construction of fortifications, and carrying on sieges; the use of the cross-bow; their acquaintance with political intrigues, whereby to inflame into mutual hostility a divided people, gave them advantages over a people brave but simple, accustomed to fight in the open plain, frequently appointing the place and day, as if to fight a duel; nor was the bull of Pope Adrian, bestowing Ireland to his countryman Henry II. without its effect, on the minds and fortunes of a people extremely religious and submissive to ecclesiastical authority.

AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.

THOUGH the disordered state of Ireland, occasioned by the overthrow of the constitution and monarchy, threatened sooner or later the downfall of the nation, the catastrophe was accelerated, as usual, by proximate causes, beyond which the generality of mankind do not look. As the downfall of Troy was immediately occasioned by female lubricity, though without that cause it must have fallen under the dominion of the Greeks, so Ireland had its Helen, captivated not by a buxom youthful Paris, arbiter of celestial beauty, but by an athletic grey-beard, Dermot Mac Morrough, king of Leinster.

Dervorguile, daughter of Mortough Mac Floinn, a prince of Meath, had been espoused against her inclinations to Teighernan O'Rourk, prince of Brefney (Leitrim). This princess always cherished a secret partiality for Dermot, a son of Morrough, king of Leinster, who had paid her his addresses before her marriage. Profiting of the absence of her husband on a pilgrimage, she wrote to him by a special messenger,

requesting him, in violation of conjugal fidelity, to come and deliver her from conjugal engagements contracted with a husband whom she did not love.

O'Rourk, on his return, being apprised of the elopement of his spouse, addressed himself to the monarch, demanding satisfaction for the affront put upon him and his family. O'Connor, being an equitable prince, gave a favourable ear to the complaints of O'Rourk, ordered the forces of Connaught to assemble, who, joined by those of Brefney, Orgiel (Louth), and Meath, entered Leinster, to avenge the insult offered to the prince of Brefney. Dermod, aware of the march of the royal army, and the sentence of excommunication hurled against him by the clergy, called a meeting of the nobles of his kingdom, at Fearna (Ferns), in the county of Wexford, to deliberate on the means of averting the storm that menaced him. His subjects, scandalised by the enormity of his crime, and discontented by the tyranny of his government, instead of supporting him in this critical moment, renounced their allegiance, and put themselves under the protection of the monarch. In this plight, Dermod, abandoned by his own subjects, and too haughty to bend to circumstances, or make reparation for his sins, embraced the desperate and traitorous resolution of calling in a foreign power, and embarked for England. Hereupon the monarch, finding no enemies to combat, destroyed the castle of Ferns, whence he took the unfortunate Dervorguile, whom he

shut up in the monastery of St. Bridget, in the Co. Kildare; after which he dismissed his troops, and returned to the kingdom of Connaught.

The haughty Dermot, in a manner obliged to seek an asylum amongst strangers, breathed vengeance against his revolted subjects, and against the nation in general. He went to request the aid of Henry II. king of England, then in Aquitaine, in order to recover his dominion, promising to yield him obedience as a vassal.

Henry II. was a powerful and ambitious prince. Besides England and Wales, he possessed the duchies of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, Poitou, Touraine, and Maine. He was highly flattered by the offers of the Irish prince, as favouring designs he long had upon Ireland; but replied, that the actual situation of his affairs upon the continent did not allow his giving him any troops; but if he would go to England he would give him the royal authority for levying volunteers. Accordingly he sent orders to his ministers to favour the enterprise of the fugitive.

Taking leave of Henry, Dermot embarked for England, and, arriving at Bristol, he communicated the orders of Henry to the magistrates of that city, who made them public. Richard Strongbow, son of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke, was then at Bristol: he had dissipated his fortune, and contracted immense debts, and was further in disgrace with the king. Thus capable of any enterprise, that might promise to mend his broken fortune, he offered his services to Dermot, who kindly received him, with a proffer

far above what he had reason to expect. For he promised him his daughter Eve in marriage, with an assurance of his succession to the crown of Leinster after his own death, on condition he would aid him to the utmost in its recovery. The condition was joyfully accepted by earl Richard.

Dermot, relying on the promises of his future son-in-law, addressed himself to Ralph Griffin, governor of Wales, and solicited the liberation of Robert Fitz-Stephen, a courageous and experienced officer, who was four years a prisoner of state. Fitz-Stephen having by this means obtained pardon, willingly accepted the condition of volunteering to Ireland, from a country whence he was banished for ever, together with Maurice Fitz-Gerald, his step-brother, who got a promise of the town of Wexford, and some adjoining territory for him and his posterity. Dermot entered into similar engagements with many others, whom he attracted, as Nubrigensis, an English cotemporary writer says, by the hope of a profusion of wealth. The greater part of these volunteers were indigent people, according to the same author, "men struggling with poverty, and greedy of gain."

The king of Leinster, satisfied with the success of his negociations in England, returned to Ireland, where he remained incog. in the city of Ferns, waiting the arrival of his allies.

Fitz-Stephen was urged by two powerful motives not to forget his engagements with Dermot: the liberation he had obtained, on consi-

deration of departing from England as soon as possible; and the flattering recompence that awaited him in Ireland. Having recruited 400 volunteers, of desperate fortune like himself, he landed with them in the month of May, 1169, on the coast of Wexford.

The king of Leinster, overjoyed at the news of their arrival, put himself at the head of 500 horse, and joined the invaders. In a council of war the first enterprise they resolved on was, the siege of Wexford, inhabited then by Danes;* in consequence of which their troops marched before the place, the inhabitants of which surrendered, made homage, and gave hostages with presents to the king of Leinster. He, to acquit his promise to Fitz-Stephen, gave him the town, with some adjoining territory, where he established his adventurers; to a paternal uncle of Fitz-Stephen, Hervey de Mountmorres, he gave an estate: by these and similar grants were those adventurers encouraged to the greatest enter-

* It is a vulgar mistake, that the Danes were all expelled Ireland in consequence of their defeat at Clontarf. None were expelled but those who invaded the country as allies of the king of Leinster. Such as dwelt in the seaport towns, as peaceable mechanics, merchants, or farmers, were not disturbed in their persons or properties, but allowed to live according to their own usages, on paying a moderate tribute to the prince of the territory. Accordingly, at the entrance of the English, all the seaport towns of Ireland were inhabited by Danes.

It is another mistake to suppose that the inhabitants and language of the barony of Forth are from England. The inhabitants and dialect of them and the Fingallians are from

prises. Meanwhile Maurice Prendergast arrived at Wexford with a reinforcement to the confederate army, which then amounted to 3000 men.

Dermot, animated by his first success, resolved to follow up his conquests, and with that view turned his arms against Donough Fitz Patrick, prince of Ossery, who became the first victim of his resentment. At the head of his victorious army, Dermot struck terror into Ossery, and forced this prince, after three days hard fighting, in a well chosen position, covered with an abbatis, to give hostages, and to pay an annual tribute to the crown of Leinster.

The fame of the progress made by the king of Leinster and his English allies having spread through the island, the princes and nobles addressed Roderic O'Connor, to concert the means of quelling this rebellion, so capable of creating confusion in the kingdom. It was ordained in the conference held for this purpose, that the provinces should furnish their contingent to the monarch, to enable him to suppress the revolt.

the Baltic; as the word Fingallian sufficiently proves. There were two descriptions of adventurers from the Baltic; those from the north side were called in Irish Finghal, and those from the south side Dubhghal. These fought a bloody battle at Clontarf for the possession of the country. The Finghallia having prevailed, retained possession of Dublin and the maritime district called Fingal, where the same dialect was spoken formerly as in the barony of Forth. The first English adventurers came over, not to turn farmers on the sea-coast, and remain there, but to fight their own and Dermot's battles, to satiate his vengeance, and gain estates for themselves.

The army of the monarch being reinforced by the allied troops, he marched to the county of Wexford. Dermot, unable to keep the field against an army so superior, took refuge in forests and inaccessible bogs near Ferns, where he held on the defensive.

If what some historians relate be true, that Roderic, at the head of his army, wanted to reason these greedy and needy adventurers, enriched by the donations of their patron, out of Ireland, instead of relying on the sword alone for their extirpation, it argues great weakness in the monarch of Ireland: it would be just as efficacious to argue the vulture or the wolf from their prey. The interposition of the clergy of Leinster with Roderic, in favour of peaceable measures, was much more effectual. The king, moved by their remonstrances, made a truce, and negociated with the confederates. A treaty of peace was concluded on the following conditions: first, Dermot should be put in possession of his kingdom of Leinster, with all the authority of his ancestors, and should be indemnified for the expences of the war: secondly, the king of Leinster should render homage to the monarch, and promise him fidelity: thirdly, that he would bind himself by oath not to send for any more English into his states; and that he would refuse to intruders his protection: fourthly, that Robert Fitz-Stephen should nevertheless remain in possession of Wexford. Dermot, for the ratification of this treaty, and to remove every suspicion of bad faith, gave his son Arthur hostage

to the monarch, who thereupon disbanded his army, and returned to Connaught.

It is not easy to find an instance of so shameful and dishonorable a treaty, between the monarch of a country and a revolted chief. It is such as might be dictated by a conqueror to a defeated prince, hopeless and resourceless. The rebellious prince was to be reinstated in the sovereignty he forfeited by his crimes, though he had been excommunicated by the clergy, and detested by the chieftains and clans as a tyrant. He was to be indemnified for the expences of the war; the confederates of his rebellion were to keep peaceable possession of the territories ravished from the lawful proprietors; and all this was submitted to without either fighting or losing a single battle, and that when the enemy, who dictated the treaty, is stated as hiding in bogs and morasses. Was Roderic influenced by the clergy, or by his fears? most probably by the former. However that be, they were miserably disappointed in their hopes of peace. The treaty was a stroke of perfidy and policy, to disentangle the confederates from an embarrassing situation, and to gain time for the arrival of succours from England.

The treaty was hardly concluded when Maurice Fitz-Gerald, step-brother to Fitz-Stephen, arrived at Wexford, with a considerable reinforcement of English, which greatly raised the spirits of the revolters.

On the first news of the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Dermot hastened to Wexford,

where he held a council with Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Maurice, Prendergast, Barry, Myler, Fitz-Gerald, and other English leaders, whose interest accorded with his ambition and vengeance. They filled him with the extravagant notion of aspiring to the monarchy of the island, promising troops from England sufficient for the enterprise. The king of Leinster, finding himself supported by the English, and a considerable part of his subjects, led by fear or attachment, marched towards Dublin, whose environs he laid waste, especially Fingal. His chief design was to avenge on the Danes the insults that he and his father had received from them; and to levy a contribution to defray the expences of the war. He commenced the siege of the capital with Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who commanded under him. Asculph, son of Torcall, commandant of the place, alarmed by the danger which menaced the town, assembled the principal inhabitants, to deliberate on the measures they should adopt. It was concluded, that a prompt submission was necessary to avert the storm. In consequence of this they sent deputies to the king of Leinster, with considerable sums in gold and silver; Asculph did him homage in the name of the city, and sent him hostages, as guarantees of their obedience. Robert Fitz-Stephen was not with this expedition, being busied in building and fortifying the fort of Carrick, near Waterford.

Such was the state of the king of Leinster's affairs when earl Richard Strongbow landed in this island.

This English adventurer, not forgetful of his promise of succour to the king, nor of his hope to become his son-in-law and successor to the throne, in hopes to be on good terms with his sovereign, Henry II. appeared at court, demanding his permission to quit the kingdom, and to seek his fortune elsewhere. Henry, being dissatisfied with him, granted his permission in an ironical manner, as to a man whose name he did not wish to hear mentioned. Richard, wishing to profit of this permission, however equivocal, made the necessary preparations for his expedition to Ireland; but previously detached Raymond le Gros, with a small body of men, to reconnoitre the country, facilitate his intended descent, and announce his intentions to the king of Leinster.

Raymond disembarked on the first of May, 1170, at the little port of Don Domhnall, within four miles of Waterford, where he threw up entrenchments, to prevent a surprise. The Danes of Waterford, hearing of a body of English troops being encamped in their neighbourhood, assembled, with the clan of O'Faolan, king of the Desies (Co. Waterford), to the number of two or three thousand, but without discipline, and ill provided with arms. Raymond, without waiting for the enemy in his trenches, sallied out to meet them on the plain. The battle began with vigour, and the English were driven back to their entrenchments, where being enabled by the courage of despair, they rallied, and made head against their disorderly assailants, of whom

they made a great carnage. This victory of the English, though inferior in number, was owing to their discipline, and to a number of archers, who took sure aim from their ramparts, on a people unaccustomed to such a weapon of warfare. The victory was disgraced by the massacre of seventy prisoners, consisting of the chief citizens of Waterford. At a council of war, held to deliberate on their treatment, Raymond was for observing the customary laws of civilized warfare, but Hervey de Mountmorres harangued the soldiers, and prevailed on them to murder the prisoners. This they brutally performed by first breaking their legs, and then casting them from a precipice into the sea.

This was civilizing the Irish, both Danes and Milesians, on the plan of an Anglo-Irish writer, who said, that the only way to civilize the Irish was, to kill them and take their properties. It was conformable to the maxim of Gerald Barry, commonly called Gyraldus Cambrensis, a catholic priest, tutor to king John, and a relation of the Geraldines, some of the chief invaders, who laid it down as an invariable rule for the conduct of the adventurers, to debilitate and exterminate the ancient catholic proprietors of Ireland. A sanguinary maxim, more becoming the preacher of the Alcoran than a minister of the gospel, which was but too fatally adhered to. Slaughter, confiscation, colonization, formed the fatal circle of English policy towards the native Irish. Division, famine, fictitious plots, assassinations of distinguished men, were among the means of

accomplishing the destruction and degradation which they call civilization. The suppression of schools and colleges, the extinction of learning and language, and the destruction of books, formed their methods of refining and improving a nation!

Strongbow landed at Waterford, on the 24th of August, with 1200 choice troops, where he was speedily joined by the king of Leinster, with his Irish and English forces. They held a council of war, in which it was resolved to lay siege to Waterford. This they considered as an easy conquest. That ill-fortified place was defended by the burghers who had escaped from the late defeat, and was attacked by an army superior in number, well disciplined, and commanded by able officers; yet it was defended with obstinate valour by the inhabitants. At length, taken by assault, the besiegers rushed in, making an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, until the arrival of Dermot, whose interposition saved the lives of many of his countrymen. A terrible specimen of the cruelty of those adventurers, proving that Suwarrow was not the first butcher of men who civilized mankind by destruction.

Soon after the king of Leinster fulfilled his engagements with earl Richard; and betrothing to him his daughter Eve, declared them heirs of his crown.

Their next enterprise was against the Danes of Dublin, whom the treaty concluded the year before, the hostages, the homage, the tribute yielded, could not protect from the further ag-

gressions of those lawless treaty-breaking plunderers. They accordingly attacked it with all their forces. Asculph, the governor, unable to maintain a siege, charged St. Laurence O'Tool, the archbishop, to negotiate a fresh peace with the king of Leinster. On the 21st of September, while this holy prelate was treating with the king in his camp, Raymond, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and Miles Cogan, with their followers, entered through a breach into the town, making an indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants, without sparing age or sex.* Thus the laws of nations, the laws of war, the laws of humanity, were trampled under foot, and men, women and children barbarously butchered, while they were treating for capitulation!

Dermod, leaving a garrison in the city, of which he trusted the command to Miles Cogan, turned his arms against O'Rourk, chieftain of Brefney, with whose wife he had eloped; by whom he was twice defeated, and with difficulty escaped.

Meanwhile no effort was made by the monarch of Ireland, or its divided princes, to stem the torrent of carnage and plunder, while it remained at a distance, until it approached their own frontiers; then Roderick had recourse to expostulations, reviling the king of Leinster for his breach of treaty, threatening to execute the hostages, given as a security of good faith, among whom was his own son Arthur. But the arguments of religion and morality were thrown away on a

* Stanihurst, de Reb. in Hib. Gest. Lib. III. p. 106.

banditti spreading devastation with arms in their hands. Dermot's reply was laconic. Threatened to revenge the death of the hostages on O'Connor and his whole race. The winter following the king of Leinster took up his quarters at Fearn's, where he died in the month of May, 1171. He was a man of extraordinary stature, strong, valiant, and warlike: his nation he sacrificed to his vengeance: his principle was rather to inspire terror than to win the affections of his people, for whose interest he lived too long: his memory was long held in execration by his countrymen.

After his death earl Richard, pretender to the crown, became the real heir of his tyranny. He led his troops into Munster, where they committed great devastation; but he was arrested in his career by Roderic O'Connor, who gained some advantages over him.

Henry II. then in Aquitain, hearing of the progress made by Strongbow and his other subjects in Ireland, entertained violent suspicions that the earl was endeavouring to conquer a kingdom for himself, which he was long desirous of uniting to his other dominions. To defeat the supposed ambition of this subject, in whom he never had any confidence, he prohibited by edict all intercourse with Ireland, and forbade men, arms or provisions to be conveyed thither. By the same edict he commanded his subjects actually in Ireland to come to England, on an appointed day, under pain of being considered as traitors and rebels.

Earl Richard was disconcerted by this edict, which interrupted all his projects. Though master of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, he was not in a condition to preserve them without succours from England, which could not be obtained without an accommodation with the king. For this purpose he held a council with the English chiefs, when it was resolved to send Raymond le Gros to represent to his majesty, that it was with his permission the English assisted the king of Leinster; but that they still considered themselves as his subjects, and did nothing but for his interest. Raymond having acquitted himself of his commission, Henry II. returned to England, from whence he sent Raymond with orders for the speedy return of Strongbow to England, to give an account of his conduct.

About this time Asculph, chief of the Danes of Dublin, who had escaped at the last siege of that city, returned with sixty ships and troops, collected from the Hebrides, Orkneys, &c. to besiege it. He encamped at the eastern gate of the town, and made such vigorous attacks, that the English, conscious of their inability to resist the superior force of the Danes, had recourse to stratagem. Miles Cogan, the governor, sent his brother, Richard Cogan, with a squadron of cavalry, through the southern gate, with orders to attack the besiegers in the rear. This stratagem had complete success. The Danes disheartened, thinking it was the advanced guard of a reinforcement coming to relieve the town, took to flight. The carnage was great. Asculph,

the chief, was brought prisoner to Dublin—we need not add that he was murdered—however they did not torture him, they only cut off his head.

This unsuccessful attempt of Asculph was followed by a greater effort of O'Connor, the monarch, without much better success. St. Laurence O'Tool, animated with zeal for his country, for the purity of morality and religion, of which in the spirit of prophecy he foresaw the ruin, moved heaven and earth to avert the impending calamity. By his eloquence and his authority he suspended for a while the hereditary feuds of the Irish chieftains, and succeeded in forming a confederacy for the expulsion of those barbarous invaders. To render their destruction inevitable, he negotiated with the Danes of the isle of Man, the Hebrides, and the Orkneys, to blockade the harbour of Dublin, while the confederates invested the town by land. These measures were wise, and seemed to promise success. The blockade lasted two months, and the besieged felt already the approach of famine. At the same time Domhnall, son of Dermot, very unlike his father, assembled some troops, and besieged Fitz-Stephen in a fort at Carrick, near Wexford. Fitz-Stephen found means to let the garrison of Dublin understand, that if he was not succoured in two or three days he must inevitably fall into the hands of his enemies. This news, coming upon them in their great distress, left no resource but the courage of despair, and that succeeded. The

besiegers, confident of reducing the town by famine, and despising the weakness of the garrison, indulged in all the negligence of an assured victory. Individually as brave and skilful in arms as any nation upon earth—in the aggregate they were but a host without discipline or subordination. Every commander of a clan was, by the constitution, the general of that clan, independent of the monarch, who could neither promote or dismiss him: invested with the power of making peace or war, without consulting the monarch, his obedience to orders was rather a matter of complaisance than of necessity. If the monarch was a hero, a veneration for talents, natural to the Irish, made his orders respected; but, if an ordinary man, he was liable to all the evils of insubordination, of which O'Connor felt the consequences. No entrenchments, no outposts, patrols, and those other precautionary measures, that always attend a regular army, the besieged saw they might be taken by surprise. Accordingly they made a sally at the break of day, fell upon O'Connor's quarters, while they were as yet asleep, dispatched a great many of them, and the rest fled.

This victory enabled the garrison of Dublin to send succours to Fitz-Stephen, besieged in the fort of Carrick. But the detachment, led to their relief by Strongbow, being harassed by the O'Ryan's, in the defiles of Idrone (Co. Carlow), arrived too late: a part of the garrison fell in the conflict, and the rest, among whom was Fitz-Stephen, were made prisoners of war, and

confined in the island of Beg-Erin, in the county of Wexford. It seems that the Irish had not as yet learned, from those English adventurers, to butcher their prisoners.

One of those writers, which are peculiar to this country, has given a tale of Irish perfidy in this transaction. He tells us, that Fitz-Stephen was led to capitulate by perfidy and fraud! But memory failed. He forgot that, in three pages before he narrates this libellous fable, he had stated, that "intelligence was brought by the faithful Donald Kavanagh, (to the English in Dublin,) that the gallant Fitz-Stephen was besieged in the fortress of Carrick, by the men of Wexford, and MUST, UNLESS RELIEVED BEFORE THE END OF THREE DAYS, fall into the hands of a revengeful and cruel foe." Here we see that famine, and not perjury or fraud, compelled Fitz-Stephen to surrender. And that the prisoners did not experience the treatment of a cruel and perfidious foe, is also manifest. Had the men of Wexford been tutored by the massacres of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, and the constant murder of their prisoners by those barbarous invaders, Fitz-Stephen would not have lived to be presented to his sovereign by his captors, then requiring his punishment for the enormities he had committed.

Strongbow, pressed by the orders of his master, embarked for England, leaving the colony in an unpromising situation. He was presented to the king, at Neweham, near Gloucester, then preparing an army for his expedition to Ireland.

Henry reproached him bitterly for the robberies and massacres committed in Ireland; and that, not satisfied with the honorable lot granted him by the king of Leinster, he behaved as a cruel tyrant, and usurper of the lands of others. This was the language of truth, and would appear also to be that of an honest man, if we did not know that Henry was as great a tyrant and usurper as the man whom he reproached. After this stern reprimand, the king's indignation at the enormity of his adventurers was appeased by submission, a promise of amendment, and of putting into the king's hands Dublin, and all the other places wrested from the Irish.

Meanwhile O'Rourk, prince of Breifne, made an effort against the English garrison of Dublin. He enticed them outside of the fortifications, where a bloody battle took place between the two parties, without further effect than the effusion of blood. The son of O'Rourk, "a youth," says Stanihurst, "illustrious in the arts of war and peace," after signalling his valour in the midst of the enemy, was, with several of his followers, mortally wounded; but they dearly sold their lives to their adversaries, of whom a great number lay on the field of battle.

Having completed all his preparations for the expedition to Ireland, Henry, aged 41, in the seventeenth year of his reign, embarked at Milford, in October 1172, with a formidable and well appointed army, and arrived at Waterford on the festival of St. Luke, where he established his head quarters. His English subjects, from

Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and their other possessions, hastened to pay him homage, and renew their oath of allegiance. Their example was soon followed by some of the native princes, who basely submitted instead of uniting in defence of their country's independence. Mac Carty More, king of Desmond (south Munster), was the first of these deserters. He presented himself to the king of England at Waterford, and paid him homage. Henry, after consulting with his English subjects on the means of reducing the island, assembled his forces, and marched to Lismore; whence, after a repose of two days, he advanced towards Cashel. He was met on the road, near the river Suir, by Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond (north Munster), who submitted to him. The example of these two leading princes of the south was followed by the other chieftains of Munster. Henry thereupon dispatched garrisons to Limerick and Cork, to take possession of these two cities surrendered to him. Thence he returned to Waterford, where he received the homage of Fitz-Patrick, prince of Ossery, and of O'Faolan, prince of the Desies. He treated all those princes with distinguished honor, made them magnificent presents, and guaranteed the possession of their properties and dignities.* He also imprisoned Fitz-Stephen for the tyrannies and robberies exercised by him on the natives; but restored him to liberty on surrendering the town and territory of Wexford,

* Stan. de Reb. in Hib. Gest. Lib. I. p. 125.

which he had obtained as a present from the plunderer Dermod.

Henry, appointing Robert Bernard governor of Waterford, marched to Dublin, where his feudal sovereignty was acknowledged by several princes of Leinster. He loaded all these princes with presents, and strove to win them by caresses, in order to blind them to the chains he was preparing for them: he promised to maintain them in their properties and dignities, though he had no intention of keeping his word.

O'Connor, seeing the general desertion of the chieftains, was necessitated to yield to the times. Henry sent him two ambassadors, Lacy and Fitz-Aldelm, to negotiate for an interview. In consequence the two princes met on the banks of the Shannon, without coming to any conclusion. O'Connor had his forces covered with bogs and woods, where Henry did not think it proper to attack him. But there was a treaty concluded between them at Windsor some time afterwards.

Having thus settled the affairs of the infant colony, and obtained from most of the native princes a sort of a feudal homage, which did not compromise their dignities, nor interfere with their authorities, laws or revenues, he returned to England at Easter, 1173, whence he shortly went to Normandy, where his son Henry, whom he had entrusted with the government of his French dominions, had revolted against him. Eleanor, his wife, resenting his numerous conjugal infidelities, excited her son Henry to claim the crown. The prince, aided in his rebellion

by his brothers Richard and Geoffry, was also supported by his father-in-law, Louis VII. and Philip Augustus, his successor. The consequence of this revolt was the invasion of several parts of his territories by neighbouring princes, and his own subjects. Verneuil, in Normandy, was taken in the time of Louis VII., and the city of Mans, his birth-place, was taken under Philip Augustus. His chagrin at losing the latter place caused him to blasphemously exclaim, "I wont love God any more, since he suffered my dear city to be ravished from me!"

Henry was too busy in his continental affairs to give personal attention to Ireland. As an able politician, he thought it prudent to interest the English subjects he had left there to support his pretensions. With a liberality only equalled by that of his countryman, Adrian IV., he bestowed the territories of the princes, who had acknowledged his feudal domination, in defiance of his solemn promises to maintain them in their property and dignity, and of the treaties which he had concluded with them. Notwithstanding his jealousy of Strongbow, he confirmed to him the donation of the kingdom of Leinster, made to him without any just title by his father-in-law Dermot, except the seaport towns and some forts that he reserved for himself. This donation of a property not his own was confirmed by a charter, granted by king John to William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, son-in-law of Strongbow; a copy of which is preserved in the Tower of London.

Strongbow, imitating the predatory liberality of his sovereign, distributed the greater part of Leinster, on military tenure, among his followers. But the grantees did not always obtain peaceable possession of the illegal donations. Marching to take possession of O'Dempsey's country, in Offaly (King's county), where he plundered and burned several villages, Strongbow had the mortification to lose his son-in-law and general, Quincy, who was slain in a defile where O'Dempsey attacked.

Unfounded as were the pretensions of Henry to the province of Leinster, he extended his liberality to countries no ways connected with that kingdom. He granted by a charter dated at Wexford, which was confirmed by king John, the large territory of Meath, east and west, to Hugh de Lacy, on condition of military service.

Hugh entered Meath to take possession, where not satisfied with dispossessing, he massacred a great number of the ancient proprietors; thence he made an inroad into Annaly (Longford), where he committed great depredations, and slew Donald O'Farrel, the chieftain, in a conflict.

O'Melaghlin, hereditary chieftain of Meath, afflicted at the outrages committed on his people, waited on Lacy, to make his complaints of this unprovoked aggression, who promised him an interview at Tara to explain matters. There the prince of Meath spoke much of the injustice of England's king, who, in spite of his solemn promises and treaties, by which he guaranteed

to him, and the other Irish princes, their properties and dignities, had sent a lawless banditti to plunder and destroy his people. The unfortunate prince of Meath paid the forfeit of his foolish confidence in the faith and honor of the invaders. He was assassinated at the conference, beheaded, his body was buried with the feet up, his head sent to Dublin, and thence to England. Stanihurst relates this calamity as having befallen O'Rourk, who he falsely imagined to be the prince of Meath. With all the venom of an English partizan he endeavours to gloss the perfidy and barbarity of Lacy; yet he acknowledges that there was a strong body of English troops placed in ambuscade, at a small distance from the place of interview, which must be to make certain the intended assassination. The assassin, in imitation of his master Henry, and of Strongbow, distributed the territory of the murdered chieftain among a number of vassals, on military tenure.

Henry, pressed by his enemies in Normandy, sent orders to Strongbow to come to him speedily, with what forces he could collect. The earl, in obedience to his orders, passed over with some picked men, where he remained some time, as commandant of Gisors, as Regan says. The king considering the English colony as yet too weak, sent Strongbow back, in quality of governor, as soon as he could spare him, who was received in Dublin with great acclamations.

Meantime the plundered Irish, seeing no termination to the cruelty and rapacity of these

adventurers, had recourse to arms in their own defence, and compelled the marauders to seek security in their fortresses. But after receiving reinforcements from England and Normandy, they sallied out into the country called Desies, laying the whole country waste. The booty was so considerable, that they were obliged to send a part of it by sea to Waterford, under the command of Adam de Hereford. The Danes of Cork, with a view to intercept the convoy, equipped a fleet of thirty-five ships, which was defeated by the valour of Philip Walsh, who, leaping sword in hand on board the admiral's vessel, killed him, which occasioned the retreat of the Danes, and allowed the English a safe passage with their prey. Raymond conveyed the rest of the booty, consisting principally of cattle, by land, but not without some opposition from Dermot, king of Desmond.

Among the calamities which visited Ireland since the English invasion, may be reckoned a plague, which ravaged the provinces of Munster and Connaught at this period.

In 1174, encouraged by their successful plunder of East Munster, the adventurers resolved to try their fortune westward, and marched with all the troops they could collect towards Cashel; but, contrary to their expectation, they met Roderic O'Connor at Thurles, where they experienced a defeat, leaving 1700 on the field of battle.*

* Cambrens. Evers. c. ix. p. 89.—Annal. c. vi. Hen. II.

After this Roderic marched to Meath, whence he expelled the English, who, unable to stand the field, retreated to Dublin, after demolishing the fortifications of Trim and Duleek. Roderic was assisted in this expedition by O'Neill, king of Ulster. A junction probably effected more by family interest than patriotism: the murdered chieftain of Meath being of the Hy-Nial race, who were long in possession of that country.

The battle of Thurles, and the loss of Meath, alarmed Strongbow. Seeing the perilous situation of the adventurers, he sent an account of his sad situation to Raymond le Gros, who the preceding year had retired in disgust, requesting his return and aid, promising him his sister in marriage. Raymond immediately accepted the terms, and collected 330 horse and foot, with which he landed at Waterford, and assisted Strongbow to escape out of the town, of which the Danes had made themselves masters. A part of the garrison, however, defended Rinald's tower so obstinately, that the Danes, despairing of its capture, evacuated the town. By this time the allies of Roderic, thinking the campaign finished by the recapture of Meath, returned home, as usual with an Irish host, which served without pay, and therefore were without subordination. The adventurers, availing themselves of this circumstance, repossessed themselves of a great part of the country they had lost.

That Irish literature, though greatly depressed by the Danish wars, and disturbed by the English invaders, was not as yet entirely extinct, we have

proofs in a number of learned men mentioned by our annalists; such as Gelasius, archbishop of Armagh; Flamin O'Gorman, professor in the university of Armagh; Gilbert, bishop of Limerick; Celsus, archbishop of Armagh; Malachy O'Morgair, archbishop of Armagh, a correspondent of St. Bernard, author of a collection of ecclesiastical constitutions, treatises on celibacy, traditions, the life of St. Cuthbert, a prophecy concerning the Popes is also attributed to him; Maurice Regan, secretary and interpreter to Dermot Mac Morrough, the last king of Leinster, who carefully narrated the history of Irish affairs during his own time, which was translated into French, and thence into English, by Sir George Carew, president of Munster in the reign of queen Elizabeth; without mentioning O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and many others.

Further to secure his acquisitions in Ireland, in 1175, Henry II. obtained the following bull, from Pope Alexander III. confirmatory of that of his predecessor, Pope Adrian IV. "Alexander, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction. Forasmuch as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified and confirmed, we well considering and pondering the grant and privilege for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to us appertaining, and lately given by Adrian, our predecessor, we, following his

steps, do in like manner confirm, allow, and ratify the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter, and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed and recovered from their filthy life, and abominable conversation. That as in name, so in life and manners they may be Christians; and that as that rude and disordered church, being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the possession of the name be in acts and deeds followers of the same." This was brought to Ireland by Nicholas, prior of Wallingsford, and William Fitz Aldelm, who delivered it to an assembly of Irish bishops at Waterford, by whom it was approved, according to English writers.

Invited by family dissensions among the O'Briens, Raymond undertook an expedition to Limerick, in conjunction with the prince of Ossery, a sworn foe of the king of Thomond. After some skirmishes, the city being then open and defenceless, it was taken and pillaged, then garrisoned and retained.

O'Connor, afflicted at the calamities which were inflicted by those merciless marauders on his country, thought that the only means of setting some bounds to these excesses was, to capitulate national independence for the protection of the king of England by a solemn treaty. For that purpose he dispatched ambassadors, viz. O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brandon, at Clonfert, and Laurence,

chancellor of Connaught, who were received by Henry, on the 8th of October, 1176, at a parliament held at Windsor. The king of England, flattered by this embassy, concluded the following treaty with Roderic, in quality of tributary king, which title was transmitted to some of his successors. His son is named king of Connaught in a roll in the Tower of London, dated the sixth year of king John. Henry III. in the fifth year of his reign, addressed letters patent to the kings of Connaught and Cinel Eoin ('Tyrone'); he also gave a charter to O'Brien of the land of Thomond, with the title of king; but there is no charter extant of Ulster, whose king had not as yet submitted.

“ This is the object and concord, concluded at Windsor, between our lord Henry II. king of England, and Roderic, king of Connaught, through Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, Concord, abbot of St. Brandon, and Master Laurence, chancellor of the kingdom of Connaught.

“ First. The king of England concedes to the said Roderic, his liege man, the kingdom of Connaught, as long as he shall faithfully serve him; and that he shall be a king under him, ready for his service, as a trusty man; and that he shall hold his territories, as well, and in peace, as he held them before the king of England entered Ireland, paying him tribute; and that he shall have that whole land, and its inhabitants, under him; and that through him they shall pay tribute to the king of England, and thro' his hands they shall preserve their rights

and privileges; and those who are now in possession shall keep their possessions in peace, as long as they remain loyal to the king of England, and faithfully pay the tribute and other duties which they owe, through the hands of the king of Connaught: his and the king of England's honor also to be safe.

“ Secondly. If any rebel against him and the king of England, and will not pay the tribute and duties to the king of England through his hands, and shall depart from their loyalty to the king of England, he shall do justice on them, and remove them: and if he cannot by himself enforce justice, the constable of the king of England and his people shall help him in the execution thereof, on a requisition being made to that effect, and the necessity of such aid manifested. And for this purpose let the foresaid king of Connaught pay yearly tribute to the king of England, namely, of every ten animals one saleable skin, as well from his own lands as of the lands of others.

“ Thirdly. Except those lands which the king of England held under his own dominion, and the dominion of his barons; except Dublin, with all its appurtenances; except also Wexford, with all its appurtenances, that is, with Leinster, (Wicklow, Wexford and Carlow); except also Waterford to Dungarvan, so that Dungarvan be included in that land, with all its appurtenances.

“ Fourthly. And if fugitive Irish shall be willing to return to the lands of the English

barons, let them return in peace, paying the aforesaid tribute which others pay, or performing the same labour which others use to do for their lands; and let this be in the arbitration of their lords. And if any shall be unwilling to return, their lords and the king of Connaught shall receive hostages for all those whom the king of England had committed to him, agreeable to the will of our lord the king and his own, these or others; and the same shall serve the king with dogs and birds every year, from their appurtenances. And they shall retain no man whatsoever from the king's lands, contrary to the will of our lord the king. Witness these present, Richard, bishop of Winchester, Jeoffry, bishop of Ely, Laurence, bishop of Dublin, Jeoffry, Nicholas, and Roger, the king's chaplains, and many others."

This humiliating treaty, between the feeble expiring monarchy of Ireland and its oppressors, refutes the vanity of Irish patriots endeavouring to maintain that Ireland was never conquered by the English. The terms of the treaty were such as could be dictated only by a victorious foe to a defeated and a desponding enemy. Could any thing but defeat and despair induce the monarch of Ireland to become tributary to Henry? and not only tributary, but to become his collector of taxes; and to bind himself to call for the assistance of the English to compel his countrymen to pay the tribute? Roderic himself contributed his share to bring Ireland to this disgraceful situation. Imitating the ruinous ambi-

tion of Brien Boiroidmhe, without possessing his talents, he became a patron of feudal anarchy, in the conspiracy formed against the house of O'Neil, whose long prescriptive rule, sanctioned by popular veneration, was the only remaining prop of a declining monarchy, unsupported by revenue or standing forces.

The colonial writers, agreeably to their national partiality, dwell on the alliances and deaths of the chiefs of the invaders. The proper object for a national historian is to remark those events which illustrate the causes of Ireland's downfall. How a nation, generous and brave, individually the best soldiers on earth, superior to their enemies, by their own confession, in strength, agility, and skill at arms, fell, by anarchy and division, a prey to merciless marauders.

Donald O'Brien, about this time, made an effort to recover Limerick. The town was destitute of provisions, and would be soon compelled to surrender, if not speedily relieved. Murchadh, king of Leinster, and Donald, chieftain of Ossery, united their forces with those of Raymond, which advanced to its relief. The king of Thomond, hearing of their approach, raised the siege, and came to meet them as far as Cashel, where he fell into an ambuscade: his army, surrounded by superior numbers, was routed, after a vigorous resistance; and Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond was obliged to submit to the terms of Raymond. How could a nation stand, so forward to fight not only against each other, but for their enemy? It was not only clan against

clan, or province against province, but civil dissensions in the same family desolated the island.

Dermod Mac Carty, king of Desmond, was compelled, by the revolt of his son Cormac, to implore the succour of Raymond, who marched to his assistance, and subdued the revolters. Mac Carty, in recompence for this assistance, bestowed on Raymond a considerable territory in Kerry, of which his son Maurice took possession; who, espousing Catherine, the daughter of Miles Cogan, left a posterity in possession of Mac Carty's grant, known by the name of Clanmorres.

In the beginning of June, 1176, died, at Dublin, the chief of the English colony, Strongbow, after tyrannizing over Leinster seven years. His disease seemed emblematic of the country he invaded. A mortification in the foot extended to the vital parts, and caused his dissolution: 'twas thus a mortification of the fundamental principles of the constitution caused its extinction. His corpse was interred by St. Laurence O'Tool, in Christ-church, Dublin. He left no male issue, neither did his son-in-law, William Marshall; so that his immense and illegal acquisitions of territory fell, by intermarriages, into different families. To use the language of an English author, Nubrigensis, the whole plunder of Ireland, for which he laboured so much, he left to strangers, who felt no gratitude for his perils and turmoils, nor solicitude for the risk of his salvation in the acquisition. A salutary lesson for posterity!

A whimsical contradiction in the conduct of leading men in those days, has disconcerted not a little the writers on Irish affairs. They were at a loss to reconcile the cruelty and the piety, the robberies and religious donations, practised by the invaders. Churches and monasteries plundered, and the clergy slaughtered, in one place, and the foundation and endowment of religious houses in other places. They did not perceive that English policy was the latent motive that explains the contradiction. Religious establishments, possessed by Irish natives, were invaded as the property of an enemy; and sometimes a part of the plunder was appropriated to the establishment of religious houses for English subjects exclusively, as useful allies for the reduction of Ireland. Thus the knights templars were established by Strongbow at Kilmainham, 1174, to which eight other commanderies were annexed afterwards.

On receiving the intelligence of the death of Strongbow, Raymond hastened from Limerick to Dublin, to superintend the affairs of the colony, and preserve their territorial acquisitions, leaving the care of Limerick to O'Brien, king of Thomond, who thereupon set fire to it. As this trust was a matter of necessity, and not of choice, the act of a natural enemy, bound by no treaty, O'Brien might easily conceive that he only did his duty in destroying a place which was held to his injury.

Henry, always jealous of the progress of the principal invaders, had sent commissioners to

Ireland, to order the appearance of Raymond at court. These commissioners, from an ocular inspection of the affairs of the colony, judging that his absence would endanger its existence, ventured to suspend the king's orders, and leave him provisional governor. Notwithstanding the statement of his commissioners; Henry sent, as viceroy, William Fitz-Aldelm, and gave him as assistants John de Courcy, and Miles Cogan, who had signalized themselves in the wars of France and England.

Stanihurst makes an observation on Fitz-Aldelm; which is applicable to the generality of mankind, that he was not altogether wise, nor altogether foolish. It was not wise policy to disclose his enmity to the Fitzgeralds, who by alliances and property were the most powerful family of the pale.

After the death of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he seized on his castle of Wicklow; and to colour this injustice he gave to his three sons the town of Fearn. To secure the possession of this place they built a castle, which was soon after razed, by order of Walter, nephew of Fitz-Aldelm, and governor of Wexford.

About this time (1177), Henry II. availed himself of the spiritual powers of Rome; and, in consequence of his alliance with the Holy See, for the reduction and the pretended reformation of Ireland, obtained the assistance of a pope's legate, to visit Ireland, and conjure it to obedience. Cardinal Vivian, on his arrival in England, was obliged by Henry II. to swear

that he would employ all his authority to support his interest. To fulfil his engagements with Henry, which were probably sanctioned by temporal interest, as well as by his oath, shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he called a meeting of bishops and abbots in Dublin, whom he endeavoured to convince, in an eloquent harangue, of Henry's title to the crown of Ireland, commanding the Irish to obey him under pain of excommunication.

Meanwhile the policy of England was building castles and monasteries for the very same object, influence and defence. During the stay of the legate at Dublin, Fitz-Aldelm, the viceroy, founded a monastery of English canons regular, called Thomas-court. They were endowed with the territory of Donore, Co. Meath, on condition of praying for the souls of Geoffry, earl of Anjou, and the empress Matilda. The charter did not enjoin these monks to pray for the souls of the proprietors of that territory.

The denunciations of the legate, however, did not prevent Melaghlin Mac Loghlin, ancient proprietor of Meath, attacking the castle of Slane, which he carried by assault, and demolished; and in which Richard Fleming, who held forcible possession thereof, with many of his followers, was slain.

This disaster did not discourage other adventurers from daring enterprizes. The cruel and valiant De Courcy tried his fortune in Ulster, whither the English had not as yet penetrated. With 400 men, in 1177, he arrived at Down,

the chief city of a territory then called Ullagh, and now the county of Down. The inhabitants, apprehending no danger, were taken by surprise. They were astonished and alarmed at the outrages committed by these barbarians. No house or chest could escape the avidity of the plunderers; as Stanihurst says, *quibus spoliis miseras ac diuturnas egestates explent*. It could not be expected that the authority of the Pope's legate could reconcile these miserable sufferers with this strange mode of civilization.

Roderick, son of Dunlevy, chieftain of the country, raised an undisciplined multitude to oppose the plunderers, but was defeated. The account that Stanihurst gives us of this battle savours much of national partiality. It is not probable that 400 Englishmen defeated 10,000 Irish, for several reasons. First, it is not probable, that a petty chieftain could bring so many men into the field; because we find that provincial kings were not able to muster so numerous an army. O'Neil, king of Ulster, could only muster 3000 men against Roderic O'Connor, at the head of the confederated forces. Arthur Cavanagh could only bring 3000 men into the field against Richard II., at the head of the greatest English army that ever landed in Ireland. Where then could a petty toparch find ten thousand? Secondly, it contradicts the character, drawn by himself, of the men of Ulster. "The men of Ulster," says he, "are by nature and practice very warlike; always inured to arms, their battle with the Britons is conducted

with boldness and regularity, without any deficiency of martial valour, but God, the giver of victory, decided the battle in favour of the English." Though the authority of Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's ambassador, could not restrain the carnage and plunder of his allies, he obtained the liberty of Malachy, bishop of Down.

Courcy continued his career of devastation in Ulster. Superstition and barbarity were blended in his character. He had a copy of Merlin's Prophecies always about him; and thinking himself designated therein as the conqueror of Ulster, he had it in his pocket by day, and under his pillow by night.

It seems Merlin did not warn him of his fortune; as in the year following, 1178, he marched towards Oriel (Louth), where he was vigorously attacked in his camp of Gliury, by Mortough O'Carrol, chieftain of the country. The action was severe, and De Courcy's forces were entirely routed in the trenches. O'Carrol knew how to conquer, and to avail himself of his conquest; he pursued the plunderers to the extremity of the county of Down, where in a second engagement he cut them to pieces, De Courcy himself, and about a dozen of his gang, with difficulty escaped to the castle of Down.

Courcy, perhaps instructed by those severe lessons, had recourse to more efficacious means than the prophecies of Merlin. He built castles, and by the plunder of Irish monasteries founded monasteries of English monks, who answered all

the purposes of an English garrison. As an instance of this policy, common to the English invaders, he destroyed the abbey of Carrick, founded near the bridge of Fane, and applied its revenues for the foundation of a monastery of Cistercian monks, brought from the abbey of Furnes, in England. One of these monks, by name Jocelyn, wrote a life of St. Patrick; a monument, which decisively proves, that philosophy was at a low ebb in England, where he received his education.

In 1183, Courcy dispossessed the canons of the cathedral church of Down, and brought over Benedictine monks from the abbey of St. Werburgh, of Chester; and gave them as prior William Etleshall, a monk of their order. Another of those spiritual garrisons he established at Tubberglory, and another at Nedrum, in which he placed English monks from Cumberland. The churches of Inis-Catha (Inis-Scattery), an island at the mouth of the Shannon, were appropriated, by Hervey de Mountmorres, to the foundation of a monastery for English monks, at Dunbrodee, near the confluence of the Suir and Barrow, county of Wexford.

While the English adventurers were pursuing these judicious plans for the reduction of the island, Henry II. was meditating to secure their acquisitions to his family, by appointing his son John, king of Ireland. He did not neglect any precaution of policy to bring his projects to effect. He obtained the assistance of the court of Rome, and appointed John Comyn, archbishop

of Dublin, to prepare men's minds for the reception of the young prince. After being knighted at Windsor, by the king, his father, at the age of twelve, John set off for Milford, in the April of 1175, where a fleet awaited to conduct him to Ireland. He embarked at Easter, accompanied by Ralph Glanville, justiciary of England, and Giraldus Cambrensis, his tutor. He was accompanied by four hundred knights, and some young debauched courtiers, who possessed his entire confidence. As soon as he landed at Waterford, the Irish lords in its vicinity came immediately to compliment him on his arrival. The manners and customs of the two nations were very different. The Irish were naturally hospitable, free, and polite to strangers; the English the very reverse. Receiving the Irish lords with a sulky disdain, they fired the pride of the chieftains, who retired, breathing vengeance for the insults of the royal boy and his debauched companions. War resounded from all quarters; and the chieftains for a while suspended their private hostilities, to avenge what they considered a national affront. But these tumultuary hostilities produced no other effect, than that of interrupting the pleasures in which John revelled, determining him to abandon so dangerous a dignity, and return to England, after having built three castles, during his stay, for the protection of the colony. His tutor, Gerald Barry, vulgarly called Gyraldus Cambrensis, remained behind, to collect the fables which he called the history of Ireland. The policy of England constantly joined

the pen of the libeller to the sword of the warrior; to destroy the character as well as the persons of the natives, and confound in one ruin their fame and their inheritance.

The king of England, instructed by John's mal-administration in Ireland, thought it expedient to entrust the government in the hands of military men. Accordingly John de Courcy, an able officer, practised in the Irish mode of warfare, was appointed viceroy. He undertook some expeditions to Cork and Connaught, with various success.

During the progress of the invaders it cannot be supposed, that the natives, however divided by domestic quarrels, could remain idle spectators of their own ruin. Here and there some valiant efforts were made by the invaded clans, which, for want of union, discipline, and a national government, terminated in a fruitless effusion of blood. Four English officers, with a detachment of the garrison of Ardfinnan, were put to the sword, by Donald O'Brien, king of Thomond. Another detachment from the same garrison, surprised marauding near Limerick, met the same fate. Surprises and ambuscades are allowed by the law of nations: it is not easy to justify assassination upon any principle. Arthur O'Melaghlin, chief of Meath, was killed by the English, three English lords were also killed; and to complete the picture of the times, while assassination, carnage and robbery were triumphant, monasteries were founded.

About this time an abbey of Bernardines was

founded at Leix, near the river Nuir. The bodies of St. Patrick, St. Columb, and St. Bridget were translated at Down, by the Pope's legate; and the Staff of Jesus was carried in triumph from the cathedral of Armagh to Christ-church, Dublin, the adventurers hoping that it would promote their interests.

While the Irish nation was falling piecemeal a prey to their invaders, the family quarrels of the chieftains accelerated the catastrophe. O'Connor Maonmui entered Connaught, at the head of a hostile force, to dethrone his father; but the latter, having obtained the assistance of Donald O'Brien, of Thomond, defeated him. Roderic O'Connor, disgusted, and weary of holding the reins of a tottering monarchy, destitute of the sinews of war, and of the means of enforcing a submission to the laws, retired to the abbey of Cong, where he spent the remainder of his days, thirteen years, to prepare for eternity.

The natives sometimes copied the example of the invaders, whose pretence was civilization, but whose practice was a lesson in every manner of cruelty and tyranny. About this time Hugh de Lacy, the usurper of Meath, was assassinated at Durrow, with the stroke of a hatchet, by a young Irish lord, disguised as a workman, while he was building a strong castle to keep the vicinity in subjection. Henry II. on hearing of the death of Lacy, sent his son John, with a considerable army, to repossess himself of the government. Delayed at Chester by contrary winds, the king, on hearing of the death of his son

Geoffry, who died at Paris, sent him orders to return, and charged Philip Wigorne with the expedition to Ireland. Some pretend that Henry himself came to Ireland at that time.

The impending ruin of Ireland was not capable of appeasing the intestine troubles of the Irish, or uniting them for their common preservation. Donald, son of Hugh O'Loughlin, chieftain of Tyrone, was dethroned by his son Roderic Lachertair. The latter made incursions the year following into Tyrconnel, where he was slain, and Donald was again established.

1186. The death of O'Conarchy, bishop of Lismore, and apostolic legate, referred by our annalists to this year, deserves to be noticed only as it elucidates the policy of the courts of Rome and London. Since the first alliance, concluded between Henry II. and Pope Adrian, and continued by their respective successors, judging the reduction of Ireland to be for the interest of the allied powers, they had a Pope's legate always in Ireland, of the king's nomination, and devoted to his interest. Three of them had already acted in that capacity, Cardinal Vivian, O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel, and the last mentioned bishop of Lismore. A fresh spiritual ambassador came from Rome, Cardinal Octavian, with an assistant, Hugh de Nounant, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to perform the ceremony of crowning his son John, king of Ireland. The ceremony was suspended, says Hoveden, on account of Henry's continental affairs, who brought with him the two legates, to assist at a confe-

rence he was going to hold with the king of France towards a treaty of peace.

That the absurd union of bigotry and robbery could be met with in the native Irish as well as in their English invaders, Mildouin O'Donoghue will serve for an instance. At the head of a gang of freebooters, he plundered the church of Ardfert, and the abbey of Inisfallen, situated in Lough Lene, (now called the Lake of Killarney), and with much effusion of blood. During the prevalence of anarchy and confusion in Ireland, the wealth of these places attracted the cupidity of a number of swordsmen, more able and willing to fight than to work.

The writers on Irish affairs, as has been observed, seem not to have penetrated the policy which induced the invaders to plunder native monasteries, and found new ones in their room. How edifying it is, says Abbé Geoghegan, to see the plunderers of churches, and of other men's properties, making religious foundations! This strange sort of devotion was introduced into Ireland by the English, says the abbé. For instance, Philip Wigorne, viceroy of Ireland, after plundering the university of Armagh, founded a priory of Benedictines at Kilcumin, county of Tipperary. But of what nation were the monks? It appears by the original charter, in the Cottonian library, that they were taken from the Benedictine abbey of Glaston, in England; and were subject to that house, and to the rules of English policy to admit no native members or novices.

Further to illustrate the policy of the English court in pursuing the subjugation of Ireland, we cannot avoid observing, that misrepresentation did appear necessary, notwithstanding the subsidies to the Pope, to obtain his concurrence. When St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, and three other Irish bishops, were on their passage through England, to the council of Lateran, Henry II. made them swear, that they would not say any thing there prejudicial to his interests. He dreaded the resentment of the council if they heard of the abominable cruelties committed in Ireland. According to the colonial writers, the archbishop of Dublin durst not return, on account of having said something in favour of his nation. Be that as it may, this holy prelate fell sick, and died at the town of Eu, in France. His life was written by a regular canon of Eu, in Surius, with exactitude, according to Baronius. The miracles, which God operated by his intercession, before and after his death, prevailed upon Pope Honorius III. to enrol him in the catalogue of saints, in 1226, by a bull dated the third of December, the tenth year of his pontificate, of which a copy is preserved in the Bullarium of Laurentius Cherubinus. The protestant kings of England were not the first who disliked the big O, for the catholic kings took good care that no other O should sit in the see of Dublin. 'Tis also remarkable, that O'Tool was the last of the Irish saints.

It is surprising that the Pope could not be

undeceived, by the representations of that holy and learned man, of the false pretences of the invaders to civilize Ireland. It was the island of saints and learning before they came; what it has become since, the reader will see, and the present generation are sensible. Thus it appears, that no single virtue was imported from England, but the very contrary, the vices of indigent, unprincipled, libertine invaders. It was not without reason, that Aubin O'Molloy, abbot of Baltinglas, and bishop of Ferns, in an eloquent discourse, before the prelates and clergy of Leinster, convened at Christ-church by the archbishop, John Comyn, on the chastity of ecclesiastics, declaimed powerfully on the incontinence of the clergy who came from England and Wales. To sum up the picture then, breach of treaty, murder of prisoners of war, assassination, robbery and bigotry, carnage, usurpation, and clerical debauchery, were not the means of improving a nation; yet they were the principal things imported by English Papists into Ireland.

When any king or chieftain became formidable to the invaders by his talents, one of their chief means of getting rid of him was, to invite him to a feast or a conference; and if they could seduce him to put confidence in their good faith or loyalty, they gave him pledges thereof with poison or the dagger. Among the number of those who fell victims to their perfidy, must not be omitted Dermot Mac Carty, king of Desmond. Invited to Cork, by Theobald Walter,

in 1186, as if to a friendly conference, to make a treaty of peace with the invaders, he was basely assassinated. Yet this chieftain had bestowed a considerable territory, in the county of Kerry, on Raymond, one of the principal leaders of his murderers, whose posterity long held it by the name of Clanmorres. But the most atrocious instance upon record, unexampled perhaps in the history of the heathen world, was the perfidious massacre of the noble families of O'Moore, invited to a friendly conference, by the ministers of Philip and his wife, commonly called, by Protestant writers, bloody queen Mary. This shall be narrated more at large in its proper place. I only mention it here, to shew that the policy of the colony, from the beginning, was invariable; and to make my countrymen sensible, that it is not difference of religion which they ought to consider as the real cause of civil discord and animosity, but **CLASHING INTERESTS** and **NATIONAL ANTIPATHIES**, necessarily subsisting between a conquering and an oppressed nation. In a fair review of the conduct of English Papists and English Protestants towards Ireland, it will appear to an unprejudiced reader, that the latter have not exceeded the former in outrage and inhumanity; and that the Popish pale was as truly hostile to the national interest as the Orange confederation may be supposed now. Catholics and Protestants live amicably in France, Switzerland, Germany, and America; and would do so in any country, where the ruling power thought proper to encourage mu-

tual toleration, and the arts of peace. In more than one church beyond the Rhine, I have seen the altar at one end, and the communion-table at the other, where Catholics and Protestants paid the tribute of devotion to their Maker, at different hours. Certain I am, they were not worse Christians for this mutual toleration. They practically enforced the parable of the good Samaritan; in which our Saviour commands us to love a dissenter or a heretic as a brother. But when unfortunately the rulers of a country think it politic to divide the people, they will illustrate the ingenious and shrewd reply of Maurice, archbishop of Cashel. Father Barry reproached the church of Ireland, in the presence of the Pope's legate, with having no martyrs to boast of. The bishop replied, "We shall not be long so. Our new visitors have given sufficient specimens, both in their own country and in this, that they are very well inclined to make martyrs." He alluded to the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the cruelties of the invaders in Ireland. This prediction was but too well accomplished afterwards.

It is a striking instance of national character, that whilst a generous and religious people were perishing in the tumults of anarchy and confusion, atrocities and acts of piety and charity appear together on the scene. In 1178, Donald O'Loughlin, king of Tyrone, gained a victory, and lost his life, in a bloody battle with the English. The same year Alfred Palmer, of Danish descent, founded the priory of John the

Baptist, at Newgate, Dublin, which was afterwards endowed and converted into an hospital, with 150 beds for the sick, without mentioning chaplains and physicians.

As a picture of the manners and state of the pretended civilizers, it will be apropos to mention the death of Henry II. as recorded by English historians. In 1189, Henry II. king of England, absorbed in an abyss of sorrow and despair, cursing his birth, and the day he was born,* a memorable lesson to ambitious invaders! died, at the castle of Chinon, and was buried at Font Everard. He was long languishing, but the list that Philip Augustus, king of France, sent him, of the number of those that were conspiring against him, among whom was his son John, gave him the finishing blow. His obsequies were performed in the following manner, according to Baker. His body was covered with the royal robes, his crown on his head, white gloves on his hands, boots with golden spurs on his legs, a ring of great value on his finger, a sceptre in his hand, a sword by his side, and his face uncovered.

After the death of Henry, Richard I. known by the name of Cœur de Lion, ascended the throne. His first enterprise was an expedition to the Holy Land. It is not necessary, with some, to attribute this to any desire of expiating the crime of rebellion, of which he was guilty towards his father. The crusades were fashionable

* Westmonast. Flor. Hist. Lib. II. an. 1189.

at that time, and the young king was ambitious of signalizing his valour among the sovereigns which took up the cross. The affairs of the colony he left to the management of his brother John, whom his father had appointed king thereof; yet he did not omit to renew the alliance with the Pope, and strengthen the English interest in Ireland, by the authority of a legate from the Holy See. For this purpose he sent a deputation to Pope Clement III., requesting the nomination of William Longfield, bishop of Ely, in quality of legate. It appears by the Pope's rescript, in answer to this request, which he granted, that the part of Ireland, then possessed by the English, was not considerable; for the words of the rescript are these. "Clement, the bishop, &c. According to the commendable desire of our beloved son in God, Richard, the illustrious king of England, we commit to your fraternity the office of legate in all England and Wales, as well in the diocess of Canterbury as in that of York, and in those parts of Ireland in which that nobleman, John Morton, the king's brother, has authority and dominion. Given the third of June, the third year of our pontificate, 1188."*

Meanwhile the Irish did not forget their family dissensions, or their provincial wars, which the English took care to foment. In Connaught, Cathal Carrach, the son of Cathal Maonmuid, succeeded his father, but found a formidable

* Matt. Paris. Angl. Hist. ad an. 1188, p. 103.

rival in his uncle Cathal Croidhearg. Each had partizans to espouse his quarrel, not only of the Irish natives, but of the English colonists. Fitz-Aldelm declared for Cathal Carrach, and Courcy for Croidhearg. After some skirmishing, they came to a decisive action; Cathal Carrach and his party were routed, after an obstinate battle, in which he and many nobles of the province were slain. Fitz-Aldelm returned to Limerick, with what troops he had left; and the victorious Croidhearg laid siege to a castle he had built in Mileach O Madden, (O Madden's country,) but the English garrison withdrawing at night, the castle was demolished.

Still the fashion continued of mingling domestic quarrels, plunder, and bloodshed, with religious foundations, monasteries, and churches. The abbey of Knockmoel was about this time founded by Cathal Croidhearg, in gratitude for his victory. And the English, as usual, did not cease to plunder the monasteries, and to appropriate at least a part of the spoil for the establishment of English monks, attached to the English interest in Ireland. The priory of St. Mary, at Kenlis, county of Kilkenny, was founded by Geoffry, seneschal of Leinster. It is mentioned by Dugdale and Doddsworth, in their *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Jocelyn Nangle founded an abbey at Navan for Augustinians. A priory, in the name of Peter and Paul, was founded for the same order, by the Roches of Fermoy. John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin, repaired the cathedral called Christ-church, and entirely re-

built St. Patrick's, which was falling into decay.

While these works of policy and devotion were going on, the hostilities of the natives against each other did not relax. War had some time continued between the O'Briens of Thomond, and the Mac Cartys of Desmond. Peace was at length concluded between these two clans, but was of no long duration.

As if Heaven were offended at the incessant discords of these unfortunate people, at a time when union was so indispensable for their preservation, Munster was visited by storms and hurricanes, which demolished castles and churches, and destroyed a number of people.

Still new foundations of monasteries! At Glas-carig, in Wexford, an abbey of Benedictines. At Ballymore, in Westmeath, an abbey of Cistercians; and another in the town of Down. A priory in Trim, and another in Kells, by a bishop of Meath, and Walter Lacy.

King Richard, on his return from the Holy Land, was shipwrecked in the Adriatic. He wished to travel incog. through Germany, on his return to England, but had the misfortune to fall into the hands of Leopold, marquis of Austria. That prince forgot not the affront he suffered from Richard, at the siege of Acre; who had snatched from him a standard he had planted on the top of a tower, to plant his own in its stead. He sold Richard to the emperor Henry VII., who kept him prisoner fifteen months! His brother John, according to Ware, was willing to take advantage of this incident, and took

some steps to get himself crowned king of England; but, mistrusting the issue, he was content to fortify some castles in England; after which he had an interview with Philip Augustus, king of France, then in Normandy, who received him with distinction. English writers say, that Richard, on his return from captivity, was received with acclamations of joy. But it is difficult to reconcile that with his long captivity, when a ransom would have extricated him at once. Perhaps the English had not at that time learned to pay foreign subsidies.

The hereditary hostility of Irish chieftains continued to furnish the invaders with inexhaustible facilities for depredation and conquest. The O'Briens, at enmity with the Mac Cartys, the chieftain of Thomond allowed the English to build the castle of Briginis, as a place of safety, to protect their incursions into Desmond. Aided by such means, the invaders never ceased to pillage: they held nothing sacred that was Irish. Gilbert Nangle pillaged the abbey of Inis Cloghran, situated in Lough Rea; while the spouse of Courcy founded an abbey in Ulster, with the usual English policy, endowed for English monks.

Our annalists place the death of Dervorgeile, wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, to this year, 1193. She differed from Helen in this: the Greek beauty brought destruction on Troy, the country of her gallant, while the Irish beauty plunged her native country, by her debaucheries, into irretrievable calamities.

During this reign Richard was so much taken up with continental affairs, being almost constantly at war with the king of France, that he did not follow up his father's views, on the conquest of Ireland, by the powerful means he possessed. He left the English colony to avail themselves of the divisions of the Irish; and to derive from England such reinforcements, from time to time, as might be necessary for their security.

Many of the Irish chieftains, like Dermot O'Brien, of Limerick, who died about this time, repented the confidence they placed in these foreigners, and the footing they allowed them in the country. Notwithstanding the allowance of building a castle, for the annoyance of Desmond, the English, by their usual means of fraud, got possession of his second son Mortough, and put out his eyes. It is probable, that it was not without the consent of Donough O'Brien, his successor, that Mac Carty was able to demolish the castle, and drive the English out of Limerick. Such occasional victories availed not the Irish, because they either would not or could not follow them up. Regular campaigns can only be carried on by standing forces, which the Irish never kept on foot.

After this defeat a reinforcement arrived on the coast of Munster, under Philip Wigorne, which restored the affairs of the colonists. In Ulster, Roderic, chieftain of Ulidia, in conjunction with the English, made an inroad into Tyrone; but was attacked at Armagh, during

his retreat, by O'Loughlin, prince of Tyrone, who was soon afterwards assassinated by O'Cahan. A similar invasion of Tirconnel, by Russel, governor of the castle of Kilsandra, was attended with worse consequence to the invaders. On their return, with a considerable booty, they were attacked by O'Mildouin, chieftain of Tirconnel, and most of them slain. Mac Carty, of Desmond, irritated by the depredations of the English, put the garrison of Imaculla to the sword, and demolished the fortress. He treated in the same manner, the garrison of Kilfecal. The English, to arrest his progress, mustered all the forces they could; in consequence of which a truce was made, without coming to blows.

That no part of Ireland should have repose, Gilbert Nangle, one of the invaders planted in Meath, assembled a number of freebooters, and committed great depredations in the neighbouring countries. Had he done so in the Irish countries, he would be praised and rewarded: but, committing outrages within the Pale, drew on him the resentment of the justice, Hamon de Valoin, who demolished his castles, and confiscated his estates.

Such was the state of unfortunate Ireland. Her annals present nothing to the view but incessant storms and outrages. Here and there, indeed, the dreadful scence is diversified, by some acts of bigotry or devotion. At Termon Feckin, in the county of Louth, a nunnery was founded by Mac Mahon, a nobleman of that country. And De Courcy ravaged Tirconnel, and slew its

chieftain, O'Dogherty, who had succeeded the heroic O'Mildouin. The English did not forget their policy of fortifying themselves; they built the castles of Ardpatrick and Astrettin, in Munster.

One would be surprized, that the adventurers were able to carry on war against the natives, in so many, and so distant parts of Ireland, at the same time, if he did not know, that most of their forces consisted of native Irish, whether as allies or mercenaries. Without such auxiliaries, they could not effectually carry on their plan of extermination. For the natives were so swift of foot, according to the accounts of their enemies, that the English cavalry could not overtake them in a retreat. But they had bodies of their own countrymen, as light infantry, for pursuit and slaughter. By such means were the English enabled to carry on their hostilities in Ireland.

In 1199, Courcy made a second irruption into Tyrone, laid waste the country, and brought with him much booty, but not with impunity. O'Neill overtook them at Donoughmore, where he completely defeated them, and recovered the booty. At the same time the English of Desmond overrun the country of Munster, and laid waste the whole of it, from the Shannon to the sea. And Richard Tuite built a castle at Granard, to check the O'Reillys, who annoyed the quarters of the invaders. With a similar policy, the Whites of the county of Down established a garrison of Cistercian monks, brought from Wales. The earl of Pembroke established a

similar one at Tinterne, on the coast of Wexford, garrisoned by Cistercian monks from Wales; another at Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, of a different order, but for a similar purpose, to which he added two more in Wexford, of military orders.

Such was the deplorable state of this divided country, when Richard I. died in Normandy. He survived his captivity but five or six years. In attempting to take the castle of Chalus, near Limoges, by assault, he was wounded in the arm with an arrow, and his wound, by the ignorance of his surgeon, became mortal. His sudden death afforded John Lackland, stiled Lord of Ireland, a favourable opportunity to seize on the crown, to the prejudice of the rightful heir, Arthur, son of Geoffry, the eldest son and heir of Henry II. Arthur took arms in defence of his right, encouraged by Philip of France; but, taken prisoner at Mirabel, in Poitou, by his usurping uncle, he was brought under a strong guard to Rouen, and put to death. By these means John Lackland gave the lie to his name; uniting under his dominion the extensive continental territories of his father, together with England, the Irish colony, and his pretensions to the whole of Ireland.

This is an instance of the inscrutable ways by which Providence rules the fortunes of nations. Had Henry II. lived to crown his son John king of Ireland, and that his elder brothers, or their heirs, lived to inherit England and Normandy. Ireland would have remained an independent

kingdom. John's posterity, reared in Ireland, education and interest would make them Irishmen. The invaders, instead of being freebooters, would become good subjects. They would learn a language more copious and elegant than their own, which at that time was a barbarous jargon, half French, half Saxon. As the Tartar conquerors of China were civilized and became Chinese, so it would be counted no degeneracy in the English or Welsh to become real Irish, and imbibed the native virtues. Well it had been for their posterity; for in the various revolutions in religion and politics, and the confiscations that usually succeeded them, few of their offspring that are not found mingled in the mass of Irish sufferers. Fresh swarms of adventurers pouring in, during the wars of Elizabeth, Cromwell, and William, used the same language and conduct towards them as they did to the antient natives; "the only way to civilize them was, to kill them and take their properties." This was not the plan of Henry the Second; as he demonstrated, by his intention of making his son John king of Ireland. It was the language of the detestable father Barry, the first libeller of Ireland, and tutor to king John, but too faithfully put in execution by the adventurers. The same maxim was afterwards repeated by bishop Jones, who had been scout-master to Oliver Cromwell's army. And it must be allowed, that the adventurers of that day, and ever since, acted their part in Ireland's tragedy, with no less ability

the destiny of this nation. Was it the effect of chance? Was it the decree of Providence? Numerous prophecies, published by Irish saints, warned this nation of its downfall; but they likewise consoled it, with the prospect of a more glorious uprise.

King John, no less avaricious than his father, screwed his subjects for money. His reign might be justly called a continual tax. He sold, according to Hoveden, to William de Braosa and other adventurers, for 4000 marks of silver, all the country of the O Carrols, O Kennedys, O Meaghers, O Fogartys, O Ryans, O Heffernans, &c. which Henry II. his father, had bestowed to Philip de Worcester and Theobald Fitz-Walter. The Pope and the king of England no doubt were very liberal in bestowing what was not their own; but king John, like most other robbers, thought it better to convert it into cash. Worcester however, who was then in England, came to Ireland through Scotland, and retook possession of his grant by force of arms. Fitz-Walter, with the assistance of Hugh Bere, his brother, archbishop of Canterbury, compounded with Braosa for his grant, by paying him 500 marks, which bargain was signed in the presence of the king. Henry II. had already appointed Fitz-Walter grand butler of Ireland. From this office his descendants took the name of Butler.

The sudden prosperity of the adventurers, rising at once from indigence to opulence and power, had its usual effect. Envy and jealousy soon began to divide them like the ancient na-

tives. The secret enmity between Lacy and De Courcy burst forth in the beginning of the reign of king John. His usurpation of the crown from the lawful heir, Arthur, his nephew, rendered him odious to the public; and his inhuman butchery of the innocent youth made him detestable. De Courcy, a valiant though cruel warrior, was not very guarded in his expressions of abhorrence. In some of his transports he went so far as to curse the tyrant, of which the king was informed. Apprised of the enmity between him and Lacy, he appointed the latter justice of Ireland, with orders to arrest De Courcy, and to send him in irons to England. Lacy, delighted with a situation, and a command, so flattering to his sentiments, neglected nothing to fulfil his commission. He marched with the forces of the Pale and his own, to Down, where De Courcy, with his Irish mercenaries and allies defeated him. Lacy, seeing it impossible to conquer him by force of arms, published a royal manifesto, declaring him a traitor to the king, and offering a reward to whomsoever would take him, dead or alive. The valour of his allies could not save him from the treachery of his domestics. By some of these miscreants he was secretly conveyed, on Good Friday, to the justice, who, after paying the promised reward, hanged them. Lacy, without delay, brought his captive to the king, who, in recompence for this service, bestowed on him De Courcy's possessions in Ireland, with the title of earl of Ulster.

Notwithstanding the dissensions amongst the

chiefs of the colony, they were not unmindful of any means to strengthen the English interest, by multiplying the garrisons of spiritual invaders. At Granee, in the county of Kildare, one was erected by Riddlesford, for Augustinians of English descent, mentioned by the authors of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, with the bull of confirmation of Pope Innocent III. anno 1207. At Nenagh, county of Tipperary, Theobald Walter, chief of the Butlers, founded a priory of the Hospitallers. At Ahassel, (*Ass's-ford*,) in the same county, a priory of canons regular was founded by De Burgh, from whom the Burkes. At Kilbeggan, in the county of Westmeath, there was a Cistercian abbey founded by the Daltons. At Tristernagh, in the same county, a priory of canons regular of St. Augustine was founded by Geoffry. In the town of Wexford, the priory of Peter and Paul, for canons regular of St. Augustine, was founded by the Roches of Fermoy. At Naas, in the county of Kildare, a priory of the same order was founded by the baron of Nass. At Connall, on the banks of the Liffey, county of Kildare, a rich priory for canons regular of St. Augustine, was founded by Meyler Fitz-Henry, a bastard son of Henry II. This priory depended on the abbey of Anthony in England; the original act of its foundation is in the Bodleian library. An abbey, dedicated to St. Wolstan, lately canonized by Pope Innocent III. commonly called *Scala Celi*, in Latin, was founded by Richard and Adam de Hereford, and filled with English monks, anno 1205. At

Ouney, in the county of Limerick, an abbey of Cistercians, peopled with Norman monks from Avranché, by Theobald Fitz-Walter, the first grand butler of Ireland. It would be tedious to the reader to go over the long detail of similar foundations, recorded by English and Anglo-Irish writers; such as that of Inisteige, in the county of Kilkenny, founded by the seneschal of Leinster; that of the Cross-bearers, founded in Drogheda; that of Newtown, near Trim, by Rochefort, bishop of Meath; that of Douske, county of Kilkenny, founded by Marshall, earl of Pembroke, for Cistercians; that of Ardee, county of Louth, founded by Pipard, for cross-bearers, &c.

The reader will not imagine that the plunderers of Irish monasteries, and of Irish property in general, the breakers of treaties, the murderers of prisoners of war, and of innocent and unoffending people, were actuated by piety, in disposing of a part of the plunder in the building of monasteries. If they were not moral and just, they were at least politic, and in these foundations they closely followed the Roman policy of establishing colonies in conquered countries. They also had a fair pattern of the same policy in the conduct of the See of Rome; who, in confirming the establishment of any new order of monks, took care that the novices should, on their admission, swear passive obedience to their superiors; and that the chief of the order, under the title of general, should remain at Rome, under the eye of the Pope. This did not escape

the penetrating eye of Frederic II., who, on the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, was heard to say, "I wonder what could induce Ganganelli to disband his grenadiers." To root out Irish monks, and plant English in their place, to keep a strict alliance with the Pope, by an annual subsidy, was to wield the two-edged sword of the temporal and spiritual power, for the subjugation of Ireland.

This policy has been exemplified in the dumb creation. After the destruction of the Irish forests, for hunting the Irish natives, the importation of timber became necessary. Together with the timber from the Baltic, the rats, commonly known by the name of Norway, were imported; who, without regarding the prescriptive title of the little black rats of Ireland, or the immemorial possession of their rat-holes; without soliciting a grant, either from the Pope or the king of England, but with all the ferocity of invaders, they gave no quarters. Fighting them under ground, and above ground, they destroyed the race. A similar revolution attended the Milesian bees. More long and slender than those now commonly seen, and of a darker hue; a few of them are still to be found wild in different parts of the country. In imitation of their ancestors of a warmer climate, they collect less wax, make their cells thinner, but gather more honey than the present race; and, with Milesian hospitality, they will not fight for their treasure, but, if plundered, they flit, and begin to work again.

While these measures of profound policy and powerful means were preparing for the destruction of the ancient Irish, as if blinded by fate or Providence, they were still a prey to civil dissensions. Hugh O'Neil, chieftain of Tyrone, was destroyed by Cornelius Mac Loghlin; but on the latter being slain in battle shortly after by O'Donnel, he was re-established. Such was the anarchy of the Irish, that the discord of the English chiefs availed them nothing. The sale of the grant to Philip de Worcester, by the king, to William de Braosa, caused a great deal of trouble in Munster, as the grantee sought forcible possession: but the matter was compromised by the surrender of Knock Graffan, and some other places, to William. Geoffry Mac Morres, from some motives of ambition or discontent, at present unknown, raised an insurrection against his fellow adventurers in Tipperary. Lacy, in quality of king's justice, marched with all the troops he could collect towards Thurles, to quell the insurrection. He razed Castle Meyler; but, after losing a great number of men in the taking of it, and in different actions with the Irish, he was obliged to give up the enterprise.

This, and all the other instances, which are numerous, of Irish valour, availed the unfortunate natives nothing. Actuated only by chivalrous principles, and torn by hereditary feuds and vehement passions, their arms were directed against themselves, by the cool, cruel policy of a phlegmatic people. England, with its continental possessions, was powerful and near. It

was an inexhaustible source of men and arms. The divisions of the numerous clans of Ireland, fomented by the intrigues of England, made them at last a sure, though a difficult prey. The difficulty of the conquest may be estimated by comparison. The vast empire of Hindoostan, almost as distant from England as the antipodes, has been conquered in less than a century. And Ireland, so small, so contiguous to England, so distracted by anarchy and civil war, was not subdued during four hundred years. 'Twas the introduction of gunpowder alone, which deprived the natives of the advantages of superior strength, agility, and skill at arms, that enabled all England, and half Ireland, after a contest of fifteen years, to subdue the North.

In 1209, the city of Dublin was taught by severe experience, that the Irish had learned some lessons of cruelty from the invaders. The citizens of Dublin were regaling themselves at Cullen's-wood, (so called from O'Cullen, the ancient proprietor,) on Easter-Monday, when they were unexpectedly attacked by the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles, and a great number of them massacred. This gave rise to an annual custom, long observed by the citizens of Dublin, of commemorating this disaster on the spot where it happened; and the day was denominated Black-Monday. In succeeding ages new actors appear—the feast of the Pale is forgotten—the festivals of the Cromwellians and of the Williamites now yearly fan the breeze of civil dissension.

The situation of the English colony induced

king John to undertake an expedition to Ireland in person. He landed at Waterford, in 1209, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, to suppress the bordering clans, who were making severe reprisals on the murdering, marauding invaders. He advanced towards Dublin, where he received the homage of several chieftains, but there were many who did not condescend to pay him court.* The object of this expedition appears to have been, rather the establishing order and obedience to the royal authority in the Pale, than the conquest of Ireland. For this purpose he took possession of the castles and strong holds of the adventurers. All fled before him. Among the rest William de Braosa, with his whole family; but they were taken, conveyed to England, and confined in the castle of Windsor, where they died of hunger. Nor did the Lacys entirely escape the consequences of their tyranny and rapine. Walter, and Hugh, justice of Ireland, tormented by remorse for their crimes, and terrified by the complaints made to the king, fled to Normandy; upon which, John Gray, bishop of Norwich, was appointed the king's deputy. For the purpose of concealment, they presented themselves at the abbey of St. Taurin Evreux, as labourers, where being received, they tilled the fields and gardens of the abbey during three years. After some time, the abbot, suspecting from their manners and language, that they were not ori-

* Matt. Paris. Angl. Hist. Major, ad an. 1210.

not originally bred to manual labour, questioned them about their descent and family. Having learned from them their history, he took compassion on them, and undertook to make their peace. His interposition with an avaricious king had its full force. John allowed them to return to Ireland, and repossess themselves of the grants of his father, on paying a large ransom. Walter paid for Meath 2500 marks of silver, and his brother Hugh had to pay a more considerable sum for his grants in Ulster and Connaught.

After establishing some laws for the government of the pale, and the regulation of the mint, he passed over to Wales, where he took twenty-eight children of the first quality as hostages; but on hearing that the Welch began to revolt, in a transport of rage, he ordered these innocents to be hanged in his presence, while at dinner. This trait of barbarity alone, sufficiently depicts this cruel and barbarous tyrant; but the murder of his nephew Arthur, the rightful heir to the crown, had already made him odious and contemptible both at home and abroad. For this he was cited to appear before a court of the peers of France. Not appearing, he was declared a rebel; his territories in France were confiscated, and he was condemned to death, as the crime was committed within the jurisdiction of the French monarchy. Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Maine, were reunited to the French domain, and Guienne alone remained to England. Another false step, taken by John, com-

pleted his humiliation. Having opposed the election of cardinal Langton for the see of Canterbury, the pope put his kingdom under an interdict. The king then set about confiscating the property of the church; and irritated the nobility, by refusing them the privileges and liberties which Henry I. had granted them by charter. Authorised by the general complaints, presented both from the nobility and clergy, the pope excommunicated him, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and bestowed England to the king of France.* John, seeing himself abandoned by the whole nation, was obliged to submit to the pope, and make a most humiliating penance. He was obliged to lay down his crown at the feet of monks appointed to dictate the terms, to strip naked, and receive a flagellation with a Miserere; and then humbly receive the crown back again from his holiness, promising him vassalage, and an increase of tribute.

He was not equally condescending to his subjects; but, emboldened by the renewal of the alliance with the head of the church, he broke all his promises with them. The English, in revenge, kept no terms with him; but invited Louis, son of Philip of France, and crowned him in London. John did not think it proper to meet his rival, but marched towards the north. Louis also set in motion, with an army of his new subjects, and took Norwich and Dover. Meanwhile John sent an embassy to the pope,

* Abbe O'Geoghegan, *Hist. d'Irlande*, T. II. c. ii. p. 60. Paris edit.

claiming his alliance and protection, as a vassal. The Holy Father excommunicated Louis and the English. But this interference did not rescue John from his fate. He lost his baggage and treasure, whilst passing from Lynn to Leicestershire. A few days after he died, broken-hearted, at Newark. His death appeased the resentment of the English, who declared for Henry, his son. He reigned under the name of Henry III.

We find in the writings of our annalists, that the rage for building monasteries, with which Ireland was overloaded, continued unabated. New religious orders, about this time, made their appearance in Ireland, and multiplied their convents, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Cross-bearers, Premonstratenses, &c. Such institutions are conformable to the Christian religion; and, with a reasonable limitation, would be useful. But one may easily perceive, that it was not piety, but policy, that guided the destroyers and builders of monasteries to erect these strongholds, peopled with ecclesiastical invaders. The natives seem to have been aware of the policy of these foundations; for they began to rival the English in building monasteries, from which, by the law of retaliation, novices of English descent were excluded.

In 1216, Henry III. was crowned, in the ninth year of his age, by the bishops of Winchester and Bath, in presence of the pope's legate. After the customary oaths of loyalty to God and his holy church, and of doing justice to his subjects, he made homage to the pope for

his kingdom, and engaged on oath to pay the thousand marks tribute, in addition to the hearth-money, to the see of Rome.

The chiefs of the adventurers in Ireland, like the captains of Alexander, became giddy by their sudden elevation from indigence to opulence, and desolated the unfortunate country by their hostilities. Meath suffered by the hostilities of Hugh de Lacy with William Marshall. Leinster and Munster were often wasted by the quarrels of the latter with Meyler Fitz-Henry. Taking forcible possession of some lands belonging to the bishop of Ferns, he died excommunicated. Some writers on Irish affairs observe, that Divine vengeance chastises impiety; and that his five sons by Isabel, daughter of Strongbow, and heiress, by fraudulent compact, of Leinster, left no posterity.

A strong instance of the English policy in building and destroying monasteries, was furnished by Meyler Fitz-Henry, whose death is just related. At the head of an armed banditti, he entered the town of Cluain Mac Naois, murdered indiscriminately all he met, plundered houses, churches and monasteries, not sparing the ornaments and sacred vessels. Yet this monster of cruelty built an ecclesiastical garrison at Conall, where he was interred. That the English persevered steadily to establish their authority, by ecclesiastical as well as secular means, may be perceived, not only by their establishing convents of English monks, but likewise by their efforts to establish bishops of English descent

wherever their interest could prevail. Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, called so from the city of London, of which he was a native, died about this time, and was succeeded by Lucas, dean of the church of St. Martin, London. Eugene, archbishop of Armagh, was succeeded by Luke Netterville.

As a proof of the munificence of some of these religious foundations, we may instance the Old Four Courts, Christ-church-lane, Dublin. This building was originally erected for Cistercian monks, of Norman or English descent indifferently. It was afterwards conceded to the Dominicans, on condition of offering a lighted wax candle annually, on Christmas-day, to the Cistercian abbey, the scite of which is now called Mary's abbey. As the numerous foundations, mentioned year after year by our annalists, rather belong to topography than natural history, we shall not detain the reader with a detail, only a few instances occasionally.

While the Anglo-Irish were thus busied in mining or countermining the natives, by every means that religion, arms or policy could suggest, the Holy Father took occasion, from his quarrel with the emperor Frederic, to make his English vassals sensible of the weight of his alliance. To obtain the sinews of war, Gregory IX. sent Stephen, as nuncio, with an apostolic mandate, for the payment of the tenth of all moveable property, lay and clerical, from England and Ireland. The English peers rejected this demand; but the clergy, dreading excommuni-

cation, yielded a reluctant obedience. The inhabitants of the pale, sensible of the importance of the Roman alliance, sold not only private property, but the church utensils, to satisfy his demands.

1229. The monarchs of England had still a hankering for the French provinces wrested from king John. Henry III. made some efforts for the recovery of Normandy. He drew, for this enterprise, auxiliaries from Ireland, which served in fact as a practical military school for English adventurers. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, the justice, had the command of this expedition, and Hubert de Burgo became his substitute in the government of the pale. This man deserves to be noticed, as a striking instance of the versatility of human affairs. In high repute, for his gallant defence of Dover against prince Louis, he was appointed governor to the king, during his long minority, lord justice of Ireland, and earl of Kent. But he lived to experience a sad reverse. Disgraced by the king, who treated him as an old traitor, and confined to the tower of London. During the period of his elevation, Maurice Fitz-Gerald being still on the continent, he appointed Geoffry Maurice as the king's deputy in Ireland.

The native princes made now and then some faint and transitory efforts to resist encroachments, or recover their lost patrimony. The king of Connaught, thinking the absence of William Marshall and Robert Fitz-Gerald a favourable opportunity, made some incursions into the Eng-

lish territories; but the chieftains of the English settlers had the advantage of trained mercenary bands, accustomed to discipline and obedience, to oppose to an undisciplined multitude. The justice, Geoffry Maurice, summoned Walter Lacy, and Richard de Burgo, to his assistance, with all the forces they could raise, with whom he marched to Connaught. Coming to the borders of a wood, they learned by their spies, that the king of Connaught, with his force, was encamped on the opposite side of it. Geoffry thereupon divided his army into three columns. He gave the command of two of them to Walter de Lacy, and Richard de Burgo, with orders to hide in the wood, to the right and left of the road by which it was traversed. With the third he marched to meet the king of Connaught, and drew up his forces in order of battle. According to his wishes, he was immediately attacked by the Irish. The artful justice thereupon retreated. The Irish fell into the ambuscade, and were cut to pieces, their king taken prisoner. The loss of the Connaught army, some English writers say, was 20,000 men. But this narrative is not accompanied by circumstances indispensable to history. Time, place and name are wanting. It was written by people accustomed to sacrifice truth on the altar of national vanity. Had the swords of English warriors been as destructive as the pens of their writers, few of their enemies would survive the slaughter. Whether any king of Connaught ever experienced such a defeat, it is certain, that the supposed conqueror met a

fate, due perhaps to his conduct. Disgraced and sent into exile by his king, the tragical end of his son completed his misfortune. He sunk, unregretted, by the doleful tale that his son was hanged and quartered for his crimes.

It may perhaps diversify the tragic scene a little, to remark, that amidst the tumults of anarchy and predatory warfare, learning was not entirely forgotten in the island of saints. Many of the religious foundations were partly destined for the purpose of education. And we meet in our annalists, now and then, the names of men, eminent for their literature. Such as Cornelius, called Historicus, on account of his knowledge of antiquities; of whose life Bale and Stanihurst gave an abridgment. Hector Boetius acknowledges himself indebted to this author of *Multarum Rerum Chronicon*, for much useful information towards the knowledge of Scottish history. If envy be a sure test of merit, his memory is not destitute of that kind of testimony. Dempster, the saint-stealer, with his gluttonous patriotism, would swallow this man into his own country, along with the rest of his thefts.

'Twas during the minority of Henry III., when one of his English settlers, Hubert, became governor to the minor, and chief justice of England, that the affairs of the English colonists flourished. He passed two charters in their favour, which are published by Leland; and, being remarkable for the privileges granted to his Irish subjects, are here inserted.

“ The king, to Geoffry de Maurisco, Justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

“ We return our manifold thanks, for your good and faithful service performed to John, late king of England, our father, of blessed memory, and to us to be continued, and for those things you have signified to us, by our trusty Ralph of Norwich, clerk.

“ Seeing then, that by his will, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, our lord and father hath happily departed this life, (whose soul may the heavens receive!) we will you to know, that the royal obsequies being first solemnly and duly performed in the church of the blessed Mary of Winchester, there were convened at Gloucester the greater number of the nobles of our realm, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, who adhered faithful and devoted to our father during his lifetime, and very many others: where, on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the church of Saint Peter, Gloucester, with the acclamations of the clergy and laity, we were, by the hands of the lord Gaulon, by the title of St. Martin, presbyter, cardinal and legate of the apostolic see, and those of the bishops then present, with invocation of the Holy Spirit, publicly anointed, and crowned king of England; fealty and homage being of all performed to us. Which we have judged necessary to communicate to you as our liege subject, that you may share the joy of our honour and happy success.

“ And whereas we have heard that some resentment hath arisen between our lord and father aforesaid, and certain nobles of our realm; and for some time subsisted; whether with cause or without cause, we know not; our pleasure is, that it should be for ever abolished and forgotten, so as never to remain in our mind; and in order that the effect may cease with the removal of the cause, whatever resentment was conceived, or subsisted against him, we are ready and willing to the utmost of our power to atone for, by yielding to all persons what reason shall suggest, and the good counsel of our subjects direct, abolishing all evil usages from our realm, and by the restoration of liberties and free customs, so as to recal the gracious days of our ancestors, granting to all our subjects what each may fairly and reasonably claim. For this purpose, know ye, that a council being lately convened at Bristol, in which were present all the prelates of England, as well bishops and abbots as priors, and many, as well earls and barons, they did homage and fealty to us, publicly, and generally; and receiving a grant of those liberties and free customs first demanded and approved by them, departed in joy, ready and willing to our service, each to his particular residence.

“ We further hope, and trust in the Lord, that the state of our realm shall, by the divine mercy, be changed considerably for the better.

“ As to sending our lady the queen-mother, or our brother, into Ireland, our answer is, that taking the advice and assent of our faithful sub-

jects, we shall do that which shall be expedient to our interest and the interest of our realm.

“ We therefore desire you our beloved, that as you have been faithful and devoted to John our father, of blessed memory, so you may be the more careful to continue in fidelity to us, as you know that it is in our tender age we have the more occasion for your assistance and counsel; and that you receive the homage of the princes of Ireland, and all others who ought to do it unto us.

“ We retain at our court Ralph of Norwich, that by his means we may signify our pleasure to you, more fully, in these and other matters. And our pleasure is, that you and our other faithful subjects of Ireland shall enjoy the same liberties which we have granted to our subjects of England; and these we will grant and confirm to you.”

“ The king, to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, and all our faithful subjects settled throughout Ireland, greeting.

“ WITH our hearty commendation of your fidelity in the Lord, which you have ever exhibited to our lord father, and to us in these our days are to exhibit, our pleasure is, that in token of this your famous and notable fidelity, the liberties granted by our father, and by us, of our grace and gift, to the realm of England, shall in our kingdom of Ireland, be enjoyed by you

and by your heirs for ever. Which liberties, distinctly reduced to writing by the general counsel of all our liege subjects, we transmit to you, sealed with the seals of our lord Gaulon, legate of the apostolic see, and of our trusty earl William Marishal, our governor, and the governor of our kingdom; because, as yet, we have no seal. And the same shall in process of time, and our fuller counsel, receive the signature of our own seal. Given at Gloucester the sixth day of February."

The partiality of the chief justice to the Anglo-Irish interest, appears clearly in these grants, which were voluntary concessions of the same rights and privileges extorted from king John by the English. The same partiality appears in the unjust donation of the kingdom of Connaught to his kinsman De Burgo.

After the death of Cathal O'Connor, Richard endeavoured to enforce the grant; but O'Nial interposed, in support of the ancient house, and got Turlough O'Connor proclaimed king. The justice, Geoffry Maurice, had recourse to the established usage of divide and conquer. He marched with an army to Connaught, and set up a rival to the new king, Hugh, the son of Cathal. The demands of the English, in reward for this transfer of power, seeming to him and his party excessive, they resisted them with some success, and took a son of Geoffry prisoner. Invited to an amicable conference by the justice, and assassinated, his uncle Turlough re-assumed the so-

vereynty. But De Burgo succeeding Geoffry, as king's deputy, soon raised him another rival. His claims of remuneration appearing exorbitant to Phelim O'Connor, he had recourse to arms. The deputy set all the power of the English settlers in motion against him; and further to weaken his resources, declared for the uncle, against whom he had set him up. Yet Phelim had the good fortune to defeat both the English and their Irish partisans, and re-assume the sovereignty without a rival. But what was still of more advantage than a victory, Hubert was in disgrace; his favourite, De Burgo, ceased to be deputy, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald succeeded him.

The king of Connaught took occasion of the favourable moment, and endeavoured to secure his people and country from further insults, by royal protection. The king could not but be astonished at the representations of O'Connor; who, with unaffected candour and simplicity, told the grievous tale of his own and people's sufferings, from the enormity of the settlers; so contrary to the false impressions made on him, by his interested governor, concerning Irish affairs. Accustomed to hear the natives of Ireland described as uncivilized barbarians, he was surprised to see an accomplished and polished gentleman. He was no less shocked to find, that the enormities, falsely imputed to the natives, were most commonly committed by their accusers. In compliance with O'Connor's request, he addressed a letter to Maurice Fitz-Gerald,

his deputy, recommending the affairs of the king of Connaught to his attention, in the following terms :

“ The king to his beloved liege-man, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

“ Our beloved liege-man, Phelim, son of our dearest king of Connaught, signified to us that he purposed to come to England to see us, and to confer with us concerning our mutual affairs ; and we sent him word in return, to assist you in the capture of the castle of Milock, which is in the hand of Richard de Burgo, and when that castle shall have been taken, and surrendered to you, and peace restored in Connaught, we are well pleased, and wish that he should come to England along with the messengers whom you shall send to us.

“ These matters being thus settled, take care to give the said Phelim a safe conduct to come to us, in company with some discreet persons, able and willing to give us true information concerning the state of Ireland. Witness myself, May 28, the seventeenth year of our reign.”

Thus, favoured by a revolution in the cabinet, which brought the Geraldines into power, who had no intersecting interest beyond the Shannon, and by the disgrace of the De Burgo family, the most dangerous enemies of the house of O'Connor, Phelim enjoyed the sovereignty for some time in peace. He was neither harassed by

a rival, nor oppressed by any depredations or claims of the English, being protected by the crown as an acknowledged liege-man.

The style of Matthèw Paris, in relating this fact, being somewhat curious, it may perhaps gratify the reader to have a literal translation of it. "A certain little king of that part of Ireland called Cunnoch, came to the king, at London; and made a grievous complaint before the king and council, of the injuries done him by John de Burgo, who did not cease to lay waste the country with fire and sword. For all which trespasses he demanded justice; and that these rash outrages should be bridled by the royal authority; and that he would not suffer his liege-man, who paid him 5000 marks a year for his kingdom, to be disinherited by ignoble adventurers (as he said). The king, moved by the justice of his expostulations, commanded Maurice, in the presence of O'Connor, to extirpate the unfruitful wild fig-tree of iniquity's plantation, which Hubert had planted in those parts, and not to suffer it to ramify any further. He wrote also to the Irish chieftains, to assist his deputy in extirpating De Burgo from all the possessions of O'Connor."*

At first view this would appear an act of justice and humanity; if one did not know that courts and princes are seldom guided by any other motive than policy. What benefit he expected therefrom, may appear from a celebrated

* Matt. Paris. Ang. Hist. Major. ad an. 1240, p. 365.

letter he sent to the Irish chieftains, requesting their aid against Scotland. Leland has published it from Rymer's *Fœdera*. It is in the following language: "The king, to Donald, king of Tirconnel, health. Whereas the king of Scotland has provoked us by injuries, and that we have prepared to rise against him in revenge for his many transgressions, unless he makes reparation, confiding in your love, that you will not deny us your help in this our expedition, we request you to come along with our justiciary of Ireland, and other liege-men of Ireland, who are soon to come to the parts of Scotland to distress our enemies there; and that you would be pleased to give us such and so powerful a succour, appearing personally at the head of your brave forces, that you may, in any distress, apply to us for succour with full confidence. And by granting to our prayers this your succour, whatever favour you ask, we most willingly shall acknowledge ourselves bound to grant, with a special act of thanksgiving. Witness the king, at Stanford, the 7th day of July."

Copies of this letter were sent to more than twenty Irish chieftains, whose names are preserved in that record, as independent princes in their respective districts, viz. Phelim O'Connor, king of Connaught; O'Reilly, king of Breifne, (Cavan;) O'Haulon of Lower Oirgiel, Bryan O'Neill of Tyrone, O'Cathan of Derry, O'Hynery, Mac Donald, Mac Ginnis, Mac Cartane, O'Neill of Claneboy, O'Flinn of Antrim, Mac Mahon of Monaghan, Mac O'Calmary,

O'Brien of Thomond, Mac Carty of Desmond, O'Faolan of the Desies, O'Condon of Fermoy, O'Caffray, O'Kelly, of Wicklow, and Bryan Mac Murchadh of Ranelagh.

What might have been the effect of this requisition cannot be with certainty known at present, for a sudden accommodation with the king of Scotland made the march of the Irish forces unnecessary. Next year, however, the king reaped the benefit, whether of his policy or of his justice, by the decisive assistance of Phelim O'Connor, in his wars with Llewellyn, prince of Wales. David Llewellyn had defeated the royal army, which was reduced to extreme misery during the winter. In his necessities, Henry demanded aid of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, his justiciary, and Phelim O'Connor, king of Connaught. After some delay, which gave the king uneasiness, the justiciary appeared, in company with O'Connor and his forces, when joining the royal army, they obtained a complete victory over the Welsh, upon which he dismissed the Irish troops, and returned to England.

Leland gives O'Connor credit, for being the only chieftain, requested by the king, who attended at his summons; but the justiciary must have been the best judge of what force he deemed sufficient for the enterprise, and would not distress the treasury with a useless expence of sending more troops than was wanting.

Notwithstanding these fair appearances of royal favour, Ireland was still plagued by all the scourges of violence and anarchy. The in-

vaders never ceasing to encroach on the invaded, the latter sometimes making reprisals. By erecting castles in strong situations, they soon found means, among a nation of warriors, to get troops to garrison them, and to share the plunder deposited. Secure from a surprise, they could plunder the neighbouring inhabitants, and compel them to pay tribute. Feasting, dancing, music, attracted recruits to the castle, and the bards sounded the praise of the noble and hospitable robber. The arm of beauty, descended from an Irish chieftain, graced his hand; and the advantage of hereditary property, by this union of alliance and seduction, enabled the robber to appropriate to himself the property of the clan.

Fitz-Gerald, after his return from Wales, pursued these methods of colonial policy. He and his associates proceeded to encroach upon the noble family of Mac Carty of Desmond. The desolation of war was the natural consequence. At the same time he fomented a war between O'Connor of Connaught and O'Donnell of Tirconnell.

During the deputyship of the son of Geoffry Maurice, the government of the Pale was at constant war with the king of Tirconnell; nor could he be subdued without the auxiliary forces of other Irish chieftains. Neither did the west of Ireland long continue to enjoy the promised benefits of England's protection; for, as if the English made treaties only to break them, Walter de Burgo, on some pretence or other, found the means of driving Phelim from his territory.

But O'Connor had the spirit to measure swords with the invader, put him and his forces to flight, and retook possession of his patrimony.

After laying waste a great part of the north and south, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, always obnoxious to the king, for his supposed infidelity in delaying the succours for the Welsh war, was deposed, 1245, and John Fitz-Geoffry was appointed deputy.

Still numerous religious foundations continued to be made, as mentioned in the annals; nor did plunder or rapine cease, in the distracted and troubled state of the country. The Fitz-Geralds founded a convent of Dominicans in the county of Kerry; the founder and his sons, slain by Mac Carty, were interred therein.

A phenomenon is recorded by the annalists, which rarely happens in this island. An earthquake, 1247, infected the air, and communicated some unwholesome qualities to it. This was followed by a stormy winter, cold and damp, which, lasting till the month of July, made people apprehensive for the produce of the earth.

Henry III. desiring to marry his son Edward, gave him the sovereignty of his part of Ireland, Gascony, and Wales: after which he sent him to Spain, where he espoused Eleanor, sister of king Alphonso, and came back laden with riches.

Contention was not confined to the different nations in Ireland. Ecclesiastics too had their differences. A hot dispute continued between the archbishops of Dublin and Armagh for pre-

cedency. A similar ambition agitated the cathedrals of Christ-church and St. Patrick. To adjust their difference, the archbishop ordained that the election for the see of Dublin should always take place in Christ-church; and that the dean and chapter should, jointly with the prior and monks, have the right of suffrage. At the next election they united their suffrages in favor of Randolph of Norwich, a canon of St. Patrick's church; but, though he was of English descent, an English native, Fulk, treasurer of St. Paul's, London, was preferred at Rome before him, and appointed to the see.

Notwithstanding the long continuance of tragic scenes, in a land violently torn by all the horrors of anarchy and oppression, some traces of erudition are still observable. Joannes de Sacro Bosco has been claimed for Ireland, by Ware, Harris, and Geoghegan. He was esteemed the best mathematician of his time. He wrote a treatise on the sphere, on the calculation of the ecclesiastical year, a breviary of law, &c. He died at Paris, in 1256, where he was long an applauded professor. Florence Mac Flin, chancellor of the church of Tuam, mentioned in the annals as a learned man, is chiefly admired for his knowledge of canon law.

Fitz-Geoffry, who succeeded in the government of the settlers, was soon followed by Zouch, who made no long stay, but, returning to England, was appointed justiciary there. In his violent end we find proof, that turbulence was not confined to this country. Some English noblemen

having alterations about the limits and titles of their estates, the king determined to call a court at Wesminster, to terminate their disputes. There Zouch, as justiciary, demanded of earl Warren the titles of his estate. Upon which he drew his sword, replying, " Behold the title by which my ancestors got them, and by the same I mean to hold them." On which he run him through the body.

The earl of Salisbury, called Stephen Longsword, succeeded Zouch, as deputy to the lord of Ireland. He carried on war with O'Neil and other northern chieftains. They came to battle at Down, where a great number perished on both sides, without decisive advantage to either party. He died two years after, and, in 1260, was succeeded by William Den, who found the south in flames. The Mac Cartys were making energetic reprisals on the insatiable cruel guests planted in their territories. They became so formidable, that their enemies durst not peep out of their strongholds. At the battle of Callan they slew a great number: the principal of whom were John Fitz-Thomas, founder of the monastery of Tralee, Maurice his son, eight barons, and fifteen knights. The English owed their safety to the usual bane of the Irish. Discord and civil war broke out among the Mac Cartys, O'Driscols, O'Donovans, Mac Mahons, and other clans, inhabiting Muskerry, which so enfeebled them, that they could not make head against the common enemy.

Thomas Hibernicus, a native of Palmer's-town,

in the county of Kildare, had considerable reputation for learning at this period. He was the author of several tracts, viz. *Flores Doctorum*, or elegant extracts from the most celebrated doctors of philosophy and theology. It was printed in Paris, 1664. A treatise on Religion, on Virtue and Vice, *Flowers of the Bible*, &c. The *Annals of Multifernam* close about this time, (1274). Gelasius Mac Firbis, an historian and poet of some celebrity, lived in this century. He left a chronicle of his own times, and some poems.

It is surprising that the incessant din of arms did not entirely banish the Muses from this ill-fated island. But it seems the person of a bard was held more sacred than that of a priest. The English settlers frequently plundered and massacred the clergy; while we find few or no instances of similar cruelty exercised on the children of the Muses. In addition to the high respect entertained for their profession, ambition was interested in their protection. They were, in a great measure, arbiters of fame; and the murder of one of their body would inflame the whole irritable race of poets and harpers, to consign to the execration of posterity the perpetrator.

Sensible that character forms one species of power, the chiefs of the settlers not only avoided insulting men, possessed of such influence on public opinion, but they kept pensioned bards, to sound and extend their credit. At his command they sounded the war song, inveighed against his enemies, extolled his success in collecting their spoils, and praised the munificence

with which he shared the fruits of victory among his followers. In the Book of Fermoy there remains a curious collection of such mercenary rhapsodies, composed by Roche's bards. In these times of anarchy they were generally employed as trumpeters of war; and served, by their melodious notes, and rapturous strains, to attract enthusiastic youth to the standard of a chief, and to inflame their ardour in the day of battle.

No sooner were the Geraldines enabled to breathe, on account of the civil wars of the native Desmonians, and assume their former consequence, than the enmity between them and the De Burgo's broke out anew. The alliances, lately made between those ambitious families, were incapable of allaying their mutual hatred. The miserable people, partly the tools, partly the victims, of their furious hostilities, were miserably ravaged. The insolence of the Geraldines went so far, as to arrest the king's deputy, Richard de Capell, who interposed his authority to put an end to their disturbances, and confine him to the castle of Dunamaes. An act of violence which even the Mac Cartys had scrupled to commit, quoth Leland. How blind is he that will not see! the murder of prisoners of war, or of guests, formed no part of antient Irish customs or manners. Among them the rights of hospitality were held so sacred, that even an enemy, putting himself under the protection of a clan, would be defended against pursuit, at the risk of their lives and fortunes. Thus it was, that the O'Moores of Leix refused to surrender

one of the Geraldines, who had put himself under their coimric, (protection,) in the reign of Henry VIII. To remedy the disorders occasioned by the conflicting ambition of the Geraldines and the Burkes, an assembly was held at Kilkenny; and the imprisoned deputy, together with some English lords imprisoned with him, were liberated at their requisition.

The king, informed of the distempered state of Ireland, and apprehending the decay of his power there, from the animosities and civil wars of the chief settlers, recalled Capell, and substituted David Barry. This active deputy employed the resources of the Anglo-Irish government, not neglecting Irish alliances, to bring the Geraldines to reason. He seized some of their castles, and employed every means to keep them within bounds, and prevent such another insult to the royal authority as the seizure of his deputy.

Meanwhile Walter Burke, encouraged by the interposition of royal authority, which relieved him from the superiority of the Geraldines, set no bounds to his encroachments in Connaught, in defiance of the rights of the prince of that country, acknowledged to him by royal charter, as a tributary. Hugh O'Connor, son of Phelim, rose in his own defence, which was represented as an open rebellion against his liege lord, Henry. But Burke was defeated with great slaughter; nor did he long survive his disgrace.

The Annals of Innisfallen relate numerous instances of similar encroachments, made by the settlers on the property of the natives, in different

parts of the kingdom; which were followed by their usual concomitants, a scarcity bordering on famine, and great mortality.

Besides the advantages already mentioned, which the settlers possessed over the natives, in these conflicts of opposite interests; such as castles, for the reception and security of plunder, and of their plundering Irish allies, whom mirth, song and feast, enticed to the destruction of their country, there were other powerful causes of superiority. The one had a centre of union and subordination, and a factious spirit of national pride and combination; the other were enthusiastic for the honor of their particular clans, but, entertaining hereditary enmity towards each other, they were utterly divested of national patriotism. These local prejudices, surviving their causes, continue to this day.

Still the chivalrous spirit of the ancient Irish was not as yet broken. Notwithstanding the anarchy, domestic feuds, and hereditary hostilities, that distracted and desolated the country, here and there an heroic chief, at the head of his clan, became formidable to the oppressors. The latter knew too well the means of ridding themselves of a dangerous native. If they found him too hard for them in the field of battle, a convivial murder, the dagger of an assassin, or division, delivered from embarrassment.

In 1270, the Irish natives made some severe reprisals on the settlers, but were afterwards tranquillized by David Barry, the deputy, after the English fashion

The historians of the Pale, and libellers of the ancient Irish, ridiculously calling their partial and malevolent compilations, histories of Ireland, dwell largely on the extortions of the Pope, and the king of England. “ At this time a fifteenth of all cathedrals, churches, and religious houses, and a sixteenth of all other ecclesiastical revenues, were demanded by the king, with the concurrence of the Pope. Here the wretched laity were stripped, even of their very necessities, and the churches of all their ornaments, to supply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios.”*

The Pale historian ought to have remarked, that these oppressive tributes were confined to the popish limits of English jurisdiction, and were effectually resisted by the native catholics, who acknowledged no superior in temporals. The king of England, and the Irish settlers, were equally interested to cultivate their alliance with the court of Rome, and, consequently, to tolerate its extortions. The native Irish, sensible of the injurious abuse of the Pope’s spiritual authority to their disadvantage, were less than ever inclined to pay him tribute. The writers of the Pale observe, that the king of England endeavoured to restrain, within some limits, the rapacious demands of foreign ecclesiastics, and published an ordinance, that no legate should pass into Ireland without a royal licence. But it was not merely to spare the natives or settlers, that this politic precaution was used. By this check,

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. i. p. 233. Dub. ed. 4to 1773.

the legate would be obliged to share his acquisitions, or at least engage on oath not to make any representations of the real state of Ireland at Rome; such as might, notwithstanding the subsidy, be prejudicial to the English interest, to which truth, religion and conscience were always sacrificed. Leland dwells with some severity, and a mixture of truth, on the sufferings of the Irish clergy from these foreigners. “The boldest remonstrances were made to the king, against the scandalous abuse of investing proud and luxurious foreigners with the dignities and revenues of the Irish church, who contemptuously refused to engage in the duties of their function, or to reside in the country which they pillaged with their extortions . . . but the clergy had not only the partialities of the Pope, but those of Henry himself, to contend with. The neglected, the worthless, or the depressed, among their English brethren, sought refuge in the church of Ireland, to the utter mortification and discontent of the whole body of ecclesiastics, both of the Irish and of the English race, who regarded them as aliens, and deemed the invasion of their own rights equally oppressive, whether Italy or England furnished this series of emigrants. Though forced to submit to the royal authority, strengthened by that of the Pope, they yet determined to exert all the power they had left, against the invasions of this strange clergy.”* He forgot to remark, that these ecclesiastical

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. i. p. 233, 234.

usurpations were confined within the limits of English influence. The Irish princes, who as yet retained their independence, scornfully rejected such encroachments as unchristian.

Yet even the clergy of English descent were so spirited in their opposition to these intruders, that the king was obliged to appeal to the Pope. The Pontiff, in compliance with the requisition of his ally and tributary, threatened to fulminate the thunders of the Vatican against the daring colonists, who presumed to dispute his own and the king's right, to dispose of benefices to whomsoever they chose, whether English or Italian. The same partial writer, in his further remarks on the ecclesiastics of the settlers, confounds and misleads his readers, by not clearly expressing the distinction between the clergy of the colony and those of the Irish nation. "The clergy," he says, "were indefatigable in their encroachments on the civil power."* Who would not imagine that the national clergy were meant here; but, in the very next page, it appears clearly, that they were only those of English descent, who were copying the popery of their English brethren. "An application was made to the king's courts in England, to decide on this point, (the case of bastardy;) the statute of Merton was therefore transmitted to Ireland for the direction of the king's subjects."† The national clergy had nothing to do with the king's English courts, the king's common law, or the

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. i. p. 235.

† Ibid, p. 236.

statute of Merton, but were guided by the Brehon and canon laws.

The same writer proves, in another instance, the difficulty of subduing inbred prejudice. "The Irish clergy were possessed with exalted ideas of the dignity and glory of their own church,"* (and the whole Christian world agreed with them in this.) Good reader, would you not fancy, that the following record of clerical tyranny applied to the national clergy? especially when the historian of the colony endeavours to persuade, by an inuendo, "but what were the manners, at least of some among them . . . we learn from the curious petition of a widow, in the reign of Edward I."* This petition, thus introduced, to blacken the character of the Irish clergy, is as follows:

"Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our lord the king's grace, that she may have her inheritance, which she recovered at Clonmell before the king's judges, &c. against David Macmackerwayt, bishop of Cashel.

"Item, the said Margaret petitions redress on account that her father was killed by the said bishop.

"Item, for the imprisonment of her grandfather and mother, whom he shut up and detained in prison till they perished by famine, because they attempted to seek redress for the death of their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by the said bishop. Item, for the

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. i. p. 234. note.

death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved to death by the said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father.

“ And it is to be noted, that the said bishop had built an abbey in the city of Cashel, on the king’s lands granted for this purpose, which he hath filled with robbers, who murder the English, and depopulate the country; and that when the council of our lord the king attempts to take cognizance of the offence, he fulminates the sentence of excommunication against them.

“ It is to be noted also, that the aforesaid Margaret has five times crossed the Irish sea. Wherefore she petitions for God’s sake, that the king’s grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance.

“ It is further to be noted, that the aforesaid bishop hath been guilty of the death of many other Englishmen besides that of her father.

“ And that the aforesaid Margaret hath many times obtained writs of our lord the king, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of the said bishop.

“ She further petitions, for God’s sake, that she may have costs and damages, &c.”

“ What a prelate was this, even supposing the allegations aggravated !” says Leland. But was this Macmackerwayt one of the national clergy? Does the epithet macmac prove the felonious bishop to be of Milseian extraction? Many of the settlers assumed the title of mac; such as

Mac William, Mac Morris. 2dly. None of the natives assumed the surname of macmac, i. e. the son of the son; because instead of that it would be ô. E. g. When any one adopted a surname from the name of his father, then it would be joined to mac, son in English, as Mac Neil, Neilson, Mac Sean, Johnson; but when he took it from his grandfather, or any remoter ancestor, the ô was added, simply denoting descent, as de in French, and von in German, but never macmac, except applied to a recent settler, who was not of the clan.

It is not difficult to perceive, that this sample of ecclesiastical barbarity, industriously published, and fraudulently interpreted, to tarnish the glory of the island of saints, really belonged to the degenerate English: an obscure adventurer, indigent and unprincipled, as most of them are depicted, by English and Anglo-Irish writers, settled in Tipperary. Fairwood was of that description, now generally transported to the southern hemisphere, when they can escape the gallows. As he neither cared to tell, nor the Irish to know, any thing of his pedigree, his grandson was known by the name of Macmac, more correctly Macmicerwayt, i. e. the son of the son of Fairwood. Making allowance for the imperfection of writing from the ear, and that by and from people, not masters of the language, of which we have numerous proofs, in the mangling of Irish words in English records, it is rather surprising that the name was so preserved as to be intelligible. A demonstrative proof, that

the reverend culprit was none of the native clergy, is contained in the very act of petitioning the king of England. This proves that the bishop lived under the jurisdiction of English kings; otherwise we know, that Cork, Limerick, Cashel, &c. were among their earliest acquisitions in Ireland. Consequently, agreeably to the invariable policy of popish England, a native of England, Normandy, or at worst, a settler, was nominated to the see. We had, beside this fellow, many foul specimens of these civilizing villains, as O'Molloy, bishop of Ferns, remarked, in his discourse in Christ-church, before the clergy of Leinster, from the neighbouring island. Aderton, bishop of Waterford, hanged for bestiality and sodomy, perhaps was the most disgraceful of the pretended civilizers of the mart of science and sanctity.

Leland gives many instances of what he sets forth as clerical tyranny. The archbishop of Dublin excommunicated Stephen Longespee, or Longsword, with all his train. He fulminated the same sentence against the magistrates and citizens of Dublin, for opposing his exactions, known by the title, "oblations of the faithful." In vain they applied to the deputy for protection. He, and the cardinal legate, Ottobon, were instructed by their masters, who shared the booty levied on the Irish clergy within Henry's jurisdiction, to allow them to become the collectors, and raise it on the laity. Accordingly the city of Dublin was compelled to compound the matter.

The death of Henry III. and the succession

of Edward I. to the throne of England, made no material alteration in the state of Ireland. The new king found sufficient employment for his talents in England, and on the Continent; leaving his Irish subjects, tributaries, and the independent clans, stiled by the settlers, “ Irish enemies,” to their long accustomed broils.

The melancholy picture of a magnanimous people, perishing piecemeal, in the convulsions of anarchy, exacerbated by hereditary feuds, is hardly relieved by any incident of novelty, or of consolation, to the heart-feelings of humanity. Edward, at his accession, in a letter to his deputy, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, made a specious promise of his protection to all his Irish subjects; but his attention was so much directed to weightier affairs, that he did not live to realize his professions. Indeed his subjects in Ireland were more deserving of coercion than protection. Their insatiable encroachments on, and treacherous dealings with the natives, sometimes provoked the resentment of a spirited and warlike people. The O’Moore of Leix, (Queen’s county), and the O’Connors of Ophaly, (King’s county,) flew to arms, repelled the aggressors, demolished their castles, defeated the king’s deputy, took him prisoner, and confined him in Ophaly. The victors retaliated on the Pale the depredations committed on their own territories; and the next deputy, Glenvill, attempting to oppose them, experienced a signal defeat.

Maurice Fitz-Maurice, as soon as liberated from prison, was the author of new troubles in

Munster. Emboldened by his alliance with the duke of Gloucester's son, Thomas de Clare, married to his daughter, and encouraged to wrest lands from the O'Briens, by the promise of a reinforcement from England, under the command of his son-in-law, in conjunction with Theobald Butler, he made war on that princely family. De Clare soon arrived from England, with a royal grant of the best of their patrimony, and a considerable train of followers, to support his claim. In vain the chieftain exclaimed against the injustice of such lawless grants, made by a man, who had no juster title to Thomond than he had to the empire of China. In vain he appealed to the treaties, by which the kings of England guaranteed to his family their principality, laws, rights, and privileges, as held by him before the adventurers arrived. The grantee would hearken to no reasoning on the merits of his claim, but referred to the motto of the O'Briens, "Laiv laidir an uatar, The strong hand uppermost." The latter accepted the challenge; but a seasonable assassination of their chieftain lost them a battle. The warlike sons of O'Brien resolved to avenge the insult offered to their tribe, and the death of their father, carried on the war with energy and success. The Geraldines were totally overthrown; and the remnant, with the grantee and his father-in-law, were driven into an inaccessible mountain, where, blocked up, and reduced to famine, they were obliged to capitulate, and acknowledge the O'Briens kings of Thomond. "Hostages were

given for the eric, or satisfaction, demanded for the death of their late chieftain, according to Irish custom; and the castle of Roscommon, lately built, and strongly fortified, was surrendered to the victorious enemy.”* Oh the blind partiality of these Pale writers! In the same page he says, “as the Irish alledge,” but quotes no authority, that O’Brien fell by the treachery of his own people. Undoubtedly, ruffians could be found in Ireland, as well as in other countries, capable of any enormity for a bribe; but it was not the instrument, but the principals and employers, that the Thomonians pursued for eric. It was in the temper of indigent libertines, described as such by their own country writers, come to prey on an opulent divided people, to scruple no means of wresting their property. These instances are sufficient to give an idea of the state of the island in general; the Irish natives being there most wretched, where the power of the settlers was strongest.

The incessant sufferings of the Milesians, in several parts of Leinster; the insecurity of their lives and properties, harrassed and hunted from every quarter, without protection from law or government, determined them to petition king Edward, to be admitted as his subjects, and be protected by his law. This petition, “wrung from a people tortured by the painful feelings of oppression,”† proves only their deplorable situation, not a decided preference to the Eng-

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. ii. p. 241. † Ibid, p. 234.

lish law over their own antient laws and constitution, under which the monarchy long flourished. The motives of this application are thus stated by Sir John Davies, attorney-general to James I.

‘ As longe as they [the Irish] were out of the protection of the lawe, so as evrie Englishman might oppresse, spoile, and kille them without controulment, howe was it possible they shoulde be other than outlawes and enemies to the crowne of England? If the king woulde not admit them to the condition of subjects, howe could they learne to acknowledge and obey him as their soveraigne? When they might not converse, or commerce with any civil man, nor enter into any towne or citty, without perrill of their lives, whether shoulde they flye but into the woodes and mountains, and there live in a wilde and barbarous manner? If the English magistrates woulde not rule them by the lawe which doth punish murder, and treason, and theft with death, but leave them to be ruled by their own lords and lawes, why shoulde not they embrace their own Brehon lawe, which punisheth no offence but with a fine or ericke? If the Irish be not permitted to purchase estates of freeholds or inheritance, which might descende to their children, according to the course of our common lawe, must they not continue their custom of tanistrie, which makes all their possessions uncertaine, and brings confusion, barbarisme, and incivility? In a worde, if the English woulde neither in peace governe them by the lawe, nor in war roote them out by the sworde, must they not needes be

prickes in their eyes, and thornes in their sides, till the world's ende?" Through deputy Ufford they offered 8000 marks to the king, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the English laws to the whole body of Irish inhabitants; the first instance, perhaps, recorded in history, of any people offering a bribe to a foreign king to receive them as his subjects. Here follows Edward's answer to this memorable petition:

" Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to our trusty and well beloved Robert de Ufford, justiciary of Ireland, greeting.

" THE improvement of the state, and peace of our land of Ireland, signified to us by your letter, gives us exceeding joy and pleasure. We entirely commend your diligence in this matter, hoping, (by the divine assistance,) that the things there began so happily by you, shall, as far as in you lieth, be still further prosecuted with the greater vigour and success.

" And whereas the community of Ireland hath made a tender to us of 8000 marks, on condition that we grant to them the laws of England, to be used in the aforesaid land, we will you to know, that, inasmuch as the laws used by the Irish are hateful to God, and repugnant to all justice, and having held diligent conference, and full deliberation with our council on this mat-

ter, it seems sufficiently expedient to us and to our council, to grant to them the English laws; provided always that the general consent of our people, or at least of the prelates and nobles of that land, well affected to us, shall uniformly concur in this behalf.

“ We therefore command you, that having entered into treaty with these Irish people, and examined diligently into the wills of our commons, prelates, and nobles, well affected to us in this behalf, and having agreed between you and them on the highest fine of money that you can obtain, to be paid to us on this account, you do, with the consent of all, at least of the greater and sounder part aforesaid, make such a composition with the said people, in the premises, as you shall judge in your diligence to be most expedient for our honour and interest. Provided however, that these people should hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen, amounting to such a number as you shall agree upon with them for one turn only, to repair to us when we shall think fit to demand them.”

In this answer, the king's cautious policy, whether he should at all admit the old natives to the rank of subjects is plain. Referring the petition to the decision of the settlers, whose object was to exterminate the old proprietors, and seize on their properties for themselves, was, in fact, to reject it. As well might catholic emancipation be referred to the vote of protestant ascendancy. In the improbable event, that the

popish oppressors should consent to the emancipation of Milesian catholics, he, it seems, not satisfied with the offer of 8000 marks, recommends a hard bargain to be made with them, "the highest fine of money that you can obtain; . . . provided however, that these people should hold in readiness a body of good and stout footmen," &c. His majesty of England, it seems, was unacquainted with the temper and policy of his liege-men of his land of Ireland, the Pale, or he would have never indulged the chimerical notion, that they would surrender the victims of their daily oppression their destined prey, to become the instruments of his avarice and ambition. Under various pretences, the objects of the petition were eluded: and this by prelates and barons calling themselves catholics.

Two years afterwards, the cry of oppression reached the ears of the sovereign from the same quarter. The petition of emancipation from the tyranny of English descended papists, was again presented by old native catholics, anno 1280. This petition met the fate of its predecessor, because referred, like it, to the consideration of the colonists. What must have been the feelings of these unhappy men, visibly marked out for slaughter. They would not be allowed as fellow subjects, by the barbarous papists of the Pale, both clergy and laity, who eyed them and their patrimony, with the feelings and eyes of a butcher marking out sheep for the knife! Notwithstanding the fines and services they repeatedly proffered for legal protection, every Englishman

might kill and plunder a native. If, perchance, summoned to a court of justice, he obtained perfect impunity, by swearing that he killed only a mere native Irishman. If the murdered person was a man of rank, the assassin was even applauded and regarded!

These were not the sole misfortunes of the natives. The foreign wolves, after sating their voracity with their spoils and blood, involved them also in their wars with each other, ravaging and slaying without mercy. The native Irish formed the main bulk of their forces; and these were placed in every post of danger.

Besides those already mentioned, they found another mode of recruiting, from those they treated as Irish enemies. While they lulled the neighbouring tribes, by the mockery of treaties of alliance, never meant to be kept, they made a sudden irruption upon some district, marked out as a prey; and, overpowering it, they built a castle, compelling all they condescended not to kill, to work at the building. Thither they conveyed all the provision they chose, together with the best connected and handsomest young women, to be married to some of their followers. These they employed, like the Sabine women, to entice their relatives to enlist under the banners of the new bashaw, who knew how to reward military merit; to exchange famine for plenty; and the scanty and precarious tenure of gavel-kind, for the security and splendor of hereditary estates. Thus the country falling to ruin on every side, and policy dictating something to be saved from

the common wreck for themselves and families, multitudes were forced or seduced, by fraud and violence, to enlist with the destroyers; besides numbers, who volunteered with them for a promised share of plunder. Another source of booty and aggrandizement, was the facility of exciting clans, embittered with hereditary feuds, to make war on each other; sometimes joining one side, sometimes another, untill both were enfeebled and subdued. So easy it was to kindle such petty wars, that the parliament of the Pale passed an act, in the tenth year of Henry VII. forbidding any liege-man, under pain of treason, to excite the Irishry to war against the Pale, or the king's deputy.

The elective form of the petty sovereignties, especially since the downfall of the monarchy and constitution, opened a wide field of constantly recurring opportunities, to the phlegmatic calculating ambition and avarice of the invaders. On such occasions they used every art, to inflame the contest of an election into a civil war among the clan and their followers. These being the most cruel of wars, they were sure to be called in, to the aid of the weaker party, on their own terms. If their allies succeeded, lands, matrimonial alliance with the triumphant chief, and castles for their security, rewarded their services, untill they gradually became greater than the chieftain of the territory. If beaten, as sometimes happened, still it was a splendid though bloody lottery for adventuring speculation; and the next contested election of a chief would re-

pair their losses, and amply reward their undermining toils.

By such arts, profiting of the confusion and anarchy of the country, the Fitz-Geralds, Burkes, Butlers, Eustaces, Lacys, &c. became great lords, allied in blood, and ranking with the greatest Irish chieftains. So De Clare, notwithstanding his defeat, and humiliating treaty, and the payment of an eric for the murder of O'Brien Roe, became a great man once more. His remittances from England enabled him to interfere with effect, in the disputed succession to the chieftainry of Thomond. His ally was acknowledged by the majority of the electors. His rival, indignant at English interference, and supported by a powerful party, was preparing to wage a bloody war against the new chieftain, when the amicable interposition of Mac Carty, chieftain of Desmond, assuaged the fury of his countrymen. "He entreated them to consider, that they were arming against their own brethren, preparing to depopulate their lands, blowing up the flame of civil dissention, which had already wasted their unhappy country. That they had a common enemy, industriously fomenting, and taking advantage of their disorder, to subdue them by their own weapons. That their interest, and that of all their countrymen, called loudly on them to compose their private differences, and wait, with patience, some favourable opportunity to recover their lost rights." His mediation was successful.

I see no immediate reason, but this charitable

good office to his deluded countrymen, that made Leland, the Pale historian, say, "The Mac Cartys, ever implacable enemies to the English, proceeding with a dark and determined rancour." I see no dark rancour in this mediation. But, if they were really animated with implacable enmity to their inhuman invaders, it only proved they were men endowed with human feelings. If the bare recital of their deeds of treachery and blood, fills every humane breast now with horror, how must the sufferers and spectators in the tragic scene have felt? Unfortunately for the Milesian race, they felt not an adequate degree of abhorrence for their systematic destroyers, capable of suspending for some time their hereditary animosities, to save themselves from the ruin decreed for them.

The English were not the only enemies the Irish had to fear; they had more to apprehend from their own intestine divisions. O'Connor, prince of Connaught, and Mac Dermot of Moylurg, took the field against each other; waging a cruel and desolating war, perhaps at the instigation, certainly to the great delight, and for the profit of their enemies. O'Connor was among the number of the slain. Some time before, O'Hanlon, at the instigation of Ralph Peppard, was at war with O'Neil. Meanwhile O'Connor Falie was murdered by Jordan Comin; and his brother Charles was assassinated, by Pierce Butler, at Carrick. What a misfortune, in them days, for a native Irishman to be a large proprietor. The O'Connors were, from the remotest

antiquity, in possession of lands, seized by these foreign usurpers. They must be cut off. O'Cochlan was more fortunate, for he totally defeated William Bourke, with his followers, at Delvin, his ancient patrimony.

Ireland might justly be compared with Rebecca, bearing in her womb the struggling infants, Esau and Jacob. Two hostile races now tore the country to pieces between them; but the ancient, by far the more numerous and powerful in physical force, were lacerated by their conflicts with each other, still more than by the weapons of those who avowedly laboured for their extermination on system. Ravages, bloodshed, and desolation, disfigured the face of the country; still the rage for building convents did not cease. A long list of these may be found with Geogaghan and the annalists.

During the successive administration of the Pale, by three deputies, the scene continued nearly the same, agitation and turbulence. The monotonous tale of Ireland's misfortunes, may be a little diversified by the narrative of a quarrel between two of the principal settlers, which may amuse the reader, like a farce after a tragedy. During Vescy's administration, there were violent disputes between him and John Fitzgerald, son of the baron of Ophaly. According to Hollingshed's Chronicle, they proceeded to the most scurrilous invectives, and the vilest Billingsgate. In an assembly where they met, they mutually reproached each other with robbery, assassinations, extortions, &c. The baron having

made some reflections on the birth of the governor, the latter replied, that the Vescys were noble before the Fitzgeralds were barons of Ophaly, even before your bankrupt forefather made his fortune in Leinster, (alluding to the head of that family. who accompanied Strongbow to Ireland). The quarrel did not stop in Ireland. They went to England to plead their cause before the king and court. The presence of his majesty could not silence their invectives nor reproaches. Perhaps this stile of conversation was at that time fashionable among the civilizers of Ireland. Fitzgerald, weary of disputing, challenged his antagonist to single combat, which was highly diverting to the court in those chivalrous times. According to some English writers, Vescy, shunning the combat, fled to France; according to others, it was Fitzgerald declined it. However that may be, Fitzgerald was put in possession of the lands and castles of Vescy, in Kildare and Rathangain. From him are descended the Fitzgeralds of Kildare, who shortly afterwards got the title of earl of Kildare, and latterly duke of Leinster.

Amidst all this turbulence, and clash of arms, ravaging the country, some examples remain, proving that Irish literature was, though thwarted and interrupted, not quenched. In 1303, died Nicholas Mac Molisse, archbishop of Armagh, celebrated for his eloquence, his wisdom, and zeal for religion. That the Milesian influence was on the wane, and the English interest beginning to predominate, even in church

matters, is proved by the name of his successor in the see of Armagh, John Taaffe, sprung from the settlers of the county of Louth.

There is an anecdote related of Edward I. in Baker's Chronicle, which, though not directly connected with Irish affairs, may serve to throw light on the character of those who pretended to civilize Ireland. The Welsh, driven from England into the mountains of Wales, by their perfidious allies, the Saxons, maintained their independence untill the eleventh century, when they were subdued, and their king, Ap Rees, (Rice,) was massacred. The remembrance of their former liberty, and the tyranny of their new masters, caused some revolts; but the superior power of England, in its immediate vicinage, always succeeded to quell them. It was reserved for Edward to exhibit a barbarous example of civilization to the world. He made war on Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who was betrayed to a soldier, who cut off his head, and sent it to Edward, in London, where, by his orders, it was fixed on a spike of the Tower. His brother, David shortly after fell into the hands of the English. They tied him to a horse's tail, and dragged him through the streets of Shrewsbury; then they cut out his bowels, and threw them into a fire prepared for the purpose; his head was fixed near his brother's, on the Tower; they cut him into four parts, and hung up a quarter in four towns, viz. Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester.

This was an authentic declaration that David

Llewellyn was a hero and a patriot, who often pressed hard on his enemies in defence of his country's rights. It is likewise an incontrovertible proof, that the English did not degenerate from the civilizing methods, practised by their ancestors, the Saxons, on the Britons, who invited them as allies; nor from those of their other progenitors, the Normans, exercised on the Anglo-Saxon race afterwards. How can the impudent lying scribblers of the Pale pretend, that the unprincipled indigent marauders,² described as such by cotemporary and copatriot writers, coming here for blood and booty, learned to commit atrocities in this country? An Irish war was carried on with all the principles of chivalrous honour; they sought not extermination, but subjection, as the Roman poet says, "to spare the submissive, and to subdue the proud." One battle generally finished hostilities, and the victor, not tutored to kill prisoners of war, was content with hostages and tribute.

After thus annexing the principality of Wales to his dominions, Edward turned his ambitious views toward Scotland. That kingdom, after the death of Alexander III. without issue, was rent by factions, supporting different pretenders to the crown. Of these, Baliol and Bruce were the most eminent; the one nearer to the royal family in blood, the other in higher estimation. To profit of these divisions, he took a journey to Scotland; and first addressing himself to Bruce, offered to place him on the throne of Scotland, on condition he would swear fealty to

him, as his liege-lord. The answer of Bruce was worthy of his talents and patriotism. "I shall not sacrifice my country's rights to the ambition of reigning." He next applied to Baliol, who, less punctilious, accepted the conditions, was crowned king of Scotland, at Scone, and swore homage to Edward, at Newcastle. His retraction afterwards kindled a fierce war between the two nations, which was renewed, after different intervals of a truce, rather than a peace, during three hundred years, and was only terminated by the union of the two crowns in James, the First of England, and Sixth of Scotland.

During the thirteenth century flourished the celebrated John Dun Scotus, called the subtle doctor. He wrote many works of philosophy and theology, with much penetration and subtlety. Eight folio volumes of his works are extant in print; but, though formerly in vogue in the schools, they are now read by few. He died suddenly at Cologne, where he was interred. His order, the Franciscans, presented him before the holy college, as probably a fit subject for canonization. The process went on, after the usual cautious circumspection of that court. After the accustomed evidences of sanctity of life, miracles are laid before them, attested on oath by creditable witnesses; a lawyer is appointed to discuss the several articles, and cross-examine the witnesses. The process went on to the stage of beatification; sanctification was the very next step. The rival order of St. Dominic

took the alarm. They dreaded to see the great rival of their sainted doctor, Thomas, rank with him in the schools. They remembered, with bitter resentment, the victory he gained over them, in the famous dispute about the immaculate conception; and they moved heaven and earth to avert his canonization. They dug up his grave, in Cologne, opened his coffin, attested on oath before the college, that they found him turned therein, lacerated by the nails, and with an appearance of having bit his arm. This put an end to the process; and John Dun, the Irish Scot, remains excluded from the catalogue of saints. The title to all the printed copies of his works, taken from his own manuscript, ought to silence the contest between three nations about his birth, "*Johannes Dun, Scotus Hibernus.*"

Edward II. the second son of the deceased king, succeeded to the throne, and shortly after married Isabelle, daughter of Philip le Bel, of France. He recalled his favourite, Gaveston, whom his father had banished the kingdom. This nobleman had so far gained on the king's affection, that he disposed of all favours and graces, which drew upon him the envy and hatred of the English nobility, who threatened to oppose his coronation, if he did not expel his favourite from the kingdom. The weak king consented; but, in order to soften the disgrace, sent him to Ireland, invested with the royal authority, where he suppressed some revolts, and laboured effectually to secure the possessions of

the settlers in Leinster. The king, unable to bear the absence of his favourite, and flattering himself that time and distance had cooled the hatred of his enemies, recalled him from the government of the Pale, and sent Sir John Wogan to replace him. To establish his credit the more effectually, he had him married to the daughter of the earl of Gloucester. This alliance with one of the first families in the kingdom, served but to encrease the detestation of his enemies. Another incident decided his fall. At the tournaments of Wallingford, he bore away the prize from all the English lords who durst contend with him. Not satisfied with this triumph of his address and courage, he humbled their pride still more by piquing sallies of wit and raillery, than by his victory in feats of arms. They all conspired against him, made lively remonstrances to the king, intimating, that nothing short of the sacrifice of his favourite could appease their resentments. Gaveston, yielding to the storm, passed over to France; but the desire of seeing again his dear master, dragged him into England once more, at the risk of his life. There he remained some time incog. To secrete him from the fury of his enemies, the king assigned, for residence, the castle of Scarborough, as a secure asylum; but he was soon besieged there, by a revolted nobility, and obliged to capitulate, on condition of saving his life. This treaty was not long kept. The earl of Warwick dragged him from his keepers, and cut off his head, without form of law, notwithstanding the reiterated en-

treaties of the king. Such was the end of Gaveston, one of the handsomest and most accomplished men of his age, native of Gascony. Royal favour has often proved a dangerous honor.

During the feeble administration of deputy Wogan, a contention between the prelates of Armagh and Dublin, whether their croziers should be borne before them, in certain districts, erect or depressed, was treated as an important state affair. The contest occasioned some bloodshed; and the king's mediation was necessary, to settle the controversy.

The great lords, taking advantage of despised government, carried on their wars without fear or controul. The bulk of their forces, always composed of old natives, were the victims of the folly or madness of their leaders. The earl of Ulster marched into Thomond, with all the pride of an independent sovereign, to assert some pretended rights with the sword; but was there humbled by a signal defeat. He was made prisoner, with several of his most distinguished adherents, and obliged to submit to such terms as his conquerors imposed. The accommodation was cemented by the marriage of Maurice and Thomas Fitz-John, the heads of the houses of Desmond and Kildare, to two daughters of the earl of Ulster.

This union between these powerful families seemed to promise some tranquillity, when new enemies were invited by the tyranny of the settlers, exercised over the ancient inhabitants. The

successful resistance of Scotland to the encroachments of England, was a grateful hearing to the distressed Milesians, who always regarded the Scots as kinsmen. Their many gallant exploits under Wallace, barbarously murdered by the English, and under young Bruce, the son of him who disdained the proffer of the crown on conditions dishonourable to his country, became the theme of Irish bards, rousing their countrymen to honor and glory. The news of the ever memorable and decisive victory of Bannockburn, where 30,000 brave Scots, under the command of the gallant Bruce, routed 100,000 English, commanded by the king in person, filled their Irish kinsmen with rapture. Mortified by a galling yoke, which, for want of union or concert, they were unable to shake off, they adopted, in all appearance, a very prudent resolution. As the provincial kings were too proud to bear a native superior, they could feel no humiliation in a young hero, of their own race, brother to the victorious king of Scotland, monarch of Ireland. As the northern chieftains lay most convenient for Scotland, they first sent ambassadors to Robert Bruce, then marching with his victorious forces through the north of England. They painted to him, in glowing colours, the unparalleled calamities inflicted on their country by insolent oppressive invaders. That they wanted but such a leader to rescue their whole nation from present distress and impending ruin. That they did not consider it a foreign yoke, to receive a sovereign from the Scots, descended from the

same stock as themselves; one who had courage to defend them, and equity to rule with justice. That the alliance of the two kingdoms would be of the utmost utility to each, whether in a commercial or political point of view; and that their united strength would form an impregnable rampart against the ambition of English kings. Robert Bruce was well pleased with the proffer. He was aware of the great supply of men and provisions, furnished by Ireland to Edward in his war against Scotland; and was too keen-sighted not to perceive the vast advantages of such an alliance, if the Irish nation, so long torn by intestine divisions, making havoc of each other in every corner of the kingdom, could be brought to support an efficient executive in the monarch. If the monarchy was held on the same precarious footing as heretofore, without revenue or forces, the alliance would rather be burdensome than beneficial to Scotland. On assurances given, that the monarchy would be supported with their lives and fortunes, and O'Neil, the only Irish prince entitled to the throne, setting the example, the Scottish king accepted the proposals. He urged his brother Edward, a valiant and aspiring youth, to accept the proffered diadem; assuring him of such effectual support, as would enable him, with the assistance of his new subjects, to bear down all opposition. The heroic youth naturally embraced the offer with ardor; the chiefs of Ulster were assured of his speedy arrival with a considerable force; and the news was received with joy throughout the pro-

vince. These negotiations thus divulged, the government of England, and their Irish party, were apprized of their danger, and prepared for defence. Richard, earl of Ulster, lords Edmond Butler and Theobald de Verdun, were summoned to the parliament in England, to treat with the king, his prelates and nobles, about the affairs of Ireland. They returned back next spring, instructed to deliver the result of their deliberations to the principal nobles, prelates, and magistrates. They had even the effrontery to present them to the Irish chieftains, of whose lives and fortunes they made daily havock, by treachery and violence, assassination and massacre, sowing division, and exciting hostilities among a too irritable race.

Among other measures, offensive and defensive, both parties applied to the Pope, whose thunders were as yet formidable. The king of England, with the confidence of an ally, and a firm stickler of popery, whose address derived additional weight, from the annual subsidy paid to St. Peter's successor. The Irish chieftains, being only catholics, divested of such claims to papal partiality, relied on the justice of their cause, and sent the following pathetic statement of their sufferings from unprincipled tyrants, to Pope John XXII.*

* See Plowden, Vol. I.—Geoghegan, T. II.—J. Fordun, Scoto-Chron. T. III. &c.

“ To the most holy father in Christ, Lord John, by the grace of God, his devoted children, Donald O’Neil, king of Ulster, and by hereditary right true heir of all Ireland, as also the chieftains, and nobles, and the people of Ireland, recommend themselves most humbly, &c. &c.

“ It is extremely painful to us, that the viperous detractions of slanderous Englishmen, and their iniquitous suggestions against the defenders of our rights, should exasperate your holiness against the Irish nation. But alas, you know us only by the misrepresentation of our enemies, and you are exposed to the danger of adopting the infamous falsehoods, which they propagate, without hearing any thing of the detestable cruelties they have committed against our ancestors, and continue to commit even to this day against ourselves. Heaven forbid, that your holiness should be thus misguided; and it is to protect our unfortunate people from such a calamity, that we have resolved here to give you a faithful account of the present state of the kingdom, if indeed a kingdom we can call the melancholy remains of a nation, that so long groans under the tyranny of the kings of England, and of their barons, some of whom, though born among us, continue to practice the same rapine and cruelties against us, which their ancestors did against ours heretofore. We shall speak nothing but the truth, and we hope, that your holiness will

not delay to inflict condign punishment on the authors and abettors of such inhuman calamities.

“ Know then, that our forefathers came from Spain, and our chief apostle, St. Patrick, sent by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, in the year of our Lord 435, did, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, most effectually teach us the truth of the Holy Roman Catholic faith, and that ever since that, our kings, well instructed in the faith that was preached to them, have, in number sixty-one, without any mixture of foreign blood, reigned in Ireland to the year 1170. And those kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own, who with pious liberality bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities on the Irish church, though in modern times our churches are most barbarously plundered by the English, by whom they are almost despoiled. And though those our kings, so long and so strenuously defended, against the tyrants and kings of different regions, the inheritance given them by God, preserving their innate liberty at all times inviolate; yet Adrian IV. your predecessor, an Englishman, more even by affection and prejudice than by birth, blinded by that affection, and the false suggestions of Henry II. king of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury was murdered, gave the dominion of this our kingdom, by a certain form of words, to that same Henry II. whom he ought rather to have stript of his own; on account of the above crime.

“ Thus, omitting all legal and judicial order, and alas ! his national prejudices and predilections blindfolding the discernment of the pontiff, without our being guilty of any crime, without any rational cause whatsoever, he gave us up to be mangled to pieces by the teeth of the most cruel and voracious of all monsters. And if sometimes, nearly flayed alive, we escape from the deadly bite of these treacherous and greedy wolves, it is but to descend into the miserable abysses of slavery, and to drag on the doleful remains of a life more terrible than death itself. Ever since those English appeared first upon our coasts, in virtue of the above surreptitious donation, they entered our territories, under a certain specious pretext of piety and external hypocritical shew of religion ; endeavouring in the mean time, by every artifice malice could suggest, to extirpate us root and branch ; and without any other right, than that of the strongest, they have so far succeeded, by base and fraudulent cunning, that they have forced us to quit our fair and ample habitations and paternal inheritances, and to take refuge, like wild beasts, in the mountains, the woods, and the morasses of the country ; nor can even the caverns and dens protect us against their insatiable avarice. They pursue us even into these frightful abodes, endeavouring to dispossess us of the wild uncultivated rocks, and arrogating to themselves the property of every place, on which we can stamp the figure of our feet ; and through an excess of the most profound ignorance, impudence, arro]

gance, or blind insanity, scarce conceivable, they dare to assert, that not a single part of Ireland is ours, but by right entirely their own.

“ Hence the implacable animosities and exterminating carnage, which are perpetually carried on between us; hence our continual hostilities, our detestable treacheries, our bloody reprisals, our numberless massacres, in which, since their invasion to this day, more than 50,000 men have perished on both sides: not to speak of those, who died by famine, despair, the rigors of captivity, nightly marauding, and a thousand other disorders, which it is impossible to remedy, on account of the anarchy in which we live; an anarchy, which, alas! is tremendous, not only to the state, but also to the church of Ireland; the ministers of which are daily exposed, not only to the loss of the frail and transitory things of this world, but also to the loss of those solid and substantial blessings, which are eternal and immutable.

“ Let those few particulars, concerning our origin, and the deplorable state to which we have been reduced, by the above donation of Adrian IV., suffice for the present.

“ We have now to inform your holiness, that Henry, king of England, and the four kings his successors, have violated the conditions of the pontifical bull, by which they were empowered to invade this kingdom; for the said Henry promised, as appears by the said bull, to extend the patrimony of the Irish church, and to pay to the apostolical see, annually, one penny for each

house. Now this promise both he and his successors above-mentioned, and their iniquitous ministers, observed not at all with regard to Ireland. On the contrary, they have entirely and intentionally eluded them, and endeavoured to force the reverse.

“As to the church lands, so far from extending them, they have confined them, retrenched them, and invaded them on all sides, insomuch that some cathedral churches have been, by open force, notoriously plundered of half their possessions. Nor have the persons of our clergy been more respected; for, in every part of the country, we find bishops and prelates cited, arrested, and imprisoned without distinction; and they are oppressed with such servile fear, by those frequent and unparallelled injuries, that they have not even the courage to represent to your holiness the sufferings they are so wantonly condemned to undergo. But since they are so cowardly, and so basely silent in their own cause, they deserve not that we should say a syllable in their favour. The English promised also to introduce a better code of laws, and enforce better morals, among the Irish people; but instead of this, they have so corrupted our morals, that the holy and dove-like simplicity of our nation is, on account of the flagitious example of those reprobates, changed into the malicious cunning of the serpent.

“We had a written code of laws, according to which our nation was governed hitherto. They have deprived us of those laws, and of

every law, except one, which it is impossible to wrest from us; and for the purpose of exterminating us, they have established other iniquitous laws, by which injustice and inhumanity are combined for our destruction. Some of which we here insert for your inspection, as being so many fundamental rules of English jurisprudence established in this kingdom.

“ Every man, not an Irishman, can, on any charge, however frivolous, prosecute an Irishman: but no Irishman, whether lay or ecclesiastic, (the prelates alone excepted,) can prosecute for any offence whatsoever, because he is an Irishman. If any Englishman should, as they often do, treacherously and perfidiously murder an Irishman, be he ever so noble or so innocent, whether lay or ecclesiastic, secular or regular, even though he should be a prelate, no satisfaction can be obtained from an English court of justice: on the contrary, the more worthy the murdered man was, and the more respected by his own countrymen, the more the murderer is rewarded and honoured, not only by the English rabble, but even by the English clergy and bishops; and especially by those, whose duty it is, chiefly, on account of their station in life, to correct such abominable malefactors. Every Irish woman, whether noble or ignoble, who marries an Englishman, is, after her husband's death, deprived of the third of her husband's lands and possessions, on account of her being an Irish woman. In like manner, whenever the English can violently oppress to death an Irish-

man, they will by no means permit him to make a will, or any disposal whatsoever of his affairs: on the contrary, they seize violently on all his property, deprive the church of its rights, and per force reduce to a servile condition, that blood which has been from all antiquity free.

“ The same tribunal of the English, by advice of the king of England, and some English bishops, among whom the ignorant and ill-conducted arch-bishop of Armagh was president, has made in the city of St. Kenniers, (Kilkenny,) the following absurd and informal statute: that no religious community in the English Pale, shall receive an Irishman as novice, under pain of being treated as contumacious contemnors of the king of England’s laws.—And as well before as after this law was enacted, it was scrupulously observed, by the English Dominicans, Franciscans, monks, canons, and all other religious orders of the English nation, who shewed a partiality in the choice of their religious subjects; the more odious, inasmuch as those monasteries were founded by Irishmen, from which Irishmen are so basely excluded by Englishmen in modern times. Besides, where they ought to have established virtue, they have done exactly the contrary; they have exterminated our native virtues, and established the most abominable vices in their stead.

“ For the English, who inhabit our island, and call themselves a middle nation, (between English and Irish) are so different in their morals from the English of England, and of all other

nations, that they can, with the greatest propriety, be stiled a nation, not of middling but of extreme perfidiousness. For it is of old, that they follow the abominable and nefarious custom, which is acquiring more inveteracy every day from habit; namely, when they invite a nobleman of our nation to dine with them, they, either in the midst of the entertainment, or in the unguarded hour of sleep, spill the blood of our unsuspecting countrymen, terminate their detestable feast with murder, and sell the heads of their guests to the enemy. Just as Peter Brumichame, who is since called the treacherous baron, did with Mauritius de S—— his fellow sponsor, and the said Mauritius' brother, Calnacus, men much esteemed for their talents and their honour among us. He invited them to an entertainment, on a feast day of the Holy Trinity; on that day, the instant they stood up from the table, he cruelly massacred them, with twenty-four of their followers, and sold their heads at a dear price to their enemies; and when he was arraigned before the king of England, the present king's father, no justice could be obtained against such a nefarious and treacherous offender. In like manner lord Thomas Clare, the duke of Gloucester's brother, invited to his house the most illustrious Brien Roe O'Brien of Thomond, his sponsor.—

“ All hope of peace between us is therefore completely destroyed; for such is their pride, such their excessive lust of dominion, and such our ardent ambition to shake off this insupport-

able yoke, and recover the inheritance which they have so unjustly usurped; that, as there never was, so there never will be any sincere coalition between them and us: nor is it possible there should in this life, for we entertain a certain natural enmity against each other, flowing from mutual malignity descending by inheritance from father to son, and spreading from generation to generation.

“ Let no person wonder then, if we endeavour to preserve our lives, and defend our liberties, as well as we can, against those cruel tyrants, usurpers of our just properties, and murderers of our persons; so far from thinking it unlawful, we hold it to be a meritorious act. Nor can we be accused of perjury or rebellion, since neither our fathers or we, did at any time bind ourselves by any oath of allegiance to their fathers or to them; and, therefore, without the least remorse of conscience, while breath remains, we will attack them, in defence of our just rights, and never lay down our arms until we force them to desist. Besides, we are fully satisfied to prove in a judicial manner, before twelve or more bishops, the facts, which we have stated, and the grievances, which we have complained of. Not like the English, who in time of prosperity condemn all legal ordinances; and, if they enjoyed prosperity at present, would not recur to Rome, as they do now, but would crush, with their overbearing and tyrannical haughtiness, all the surrounding nations, despising every law human and divine.

“Therefore, on account of all those injuries, and a thousand others, which human wit cannot easily comprehend; and on account of the kings of England, and their wicked ministers, who, instead of governing us, as they are bound to do, with justice and moderation, have wickedly endeavoured to exterminate us off the face of the earth; and to shake off entirely their detestable yoke, and recover our native liberties, which we lost by their means, we are forced to carry on an exterminating war; chusing in defence of our lives and liberties, rather to rise like men, and expose our persons bravely to all the dangers of war, than any longer to bear, like women, their atrocious and detestable injuries. And in order to obtain our interest the more speedily and consistently, we invite the gallant Edward Bruce, to whom, being descended from our most noble ancestors, we transfer, as we justly may, our own right of royal dominion, unanimously declaring him our king, by common consent, who in our opinion, and in the opinion of most men, is as just, prudent, and pious, as he is powerful and courageous: who will do justice to all classes of people, and restore to the church those properties, of which it has been so damnablely and so inhumanly despoiled,” &c.

On receipt of this spirited pathetic remonstrance, the Pope, though solicited by the court of London, to issue an excommunication against the Irish and Scotch, thought proper to send a copy of it to Edward II., accompanied with

the following exhortations to attend to the grievances stated therein, and correct them.

“ Pope John, the servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious Edward, king of England, health and eternal benediction.

“ Most beloved son, we bear a paternal love for the encrease and prosperity of your highness, while we invite you, with earnest exhortation, to attend to those things which are pleasing to the just judge of your kingdom, and that would be productive of the peace of your lands and subjects, and worthy of your sense and honor. For which reason you ought to receive our advice with a devout mind, and yield yourself flexible and ready to put them in execution. Behold, my son, we have received letters, addressed to us long ago, by the magnats and people of Ireland, to the address of our beloved sons Anselm, cardinal presbyter of the SS. Marcelline and Peter, and Luke, cardinal deacon, of the title of St. Mary, of Broadstreet, nuncios of the apostolic see, and by them transmitted to us, inclosed in their own letters. In the sayings of which, among other things, we have seen a document, stating, that whereas Pope Adrian, our predecessor of happy memory, had granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II., your progenitor of illustrious memory, by apostolic letters, containing a certain modification and limits; that the said king and his successors, kings of England, to this time, have not observed this modification, nor

these limits, but, on the contrary, transgressing them, have oppressed the Irish with unheard-of grievances of insupportable servitude, and superfluous afflictions; nor was there hitherto any who would redress those grievances, or punish those crimes. No one was moved with a pious compassion for the destruction of these people; although they often had recourse to you, and the loud cry of the oppressed sometimes rung in your ears.

“ On these accounts, unable any longer to bear such tyranny, they were compelled to withdraw from your dominion, and to call another to rule them.

“ These allegations, my dear son, if founded on truth, are so much the more distressing to our feelings, the more intensely we wish all sorts of prosperity to you. You ought sedulously to attend to those things, and to put in speedy execution such measures, as may be pleasing to your Creator; and solicitously to avoid all things by which God himself, the Lord of vengeance, might be provoked against you, who does not neglect the groans of those unjustly oppressed, who is known to have rejected his chosen people for their injustice, and made a transfer of empires. What we the more ardently wish for you is, to pay attention, in these times of revolution, to every means that may conciliate the affections of the people, and avoid every thing that may cause disaffection. Now, as it is your interest to prevent the evils that these troubles may cause, so it is most expedient not to neglect the begin-

nings, lest the evil encreasing daily, the necessary remedy might come too late. Every thing well considered, we exhort, by these presents, your majesty, that by maturity of council, and prudence of consideration of your statesmen, you should provide a correction and reformation of these abuses and grievances, by such decent ways and means as you may be able to devise ; that so you may be able to oppose these dangerous beginnings, and please him, by whom you reign, and plant yourself solidly among them ; that so no one may have any cause of complaint against you ; and that the Irish led by sounder counsel, may obey you as their lord : or if, which God forbid, they should continue in their foolish rebellion, they would make their own cause appear unjust, and leave you excused before God and man.

“ That you may be the more fully informed of the aforesaid grievances and complaints, on which the Irish rest their cause, we send you the aforesaid letters, addressed to the aforesaid cardinals, with a copy of the letters, by which our fore-mentioned predecessor, Pope Adrian, granted the land of Ireland to the said Henry, king of England. Given at the Vatican,” &c.

In round terms he asserts the claims of English kings on Ireland ; “ that if the Irish persevered in their foolish rebellion, they would excuse him before God and man, and condemn their own cause.” I see no reason for these bold assertions, but the following iniquitous grant

made by Pope Adrian IV., and confirmed by his successors, until the schism of Henry VIII.

“ Adrian the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greeting and apostolic benediction.

“ Your magnificence hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here on earth, and encrease the number of saints and elect in heaven, in that as a good catholic king, you have and do by all means labour and travel to enlarge and encrease God’s church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness. And wherein you have, and do crave, for your better furtherance, the help of the apostolic see (wherein more speedily and discreetly you proceed) the better success, we hope, God will send; for all they, which of a fervent zeal and love in religion, do begin and enterprize any such thing, shall no doubt in the end have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the church of Rome; and we are so much the more ready, desirous, and willing, to sow the acceptable seed of God’s word, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely re-

quired at your hands. You have (our well beloved son in Christ) advertised and signified unto us, that you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland, to the end to bring them to obedience unto law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their foul sins and wickedness; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter; and besides also will defend and keep the rights of those churches whole and inviolate. We therefore, well allowing and favouring this your godly disposition and commendable affection, do accept, ratify, and assent, unto this your petition, and do grant that you (for the dilating of God's church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, the planting of virtue, and the encreasing of Christian religion) do enter to possess that land, and there to execute, according to your wisdom, whatsoever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm. And further also we do strictly charge and require, that all the people of that land do with all humbleness, dutifulness, and honour, receive and accept you as their liege lord and sovereign, reserving and excepting the right of Holy Church to be inviolably preserved, as also the yearly pension of Peter-pence out of every house, which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail to reform the people to some better order and trade of life, and that also by yourself and by such others as you

shall think meet, true and honest in their life, manners and conversation, to the end the church of God may be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done, that by any means shall or may be to God's honour and salvation of men's souls, whereby you may in the end receive of God's hands the reward of everlasting life, and also in the mean time, and in this life, carry a glorious fame and an honourable report among all nations."

The representations of Edward, however, at the court of Rome, prevailed. The English allowed his holiness both temporal and spiritual power, the Irish confined him to spirituals: this may account for the partiality in favour of the latter. The bull of excommunication was published some time afterwards, in which Robert and Edward Bruce are mentioned by name.

On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce landed in the north, with 6000 men, to assert his title to the sovereignty of this island; as just a title as ever man had to a crown. He was invited by independent princes, who never acknowledged themselves subjects; and by a people, groaning under the most galling and intolerable oppression, who would not be received as subjects of the English monarchs, nor be admitted to the protection of the law, though backing their petitions with large offers of money. It was the constant policy of the popish parliament of the Pale, to devise penal statutes against Milesian catholics, and the governors and set-

tlers were equally industrious to enforce them. "Hence it is," says Sir John Davies, "that in all the parliament rolls, which are extant, from the 40th year of Edward III. when the statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, to the reign of king Henry VIII. we find the degenerate and disobedient English called rebels; but the Irish, which were not in the king's peace, are called enemies. Statutes of Kilkenny, c. 1, 10, and 11. 11 Hen. IV. c. 24. 10. Hen. VI. c. 1. 18. 18 Hen. VI. c. 4. 5 Edw. IV. c. 6. 10 Hen. VIII. c. 17. All these statutes speak of English rebels, and Irish enemies; as if the Irish had never been in the condition of subjects, but always out of the protection of the laws, and were indeed in a worse case than aliens of any foreign realm, that was in amity with the crown of England. For by divers heavy penal laws, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make gossippes with the Irish; or to have any trade or commerce in their markets and fairs."

A still more 'grievous article, in the English penal code against native catholics, were those statutes, which made it lawful, or at most but slightly penal, to kill them. By the Beard act,*

* "No manner man, that will be taken for an Englishman, shall have no beard above his mouth, that is to say, that he have no hairs upon his upper lip, so that the said lip be once at least shaven every fortnight, or of equal growth with the nether lip. And if any man be found amongst the English contrary hereunto, that then it shall be lawful to every man to take them and their goods as Irish enemies, and to ransom them as Irish enemies;" (St. 5 Hen. VI.) if the ransom was not paid---death.

the Apparel and Surname acts,* against those English called degenerate, for conforming to national customs, we see clearly the insecurity of the life of any of the antient race. Such people are warned, that, in an Irish garb, they forfeit the protection of the law, and are liable to be treated as an Irish enemy; i. e. whoever found it convenient might take their lives and properties. By the comparison of two acts, one respecting the fine for conveying a hawk† out of the Pale, another concerning a peaceable Milesian living

* Stat. 19 Ed. IV. c. 3. enacts, “that every Irishman, that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen, in the county of Dublin, Myeth, Uriell and Kildare, shall go like to one Englishman in apparel, and shaving of his beard above the mouth, and shall be within one year sworn the liege man of the king in the hands of the lieutenant or deputie, or such as he will assign to receive this oath for the multitude that is to be sworn, and shall take to him an English surname of one town, as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale: or colour, as White, Blacke, Browne: or arte or science, as Smith or Carpenter: or office, as Cooke, Butler, and that he and his issue shall use this name, under pain of forfeiting of his goods yearly till the premisses be done to be levied two times by the year to the king’s wars, according to the discretion of the lieutenant of the king or his deputy.”

† By st. 20 Ed. IV. sess. 2. it is enacted, that “whatsoever merchant shall take or carry any hawk out of the said land of Ireland, shall pay for every goshawke thirteen shillings and four pence, for a tiercel six shillings eight pence, for a falcon ten shillings, and the poundage accordingly. And that every merchant that thall do contrary to this act, so often as he so doth shall incur the penalty of forty shillings, the one half to the king, and the other half to the finder or informer.”

by his industry within the Pale, we may form an estimate of the contempt in which the lives of Irish catholics were held, by these barbarous legislators. The fine for the hawk was thirteen shillings and four-pence, the Milesian eric was six pence. But for those out of the Pale, living according to the antient laws and customs of the country, killing them was thought praise-worthy, and the higher in rank the greater the applause.

It was not enough to deprive the antient Irish of all legal protection, and allow every settler that could, to take their lives and properties, but a reward was put upon their heads, by the infamous head act, passed by the infamous junto of the Pale, at Trim, before the earl of Desmond, deputy to the duke of Clarence, the king's Irish deputy, in the fifth of Edward IV. 1465. " It is ordained and established, that it shall be lawful to all manner of men that find any thieves robbing by day or by night, or going or coming to rob, or steal, in, or out, going or coming, having no faithful man of good name and fame in their company in English apparel upon any of the liege people of the king, that it shall be lawful to take and kill those, and to cut off their heads, without any impeachment of our sovereign lord the king, &c. and of any head so cut, in the county of Meath, that the cutter of the said head and his ayders there to him, cause the said head so cut to be brought to the portreffe of the town of Trim, and the said portreffe to put it upon a stake or spear upon the castle of Trim, and that the said portreffe shall give his writing under

the common seal of the said town, testifying the bringing of the said to him. And that it shall be lawful by authority of the said parliament to the said bringer of the said head, and his ayders to the same, for to distrain and levy by their own hands, of every man having one plough-land in the barony where the said theif was so taken, two-pence, and of every man having half a plough-land in the said barony, one peny, and every man having one house and goods to the value of fourty shillings, one peny, and of every other cottier having house and smoak, one half peny. And if the same portreffe refuse for to give the said certificate by writing, freely under his said common seal, then the said portreffe to forfeit to the said bringer of the said head ten pounds, and that he may have his action by bill or by writ, in whatsoever court shall please the bringer of the said head for the said ten pounds against the said portreffe." Here was an ample reward for the murder of a Milesian, established by the parliament of the Pale, to be recovered from the barony, by the aid of civil officers, from whom, if they refused compliance, it was recoverable by law. "Going or coming, in or out, by night or by day! unless some man of good name, and fame; (i. e. of English name, and closely wedded to the English interest), were in his or their company, in English apparel!" If a man was caught in the act of robbing, there might be an excuse for homicide; but going or coming! were these authorised and rewarded head-loppers gifted with second sight,

or infallible, that they should know where or on what errand every Milesian Irishman was going or coming, to or from. There is no conventicle of robbers and assassins could devise better encouragement to the avarice or the revenge of profligate men. Let any villain fall on a travelling Milesian by night or by day, if he was not in the company of some reputable man of English descent, (if such there were,) salute him with dagger, cut off his head, bring it to the constable of Trim, and levy his head-fine on the barony. All the evidence required of him was, to declare that the head had been that of a Milesian, and that he was not in company with any of the settlers, and that in his opinion he was going to or coming from some bad errand! what a licence, what encouragements, what rewards for the blackest crimes! A stranger of English descent might be sacrificed by this perversion of law.

That property as well as life was insecure, is evident from the language of the parliament of the Pale, which denominates lands in possession of the ancient Irish waste ground. The king of England exceeded the liberality of the Pope, in making grants of property not his own. The latter bestowed dominion, but not the right of extermination; and of the seizure of all property the former was guilty. Encouraged by the authority of both, and prompted by insatiable avarice and tyranny, the grantees, about nine or ten in number, with their followers, to whom Henry, in breach of his treaties, by which he guaranteed

their lands and other properties, bestowed the whole island, soon set up for themselves as independent princes. The ancient Irish, in the districts occupied by these new kings, were held in villeinage, after the manner of the labouring classes in England, who were then in the condition of villeins. This explains why the petitions of the distressed Milesians, either smarting under the dominion of the settlers, or galled to madness by incessant annoyance from castles planted in their neighbourhood, praying to be admitted as subjects of the king of England, and to be protected by English law, where the Brehon law was abolished, were always strenuously opposed by the settlers, to whom English kings always referred them. The concession * would have abridged and cut off a great part of that greatness which they had promised unto themselves: they perswaded the king of England, that it was unfit to communicate the lawes of England unto them; that it was the best policie to hold them as aliens and enemies, and to prosecute them with a continual warre. Heereby they obtained another royal prerogative and power; which was to make warre and peace at their pleasure in every part of the kingdome: which gave them an absolute command over the bodies, lands, and goods of the English subjects heere. The troth is, that those great English lords did to the uttermost of their power, crosse and withstand the enfranchizement of the Irish,

* Davies's Discovery.

for the causes before expressed, wherein I must cleare and acquit the crown and state of England of negligence or ill policy."

From their first settlement they considered themselves as well entitled to the full possession of Ireland, by the double grant of Pope and king, as the Jews were entitled to Palestine by the gift of God. They planned the utter extermination of the antient Irish, as the Jews were ordered to treat the Canaanites and Philistines. The Jews were prohibited all alliances or close intimacy of any kind with the Canaanites, lest they should be infected with idolatry; so the English settlers were interdicted "marriage, gossipred, or nurture of infants," with the ancient Irish, though the religion of the latter was purer than their own. Of this we have an example, in the famous statutes of Kilkenny, that Sir John Davies quotes on this subject.

"In the 40th year of his reign king Edward held that famous parliament at Kilkenny, wherein many notable lawes were enacted, which doo shew and lay open (for the lawe doth best discover enormities) how much the English colonies were corrupted at that time, and doo infallibly prove that which is laide down before: that they were wholly degenerate, and fallen away from their obedience. For first it appeareth by the preamble of these lawes, that the English of this realme, before the coming over of Lionel duke of Clarence, were at that time become meere Irish in their language, names, apparell, and all their manner of living, and had rejected

the English lawes and submitted themselves to the Irish, with whom they had made many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruin and destruction of the commonwealth. Therefore alliaunce by marriage, nurture of infants, and gossiped with the Irish are by this statute made high treason. Again, if anie man of English race should use an Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparell, or any other guize or fashion of the Irish, if he had lands or tenelements, the same should be seized, till he had given security to the Chancery, to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living. And if he had no lands, his bodie was to be taken and imprisoned, till he found sureties as aforesaid."

The imperfection of Irish laws, which were in a great measure corrected by Irish manners, became an intolerable scourge in the hands of the adventurers. If an Irish chief was empowered, in time of war, to lay a bonaght, i. e. billet his soldiers on his people, it was because he had no revenue, the land being held in fee simple by the families of the clan. The chief was elective, and abuse of his authority could easily raise him a rival, or invite invasion from some neighbouring chief. While the Irish constitution stood, there lay an appeal to the monarch and the convention of Tara. A people of the most lively sensibility to praise and dispraise, would not willingly expose themselves to the satire of their bards; in fact, in the character, manners, and customs of the ancient Irish, there were

many checks to the abuse of power, and some consolations to humanity, even under tyranny. Not so with the English settlers; they were acquainted with nothing in their parent country but the tyranny established there by its Norman conquerors. All the barons were despotic tyrants, all their laborious classes were villeins, and their laws were like the laws of Draco, written in blood. It seems those sanguinary laws either were necessary for their nature, or made their nature worse; for, like felons bursting from the bolts of a prison, coming from the severe restraints of English tyranny and sanguinary laws, to a land where anarchy had succeeded freedom, and where the laws were so mild, that the word death was never mentioned in the code, they gave an entire loose to their appetites for plunder and carnage. Their properties were made hereditary, their landholders were obliged to pay rent and taxes; so to put the Irish bonaght on them was a grievous oppression. There was hardly any remedy for a long time, not even the check of public opinion, because the public of the settlers was England, to which they sent what representations they pleased. The attorney-general of James I. thus mentions the grievance of coyne and livery.

“ But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others was that of coyne and livery, often before-mentioned: which consisted in taking mans-meate, horse-meate and money, of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of

Scripture is, did eate up the people as it were bread, for that he had no other entertainment. This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay bonaght upon the people, and never gave their soldier any other pay. But when the English had learnt it, they used it with more insolency and made it more intollerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time: but because there was every where a continuall warre, either offensive or defensive, and everie lorde of a countrie, and everie marcher made warre and peace at his pleasure, it became universall and perpetuall: and was indeede the most heavy oppression that ever was used in anie Christian or Heathen kingdome. And therefore vox oppressorum, this crying sinne did drawe down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland, than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt. For the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were of a short continuance: but the plagues of Ireland lasted 400 years together. This extortion of coygne and livery did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste: next, it made the people ydle. For when the husbandmen had laboured all the yeare, the soldier in one night did consume the fruites of all his labour, *longique perit labor irritus anni*. Had hee reason then to manure the lande for the next yeare, or rather might he not complayne as the sheperd in Virgil:

*Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes? En quo discordia cives
Produxit miseros? En queis conservimus agros?*

And hereupon of necessity came depopulation, banishment, and extirpation of the better sort of subjects, and such as remained became ydle and lookers on, expecting the event of those miseries and evill times: so as this extream extortion and oppression hath been the true cause of idlenesse in this Irish nation; and that rather the vulgar sort have chosen to be beggars in forraign countries than to manure their own fruitfal land at home. Lastly, this oppression did of force and necessitie make the Irish a crafty people; for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts, ingenium mala semper movent.”*

Let no man be surprised, that English writers called the Milesian Irish, at war with the Pale, rebels; while in the language of parliament, and the law, they are stiled enemy, like any other power at war. They used the same abusive stile towards the Scots. “ The Scotch began to rebel anno 1079—again they were in rebellion, anno 1090—under king Malcolm again, anno 1103, when their king was slain. The Welsh began to rebel, anno 1121.”† In the language of this libeller, the Scotch, an independent nation, governed by their own kings, and their own laws, are called rebels, for defending themselves against English encroachments. The Welsh, also, governed by their own princes, and their own laws, are denominated rebels. The opposition of the Irish princes to English tyranny, is, in the same

* Davies’s Discovery, p. 174, &c.

† Hemingford, mors Gul. Nothi, 1087.

libellous spirit, stiled rebellion, by the English writers of romance, falsely called history.* The language of the law is correct and decisive on this subject. The independent Irish, at war with the king's deputy, are not called Rebels, but Irish enemies; as the French or Russians would be called enemies, not rebels. This was uniformly the language of the law, untill the reign of queen Elizabeth. In an act of the 28th of Henry VI. passed by the parliament of the Pale, in the presence of Richard, duke of York, anno 1450, this distinction is clearly marked. " And the captains of the said marchours,† their wives, and their pages, do bring with them the king's Irish Enemies, both men and women, and English rebels." In a parliament held at Drogheda, in the 28th of Hen. VI., before the said duke of York, the limits of the Pale,‡ i. e. the English king's jurisdiction, are precisely ascertained. Within them limits, war against the crown was, in the language of the law, rebellion; without them limits it was, in the same correct language, stiled the war of an enemy. The law, therefore, as it were by anticipation, has passed sentence of condemnation upon these impertinent scribblers

* With a fresh edition of these slop-shop impurities, the public, it seems, is to be now regaled, by a press miscalling itself Hibernian.

† Marchours, i. e. settlers possessed of freeholds on the borders of the Pale, on condition of keeping and practising the use of arms, to watch the movements of the independent Irish, and give the alarm when necessary. Sentinels, outposts.

‡ Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel (Louth).

of fooleries, in which they stifle the resistance of independent princes rebellion.

Two acts (5 Edward IV.) for arming the Pale in a mass, prove, that the independent Irish were still formidable. Those of Irish descent, even within the Pale, were as three or four to one, to those of English extraction; whence, to conceal their inferiority, the Surname act, the Beard act, the Apparel and Language acts, &c.

The chieftains of Ulster, who had invited Bruce, were now prepared to receive their new monarch. They flocked to his standard, gave hostages, and marched, under his command, to rescue their country from a deplorable bondage mixed with destructive anarchy. The few garrisoned towns and castles, possessed by the English in the north, were soon overpowered. There were no English settlers in the north, except in such places, notwithstanding the outcry of the historical liar, Leland, on the butchery of English settlers, who were "driven from their fairest possessions in a moment." The settlers, their possessions, and butchery, are all fictions, invented to deceive the reader. There were settlers in the other three provinces, but in the north none, except in a few strong holds on the sea coast. This is not his first historical lie. The perfidious murder of Brien Roe O'Brien, chieftain of Thomond, by Thomas de Clare, brother to the duke of Gloucester, who had invited him to dine, for that hellish purpose, he endeavours to palliate or deny, by saying "he was killed by one of his own people, as Irish writers

allege." He names no writer, because he could not. He states, that O'Brien's sons compelled De Clare to pay the eric for their father's murder, which could not be done unless the murder was proved home. He had in his possession, the remonstrance, drawn up by the northern chieftains, and addressed to Pope John XXII., in which they state that treacherous invitation and murder, as one of the instances of the detestable policy used by English adventurers in this unhappy land. They were cotemporaries, and could not appeal to the Pope, or the world, but on a notorious overt act. A lie of that magnitude, and of such recent occurrence, would soon be detected ; the people, interested in the detection, had most influence with the court of Rome, and most connexion with foreign parts ; and one detected falsehood would discredit the whole remonstrance, and injure their cause. It is much more easy to conceive, that an historian, evidently partial, would sooner smother the truth, or tell a tale, to conceal or palliate the crimes of his favourites, than that an assembly of the magnates of Ireland, men bred in the principles of chivalrous honour, could agree to publish a false account of a cotemporary fact, the refutation of which would be so easy, and so injurious to their interests.

What the measures were, that occupied the attention of the English cabinet with the Irish deputies, during their long stay in London, to repel an invasion truly formidable in the actual circumstances of the island, we are in a great

measure left to conjectures. Neither they nor their successors deemed it expedient to make them public. From a letter* of the earl of Essex to queen Elizabeth, we may form a pretty sure guess at the palladium of England and its settlers, under the terrors of the alliance of Ireland and Scotland: "Thirdly, your majesty, victualing your army out of England, and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all places, shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place else can supply them." This was put in practice in the golden days of queen Bess, with an addition of a base coin, forged by royal authority, for the payment of her forces, and the general circulating medium for the purchase of all sorts of necessities; in order when the famine was brought on them, they should be destitute of the means of purchasing provisions from any part of the world. Famine, and the pestilence, its usual concomitant, swept away their millions, to civilize the poor Irish. Would England, and its settlers, scruple the employment of such dreadful means, to avert the storm of war threatening them from the united powers of Scotland and Ireland. Did they not know that the want of provisions alone could prevent their bringing such an army into the field, so superior in numbers and valour, as they could never be able to cope with. Or did popish England, and its settlers, leave any article in the catalogue of inhumanity, treachery, or barbarity, to be in-

* Dated 5th June, 1598.

vented or improved by their protestant successors? On a comparison of two codes, the popish and the protestant, against Irish catholics, the latter will appear, to an impartial observer, to fall short of its predecessor, in the most features of cruelty and tyranny.

The sequel will prove, even from partial documents, whether the terrible scourges of plague and famine were or were not resorted to by the settlers. “ Richard, earl of Ulster, rose up, with such forces as he could collect, at Roscommon, whence marching to Athlone, he was there joined by Fedlim O’Connor, with his forces. He then proceeded through the territory of Meath, to the northern province, wasting and desolating the districts through which he passed, to supply the necessities of his army.” (Leland.) He forgot to add, that to deprive the enemy of resources he destroyed all he did not use. “ Butler, the deputy, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinster, offered his aid to earl Richard, who, disdaining his assistance, advised him to attend to the security of Leinster.”* This was no act of an imperious proud spirit, as Leland would persuade us, but of a deep, though infernal policy. They divided the provinces between them, in order to secure provisions for themselves in their fortresses, and by laying waste the country, to render the subsistence of a great army any where impossible.

Connaught, while their troops were actually

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. p. 267.

fighting the battles of the settlers, could not escape the disasters planned for their countrymen. A rival was raised up against young Fedlim, during his campaign against the invaders, who succeeded in getting himself acknowledged chief of the Irish division of Connaught, after much bloodshed and devastation. Thus Fedlim was obliged to march back to Connaught, with his troops, continually harassed by the northern Irish, who justly retaliated on him the devastation of their districts, which could not be so much as attempted without his aid. The earl of Ulster was soon obliged to follow him, happy to escape the pursuit of the Scotch and northern forces with great loss of men. But want of provision, in those parts laid waste, deprived Bruce of the advantages of his victory, compelling him to return back to the north, where he remained some time in a state of inactivity. Fedlim, ambitious to recover his petty sovereignty, but unable, with the shattered remains of a discomfited army, to meet his antagonist in the field, assisted the earl of Ulster in putting the famishing plan in execution. They carried on a predatory warfare. Suddenly issuing out from their castles and strong holds, and coming unawares on a district, they wasted all manner of provisions, which they could not speedily convey to their fortresses; thus aggravating the distresses of a scarce season, with all the horrors of war, famine, and pestilence.

On the arrival of Sir John Bermingham with a select body of troops, Fedlim took the field,

and engaged his rival, who lost the battle and his life. Fedlim, discontented with the immoderate ambition of his allies, declared for Bruce. The cession of a large part of his already too much diminished territory, demanded in recompence for a service justly due to him, appeared to him not the act of an honourable faithful ally, but of an insidious encroaching enemy. It was his alliance with the settlers, and his devastating campaign to the north, that raised him a rival, who possessed himself of the sovereignty. What he lost by the alliance, his allies were in duty bound to make good to him, to the utmost of their power. Wherefore, then, demand cession of territory, for doing a service due to him by the law of nature and of nations. He rejected the demand, and declared for Bruce. This was the effect of resentment, not policy; and he verified an Irish proverb, applying generally to Irishmen, equivalent to the Latin adage, *sero sapiunt Phryges*, i. e. Phrygians are wise too late. 'The Irish say of themselves, *andiagh na ngnoithe thig kiall an Eiriuigh*, i. e. after the deed comes the good sense of the Irishman. That sentence, pronounced by themselves, is truly characteristic, and points out one great cause of their downfall.

Extremely proud, passionate and vindictive, there were always many pretenders to their elective sovereignties, who by flattery and promise of succour, could easily be prevailed on to assert their pretensions with the sword. A cession of territory must reward the instigators of the civil war, if their ally is victorious. The same causes

perpetuated family feuds, and prevented the election of a monarch for a long time. Each of the four provincial kings thought himself too great to own a superior on earth. Passionate and precipitate in their resolves, they were likewise obstinate in the execution of them; for though they had sagacity enough to discover an error, they too commonly wanted humility to own and correct it, unless roused by a contrary passion; some deep insult to their feelings and honor, as in the case of Fedlim O'Connor. He had, however, during his alliance with the English settlers, done more injury to the cause of the confederate Scotch and Irish, than he could possibly repair by espousing it. The country was now wasted. Numerous armies could not be kept together for want of food; and the settlers lay secure in their castles and strong holds, stored with provision, while the antient natives perished by myriads, under the cruel pangs of famine and pestilence. This is the true cause of the failure of that measure; the wisest and most promising ever adopted by the Milesian chieftains, since the English invasion.

Edward Bruce was crowned at Dundalk. All Ulster, and a great part of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught declared for him. His brother Robert, king of Scotland, landed in the north, with a powerful army, to support the confederates. All these promising appearances were blasted by famine. The king of Scotland was obliged to return home, leaving but a part of his army to king Edward. After the surrender of

Carrickfergus, the only place in the north that held out against him, the new monarch of Ireland marched southward, at the head of the confederate Scotch and Irish, joined likewise by some of the chief settlers; as the De Lacys, and their numerous followers.

In the mean time, the English chieftains made the greatest exertions. They raised an army of 30,000 men, as some Pale writers say, the great majority of which consisted of Milesian Irish. They could keep them together, where they had magazines of provisions. They entered into an association to support the English interest with their lives and fortunes, and gave hostages to Hotham, the king's commissioner, for their faith and loyalty. To confirm them in their loyal disposition, the king conferred some new honors on their chiefs. John Fitz-Gerald, baron of Ophaly, was created earl of Kildare, and Edmond Butler was made earl of Carrick. These exerted themselves with vigour in warlike preparations. They dispatched an army to Connaught, under the command of William de Burgo, and Richard de Bermingham, against Fedlim O'Connor. The forces met at Athenree, where a desperate battle was fought, in which O'Connor lost his life, and of course the battle; for the Irish, like the Hindoos, when the chief who commanded happened to be slain, gave up fighting and fled. Sensible of this, the chief, not protected by life guards like modern monarchs, was always singled out for destruction by the English. The writers of the Pale swell

the number slain by the English, in that battle, to 8000. 'Tis probable O'Connor's troops did not amount to that number. Neither was the havoc done by Englishmen. English foot had no more chance of overtaking an Irish army in its flight, than a body of cavalry; and few of such horses as the English then had that an Irishman afoot would not outrun, according to cotemporary English writers. Accordingly, little slaughter could be made of them, unless their swift-footed countrymen were engaged in the pursuit, of whom the Anglo-Irish armies were chiefly composed.

Not discouraged at the fall of this useful ally, Edward Bruce proceeded to assert his title to the throne of Ireland with spirit. He marched up to Dublin, when the garrison and citizens set fire to the suburbs, to which the cathedral of St. Patrick fell a prey, and retired within the walls, for a brisk defence of which they made great preparations. The mayor seized De Burgo, earl of Ulster, on suspicion of favouring the new king, his sister being married to Robert, king of Scotland, and committed him to prison. Bruce, finding the town well prepared for defence, unable for want of provisions, to form either a blockade or carry on a siege, moved off through the county of Kildare. Thence he marched through Ossory and Tipperary, and encamped near the city of Limerick. The English forces, commanded by Roger Mortimer, of Wigmore, who came with a considerable reinforcement, lay at no great distance, in a strong

position. Leland says, "Bruce, conscious of his own real weakness, determined to avoid an engagement." Who can believe the historian of the Pale? Bruce could not avoid an engagement, if the English chose to force him to it. He had to seek sustenance for his army through a wasted country, in which they must take a wide range, to glean as much as might barely stay the galling cravings of hunger. In such a situation, if any enemy came upon him, how could he avoid giving battle? On the contrary, it was the policy of the English to avoid, at that time, a general engagement, and wait the sure operations of famine in a wasted country. Bruce several times offered battle on the plain of Fearan Singil, near Limerick; but the English, well knowing that he must soon decamp for want of provisions, cautiously declined it. A battle being the only military operation that he could attempt, and that being refused, his only resource was to return back again to Ulster.

Leland, in his account of this frustrated expedition, "gluts his frantic malice," to use his own words, in loading the confederate army with all the foul epithets his prejudiced mind could furnish—"Marched southwards with a barbarous army, enflamed to madness by the violent cravings of nature, and prepared to glut their frantic malice, and allay the rage of hunger, by the bloodiest hostilities and most ruthless depredations." Is this language for an historian? Is it not rather the low, vulgar ribaldry of the fish-market? I see no reason why the Scotch or

Irish should be denominated barbarous, by any member of the Pale. I know no better tests and means of civilization, than religion and the fine arts. The Island of Saints excelled in both these. Of the fine arts, music and poetry principally contribute to polish the mind and improve the feelings. In the first, the Irish excelled all the neighbouring nations, and that incomparably, on the testimony of the English themselves. In the latter, they excelled their cotemporaries as much as in the former; and their language was admirably fitted for every effusion of the muses. It combined the majesty of the Spanish, the softness and melody of the Italian, the strength and conciseness of the Hebrew, as suited the subject and occasion. Admirably copious, and containing in itself the terms of all arts and sciences till then invented, and the radicals of all the languages in the world, it was, of necessity, the language of a highly cultivated and refined people. With and through it, the philosophy of language, and the affinities of all tongues, can be traced. Even the word barbarous, here misplaced by the too partial Doctor, cannot be explained by any Grecist or Latinist. 'Tis the Celtic barb, or borb, fierce, untractable; from barr, or borr, high-feeding, pampering, which is productive of that effect on all animals. Now the English are remarkable, among all neighbouring nations, for unwearied voracity, which must necessarily have its effect on the temperament of body and mind. If the one be filled with gross humours, and a redundancy of sagi-

nation, the other will be sulky, churlish, sometimes oppressed with a lowness of spirits terminating in suicide, always unsocial, tyrannical, fanatically hating other nations, through the corruption of bile, the prejudices of education, and the overgrown spleen of unlimited selfishness. The description of our masters, copied by Leland himself from Hume, may point out the party to whom the epithet would more properly apply. "The estate of an English baron was managed by his bailiffs, and cultivated by his villains; its produce was consumed in rustic hospitality, by the baron and his officers; a number of idle retainers, ready for any mischief or disorder, were maintained by him: all who lived upon his estate were absolutely at his disposal. Instead of applying to courts of justice, he usually sought redress by open force and violence. The great nobility were a kind of independent potentates, who, if they submitted to any regulations at all, were less governed by the municipal law, than by a rude species of the law of nations."*

"This is the description of an admired English historian: and if we were to delineate the manners of the most unrefined Irish septs, we might fairly adopt the very same terms. Add to this, the vices of the English nobility, which the same writer enumerates, in the reign of Edward III., the outrageous and intolerable abuse of purveyance, the interruption of the

* Hume, Vol. II. 4to. p. 153.

course of law from grants of franchises and immunities, levying exorbitant fines, unjust pardoning of criminals, confederacies formed by great lords in mutual support of their iniquity, and the numberless robberies, murders, and ravishments committed by their retainers; and the whole picture, both of the English and the native inhabitants of Ireland, is exactly delineated.”* Not quite. Here Mr. Leland adds to those errors, or wilful mistatements, which disgrace so many of his pages. The estate of the clan did not belong to the chief, who had but his portion of it among his brethren, his equals in blood, inferior only by station. All on the estate were by no means at his disposal, nor could he substitute violence for law. He must be governed by written laws, like the other members of the commonwealth. His receipts, for the support of his dignity, were small; and an elective chief, liable to be crossed by a rival, had too much need of popularity, or indeed too confined means, to oppress his kindred. The social dispositions of the people, universal hospitality, and the inviolability of the guest, among every tribe that received him, were antidotes to the evils of the times, of which boasting England was destitute. In Ireland, prevailing anarchy, trampling on the constitution and laws, was mitigated in its effects by national manners. Hence, the tendency of the greater part of the settlers to adopt these manners and customs, and

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 285.

become Irishmen in reality, as well as by name. Even numbers, in times of disturbance, took refuge among the Irish tribes, from the tyranny and feudal barbarity of the Anglo-Irish barons. The Irish had no villains, but such English children as they purchased from their own parents: even that traffic was prohibited by an assembly of the Irish clergy. Was this traffic criminal? If the Irish were what they are misrepresented by party writers, English parents were guilty of the most heinous crimes against nature and parental duty. If they were such as venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, and all the old Saxon writers describe them; a people renowned for sanctity, learning, hospitality, indulgent lenity to inferiors, the traffic would lose much of its criminality. In case of poverty it might even be laudable, in a distressed parent, to confide his child to such persons as would reward bodily labour with education, food, and clothing. All these things they were accustomed to bestow on the children of the English, as Bede and Lord Lyttleton tell us.

But to return to Edward Bruce, and what Leland is pleased to call his barbarous army. For want of provisions, after various successful battles and skirmishes, he was obliged to remain quiet in the north, where the English did not think it proper to molest him for a considerable time. Now if any one chuses to doubt whether the plan of famine was or was not, that hatched by the Irish deputies, in their long conferences with the English cabinet, let him reflect on two

material circumstances. Bruce was frequently compelled by hunger to retreat to the north, notwithstanding the superiority of his arms in the other provinces. The north was not the most fertile, nor the best cultivated part of the island. How came it to have more resources in provisions? I can only account for the difference by a plain fact. The English power was unable to waste the north, as it did the other three provinces. What else can explain his retreats to the north, while he was victorious in every engagement with his enemies? Was it to repose among allies? If we credit Leland, O'Brien and other southern chieftains, declared for him; and Munster is naturally more fertile than the north. Nothing but the systematic devastation of the country can account for this difference, as the north was less in the power of the English than the other provinces; yet De Burgo and Fedlim O'Connor had committed great ravages there likewise.

Bruce having thus withdrawn to the north, his partizans in Leinster and elsewhere retired homewards, where they were exposed to the fury of their enemies. Many were slain at Castledermot, by order of Edmond Butler. Several of the O'Moores, O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Mac Morroughs, underwent the same fate. The O'Connors of Phaly, were massacred at Ballibogan, on the Boyne, by the English of Leinster and Meath. The Irish, on their side, made some reprisals. The O'Nowlans of Leinster slew Andrew Bermingham and Sir De la Londe, with

their followers, who were committing outrages in their district. Richard de Clare, Henry Capel, Thomas de Naas, the two Cantons, and eighty more were slain by the O'Briens and Mac Cartys.

The Lacys of Meath, summoned to Trim by deputy Mortimer, of Wigmore, to give an account of their conduct, received the summons with scorn, and slew Hugh Crofts, the messenger. The deputy, enraged at this open defiance to his authority, laid waste the estates of the Lacys, whom he declared traitors. It appears, indeed, that this was the only family of English descent, who adhered to the interest of Bruce. They fled to Connaught, and thence to Scotland, except John de Lacy, who, falling into the deputy's hands, was by his order strangled at Trim.

To enter into a detail of all the different skirmishes, massacres, and assassinations, committed during the period of near three years, while Edward Bruce was acknowledged monarch of Ireland by the majority of the nation, would be neither entertaining nor instructive. The war, necessarily confined to petty hostilities, through the scarcity first caused by a cruel policy, and afterwards prolonged by impolitic revenge, displays no symptom of a struggle between two powerful kingdoms. The strength of the contending parties could not be collected together; because great armies require great magazines of provision, and such were not to be found, while the interruption of tillage, and mutual devastation, continued the dearth. Yet an anecdote of

singular barbarity, recorded of the English garrison of Carrickfergus, should not be passed by. Holding out against Edward Bruce to the last extremity, among other expedients "to glut their frantic rage," (Leland's polite phraseology) they eat eight Scotch prisoners! Whether they eat them dead or alive, roast, boiled or raw, our authorities do not inform us; but national hatred seems to have contributed to a cannibal act, which no pressure of want could justify in a besieged garrison, though besieged by Scotchmen, since they could relieve themselves by capitulation.

Here it is proper to review the plausible pretences, with which the Pope and the king of England varnished over the iniquitous bargain of the sale of Ireland, for the tribute of hearth-money to the see of Rome. The Island of saints was to be reformed and civilized—religion was to be promoted! What religion? The purest branch of the catholic church they were; the most truly pious, hospitable, charitable, generous, frank, manly, heroic even in the highest flights of chivalrous honor. Ah! but they did not allow the head of the church temporal power. By whom, then, was the purity of the catholic faith in Ireland to be adulterated, under pretence of reform, with the profane mixture of temporal and spiritual power? From cotemporary writers of their own nation we learn, that they were indigent and profligate men, of ruined characters, broken fortunes, in debt, or disgrace, to whom any risque or perilous adventure was

more expedient than to remain at home. From their first landing, these greedy blood-thirsty adventurers described their own characters in deeds of matchless perfidy, atrocity, and rapine. The murder of prisoners of war, the perfidious invitations to murderous banquets, where poison or the dagger terminated the existence of the inveigled guests; assassinations of illustrious men; the murder of the Irish clergy, and plunder of churches and monasteries: to which, when they added cannibalism, bestiality, and sodomy, they give the hideous characters of the monsters who were to reform the Island of saints, and plant popery instead of catholicity. But the Milesians, true to the catholic faith, would admit no innovation. Some protestant writers have deceived themselves, and endeavoured to deceive others, from this circumstance, into a belief, that the antient Irish were Bible Christians, some sort of Protestants. They were Catholics, in the true strict sense of that word, who allowed the pope spiritual, but not temporal supremacy. From this rock, no seduction or coercion, not all the efforts of popish England first, nor of protestant England afterwards, could drive them. How different were the pretended reformers of the holy island? Like a pendulum, swung from the perpendicular point of equipoise to the extreme of popery, they were as easily swung to the opposite point of heresy; in whose inextricable mazes they still continue, tremulous, quivering, shifting, changing, without a fixed point of cohesion or repose.

Notwithstanding the damning evidences of the immorality, treachery, and inhumanity, of these infamous marauders, the pope supported their usurpation with the misapplication of his spiritual power, and sent his mad bulls roaring through Europe against the sacred island and its defenders. The settlers, in the mean time, had recourse to other means, which proved more efficacious. From their first conflicts with the Irish they observed, that the fall of a chief would determine the fate of a battle. The Irish, individually the best soldiers in the world, yet collectively only a mob, for want of pay, and consequently of discipline, were held together alone by reverence for the chieftain, whose election depended on his talents, and chiefly military talents. His fall, therefore, destroyed the sole connecting link, and his followers fled. This piece of English policy explains the catastrophe of Edward Bruce, hitherto unconquered. He marched upon some secret expedition to Foghard, the birth-place of St. Brigid, within two miles of Dundalk, with about 3000 men. The deputy dispatched an army from Dublin, under the command of Sir John Bermingham, to oppose him. The two armies met at the forementioned place, where a furious engagement commenced, in which Bruce lost his life, and the greater part of his little army was slain. A trait, discovering the cloven foot of English policy, appeared in this battle. A conspiracy was made to single out the monarch of Ireland, and kill him, at all hazards, cost what it would. The writers

of the Pale, to gloss over this dark transaction, state, that captain John Maupas singled him out, while he was engaged with others, and stabbed him; adding, that their two dead bodies were found by each other, when the battle was over. Walsingham and Baker state, that he was taken prisoner, and that his head was cut off, contrary to the law of nations, and sent as a present to the king of England, who in recompence created Bermingham earl of Louth, and baron of Athenry. This latter title he obtained by his victory over the Conacians, obtained by a similar military assassination of the chieftains, O'Connor and O'Kelly. It was probably the frequency of this practice, that obliged kings, who originally commanded their own armies, to keep body-guards.

The unfortunate issue of the Scotch and Irish confederacy, does not authorize us to echo the language of those writers, who call it wild and romantic. We rather agree with Abercromby, that if the military impetuosity of Edward was tempered with the superior prudence of his brother, he had remained king of Ireland. Had he been counselled by him, and waited for his arrival with a respectable force, victory could hardly be doubtful. Jealousy of sharing expected glory with any one, precipitated his fall; and Robert arrived with an army, only to hear of his death, and return home.

The disastrous consequences to Ireland, of this three years war, are fairly enough delineated by Leland; for the support whereof, "the

revenue of the land [the Pale] was far too short, and yet no supply of treasure was sent out of England.”*

“ The dismal effects of war, especially in a country circumstanced as Ireland was at this time, are not to be estimated solely by the troops lost in battle, or the towns taken: those which history deigns not to record were yet more afflicting and extensive. The oppression exercised with impunity in every particular district; the depredations every where committed among the inferior orders of the people, not by open enemies alone, but those who called themselves friends and protectors, and who justified their outrages by the plea of lawful authority; their avarice and cruelty, their plunderings and massacres, were still more ruinous than the defeat of an army, or the loss of a city. The wretched sufferers had neither power to repel, nor law to restrain or vindicate their injuries. In times of general commotion, laws the most wisely framed, and most equitably administered, are but of little moment. But now the very source of public justice was corrupted and poisoned. The distinction maintained between the Irish *fœdary* and the English subject, and the different modes of jurisdiction by which each was governed, every day demonstrated, by its miserable effects, the iniquity of those who had favoured this horrid and infatuated policy.

“ The murder of an Irishman was punishable

* Davies's Discovery..

only by a fine; a slight restraint on the rage of insolence and rapine.”*

“ The commendious Irish† method of quartering the soldiers on the inhabitants, and leaving them to support themselves by arbitrary exactions, seemed to have been pointed out by the urgent occasion, was adopted with alacrity, and executed with rigour. Riot, rapine, massacre, and all the tremendous effects of anarchy, were the natural consequences. Every inconsiderable party, who, under pretence of loyalty, received the king’s commission to repel the adversary in some particular district, became pestilent enemies to the inhabitants. Their properties, their lives, the chastity of their families, were all exposed to barbarians, who sought only to glut their brutal passions; and by their horrible excesses, saith the annalist, purchased the curse of God and man. The English freeholder abandoned his lands, rather than endure the burden of impositions intolerably severe, attended with such dreadful circumstances of outrage: he fled to the haunts of the Irish insurgents, connected and allied himself with these, learned their language and manners, and marched out with them against the common enemy; while his lands were resumed by the barbarous natives as their original and rightful property.

“ The same method of arbitrary exactions, (or coyne and livery, as it was called,) for the maintenance of the soldiery, was also adopted by

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. pp. 278, 279.

† For the Irish bonaght see pp. 144, 145, 146.

lords of considerable note and consequence; and particularly, began at this time to be exercised with great severity, by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond.*

The reader must smile with contempt at the contradictions of this barbarous Leland, struggling between truth and prejudice. After stating that English freeholders fled from the intolerable tyranny of their own countrymen, took refuge among the Irish clans, whom they were taught to hate as natural enemies, and found that humanity and protection among them, that they did not experience from their own nation; as if impatient to escape from these sour truths, and revenge the pain he felt from the narrative on the unfortunate Milesians, he immediately adds, "while his lands were resumed by the barbarous natives." Did the fugitive carry his lands on his back, that the people to whom he fled should seize on them? Is it not self-evident, that the people, from whose tyranny he fled, seized on his lands? These tyrants might plant barbarous natives on the abandoned freeholds; because the degenerate Irish, who conformed to the manners of the settlers, and because followers of English lords, were real barbarians, rather worse than the settlers themselves; for this reason, the corruption of the best things is the worst, and the strongest wine, by acetous fermentation, makes the strongest vinegar. The English freeholders, who are stated by him, to have abandoned their

* Leland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iii. pp. 380, 281.

freeholds, and take refuge among the Irish clans, learning their language, and conforming to their manners, must have had a feeling trial of the barbarity of their own race, and considered the Milesians as far superior to them, in humanity and generosity. What sacrifices did they not make by this exchange? Loss of property; the sacrifice of predilection for natal soil; the conquest of deep-rooted antipathy, and inveterate prejudices, against the antient natives, upheld by the laws, cruel policy, and savage warfare of the settlers; the sacrifice of their language and manners, things to which mankind are peculiarly wedded; the risque of committing themselves and families to the mercy of enemies, thus incessantly provoked and injured, by a combination of treachery and cruelty; the romantic hope of finding support and protection, from these very ulcerated enemies. Their choice of residing among the antient natives, in defiance of these losses, difficulties, and dangers, demonstrates which party they considered civilized, and which barbarous. As cotemporaries, eye witnesses, taught by experience, they are better evidence than any prejudiced writer, however smooth his periods may flow. Their experiment and success is the highest evidence of the hospitality and generosity of the Milesians, even in their decline; and that it was to acquire a more tolerable state of society they made the great sacrifices enumerated above. That emigration from the tyranny of Anglo-Irish barons, and their suite, was not confined to the period of the

Bruces, but existed from their first settlement in Ireland, is pretty clear, from an article in the treaty* of Windsor, obtained by the settlers to guard against it.

The country thus tranquillized, i. e. depeopled by plague, war, and famine, *cum solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, was entrusted with the government of the Pale. Hitherto the English adventurers were intent on exterminating and plundering the natives, lay and ecclesiastic. They had, in imitation of their Danish forefathers, destroyed and plundered many an Irish monastery, seats of learning and virtue, and planted some convents for English ecclesiastical adventurers, poisoned with the national hatred and selfishness of their lay-brethren, without adding any thing to the cause of learning or religion. Bricknor, archbishop of Dublin, is an honorable exception to the general inattention of the Anglo-Irish to literature. He obtained a bull from Pope John XXII., in confirmation of one already granted by Clement V. for the erection of an university. St. Patrick's church, Dublin, was chosen as the site for the college, anno 1320, which was established by the zealous patronage of the bishop, Bricknor. Studies were continued there until Edward III., who enlarged the original endowment, and by special writ granted his protection and safe conduct to the students, thirty-eight years after the first establishment.

* See Article IV. pp. 20, 31.

The good intentions of the founders and patrons of this institution, were frustrated by the circumstances of the times, and the dispositions of the people. Learning was quite unfashionable among the English and Anglo-Irish barons. The latter especially, always engaged in war, paid no attention to letters, except such as were styled degenerate Englishmen. These studied the Irish language, the most copious, and one of the most elegant in the world, and cherished bards and antiquarians.

Learning, though obscured, was not extinct in the Irish countries, where schools and professors were still continued. The Milesians had always their philes, ollavs, shruhs, seanchies, bards, &c. while the university, established in the capital of the colony, after languishing for a while, expired. This contrast places in the clearest light, the disparity of the two races, in point of civilization.

The enmity of the two races, fomented by the policy of England, extended to every thing. As the English Franciscans, Dominicans, &c. of the Pale, admitted no mere Irish novices, some convents of the ancient stock excluded English novices; as appears from a register in the Tower of London, recording an instance of national antipathy, in the refusal of the abbey of Mellifont, county of Louth, to admit novices of English descent.

At an election of a bishop for the see of Cashel, the dean, together with the greater number of the canons, elected John Mac Carwill, bishop

of Cork: another party of the canons elected Thomas O'Lonchi, archdeacon of the same see. This contested election was referred to the Pope; who, in complaisance to the king of England, to whom Mac was disagreeable as well as the big O, excluded both candidates, and named to the see of Cashel, William Fitz-John, bishop of Ossory. Why the different Popes favoured all the encroachments of the English on the antient Irish, especially if, according to Abbé Geoghegan, Pope John XXII. remitted the tribute of Peter's-pence, I see but one fact that explains. The English admitted popery, i. e. the pope's temporal power, in its fullest extent. The antient Irish, and they almost alone, constantly opposed it; which may partly account for the alliance of the two potentates against them, and the willingness of the holy father to concur with the English monarch in rejecting the ôs and macs, and filling the sees with staunch English papists, instead of Milesian catholics.

From different acts of Pope John XXII., commonly called Pope Joan, by English protestants, he seemed to have been much wedded to English interests; for he bestowed on Edward II. a tenth of all ecclesiastical incomes within the king's Irish territories, for two years, and to be levied by the dean and chapter of Christ-church, Dublin. The prelates and clergy of the Pale, unwilling to contest the pope's authority, in imposing this heavy income tax, least they should invalidate the basis of their own encroachments, on livings founded by Milesians, had recourse

to evasion. They insisted on seeing the pope's original bull, before they would pay the tax.

It is rather unfortunate for the pretensions of these people, who came to Ireland, as they held forth, to reform morals and religion, that they left so many specimens of their barbarity and ignorance. " Richard Ledred, (Leatherhead) bishop of Ossory, a man of violent passions, and a proud and vindictive spirit, contrived, from what private motive or provocation doth not appear, to raise such confusion in his diocese as soon engaged the attention of the whole island. A woman of some distinction, called Alice Ketler, with her son and some of her dependents, were accused of witchcraft in his spiritual court. One of these dependents was condemned and executed, the son confined in prison; the lady, though the charge could not be clearly established against her, yet, on a new accusation of heresy, was tried, convicted, and condemned to the flames. Arnold de la Poer, one of the magistrates of Kilkenny, who espoused the cause of these unhappy culprits, was also charged with heresy by the bishop; he appealed to the chief justice, the prior of Kilmainham, who countenanced and protected him: the insolent prelate instantly extended his accusation to the justice, who now found it difficult to secure himself, and left his wretched client, De la Poer, to expire in prison. A new weapon was thus found, to execute the private revenge of individuals, and aggravate the public calamities. Heresy was a word of horror, even to those who were every day breaking through

the most sacred bonds of religion and humanity. The oppressor, the ravager, the murderer, was zealous to approve himself a true son of the church, and to execute her vengeance on all her enemies. Adam Duff, a man of a considerable Irish family in Leinster, was seized and burnt for heresy. His offence was aggravated by a charge of horrid and senseless blasphemy; just as Ketter had her sacramental wafer impressed with the devil's name, and an ointment to convert her staff into a witch's vehicle. At length, the mischief, thus spread abroad, reverted upon its author. The bishop of Ossory himself was, by his metropolitan, formally accused of heresy, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat, and to appeal to the apostolic see, leaving his country free from the miserable consequences of folly and superstition operating in favour of personal animosity and revenge."* The ecclesiastical history of the island of Saints was never stained by such disgraceful samples of superstition and barbarity.

War was still carried on between the Scotch and English, and the catastrophe of Edward Bruce contributed not a little to foment it. The Scotch pushed their conquests as far as York. They afterwards laid siege to Berwick; which was delivered to them, by the treachery of Spalding, the governor, and of other English, who were then in garrison. The king of Scotland hanged them, for having betrayed their country;

* Leland, Vol. 1. Book II. c. iv. p. 287.

in order to teach posterity, that, if treason is useful, traitors ought to be detested. The Scotch having gained many other advantages over the English, Edward, finding himself in no condition to maintain the war, concluded a truce of two years, some say of thirteen.

Of all the kings, who reigned over England since the conquest, Edward II. was the most unfortunate, and the least deserving the bad treatment he experienced from his revolted subjects, and from his nearest connexions. He never ground his subjects, nor attempted on their privileges. His principal failing was, too much affection for his favourites. He had a tender and generous heart, a rare quality among the people whom he had the misfortune to govern. Young Spencer, who had succeeded Gaveston in the good graces of the king, was cut in quarters, after his father, aged ninety years, had been butchered in the same barbarous manner. His single crime consisted in the love of his monarch, unable to protect him. The king himself fell a sacrifice to the barbarous malice of his enemies. Those who, by the ties of nature, blood, and honor, should have sacrificed their lives for his, were his most cruel persecutors. The queen herself, with a brutal and ferocious nobility, carried on war against him, took him prisoner, and confined him in a dungeon, withholding from him, not only comforts, but necessities. The states were then assembled, to extort a solemn abdication of the crown, in favour of his son; a formality then judged necessary, for disposing of

the crown, which has since been omitted in similar circumstances. This ceremony finished, his first guards, thought too much attached to him, were removed, and he was delivered into the hands of two infamous ruffians, Sir Thomas de Gourney and John Mattrevers, who were sold to his enemies. They destroyed him with most cruel torments, driving a red hot iron through his fundament into his bowels. Such was the genius of the English of that day; and their characteristic cruelty frequently manifested itself since. 'Tis said, that Mortimer, to encourage these monsters to the commission of this parricide, sent them in a letter the following equivocation, composed by Adam Toleton, bishop of Hereford, *Edvardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*; which may be rendered thus in English, "Slay Edward not to fear is good." The sense depends on punctuation. If a comma follow Edward, 'tis a command to kill; if it follow the negative not, 'tis a prohibition. Mortimer, after having been created earl of March, was condemned to be hanged, for concluding a shameful treaty of peace with the Scotch, from whom he received presents; for having caused the death of the late king, and living too familiarly with Isabelle, the queen-dowager; and lastly, for having plundered king and people. He was executed at Tyburn, in 1380, and was gibbeted two days.

This is the guilty culprit, whom Cox, one of the most impudent liars that ever put pen to paper, calls the rightful proprietor of Leix,

in the Queen's county. " Lord Mortimer being obliged, whether by inclination or the necessity of his affairs, to repair to England, gave the superintendance of his estates in Leix to an Irishman, by name O'Morra. In process of time the Irishman made himself proprietor, and kept possession a long time. He even still pretends a right to it, though his pretensions are only founded on perfidy and ingratitude.* Cox could not be ignorant of what every novice in Irish history must know, that the O'Moores, descended from Conall Cearnach, chief of the Ulster chivalry, were owners of that land, not alone before the coming of the English, but before the mission of St. Patrick; and, after the coming of these exterminators, held possession, at the point of the sword, with various issue, sometimes dispossessed, but as often recovering possession, by the valour of their arm, untill the unexampled perfidy, the inhuman cruelty, practised upon that noble and brave clan, by the bloody and treacherous government of Philip and Mary.

A lover of truth, unacquainted with facts, may here be staggered, and ask himself, whether the character of the English invaders of Ireland be truly and impartially drawn? Let him also put this question to himself, Whether the character of the English, Irish, or Scottish nation, is to be estimated, from the patterns sent to Botany bay? or the character of the Spanish nation to be appreciated, by the murdering mauraders

* Cox's Hist. of Ireland, an. 1326.

who assisted Cortes in the subjugation of Peru and Mexico? Las Casas, the humane priest, who espoused the cause of the injured South Americans with enthusiasm, was a Spaniard, as well as their destroyers. We must agree with O'Neil's Remonstrance to the Pope, that the English nation, residing in England, was by no means so corrupt and abominable as the adventurers, who came thence into Ireland, with the authority of the Pope and of England's king, under pretence of reforming the nation.

Historic impartiality here demands, in addition to the foregoing reflections, shewing that the English ought not to be judged by the indigent profligate adventurers vomited on the Irish coast, that the causes should be brought forward of the very different temper of the antient and modern English towards the Milesian Irish. The Anglo-Saxons, long allies of the Irish against the Roman empire, at the invitation of the antient Britons, landed in South Britain, (afterwards called England, from their name,) and drove the Irish Scots from that part of the island. But, as Horace observes, with regard to the civilization of the Romans, *Grecia victa, ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio*.*

Horace, like the rest of his countrymen, was ignorant of the word *Latium*. They are only the descendants of the mighty genius, who invented the alphabet, established the first university after the Flood, on the plains of Shinaar, in Chaldea,

* Greece subdued, captivated the ferocious conquerors, and introduced arts into rustic *Latium*.

and planned the construction of a language, containing the radicals of all the dialects produced by the miraculous confusion of tongues, who can explain that, and every thing else belonging to antiquity and language. The Laithe, or marshes, called by the modern Italians, *padule pontine*, which Roman emperors endeavoured to drain, and Pope Pius VI. lived to accomplish, was the first refuge of the runagates and robbers, who afterward built the fortress of Rome. The partial civilization, communicated to them barbarians from Greece, they could not trace to its source. They did not know, that the descendants of Phenius, in their emigration from Egypt to Greece, were the very men, who imparted to them the use of letters, and the rudiments of all the arts. The terms of the arts, which Greek ingenuity could never explain, are imperishable demonstrations of the source; because the terms, and the arts, accompany each other. Let ignorance and prejudice open the yawning grin of ridicule, at this bold, but true assertion. The means of demonstration are not wanting; and, if the means of publication were at hand, a blaze of irresistible light would issue from the sacred island, that would astonish the learned world, confound obstinate dullness, and delight the curious searchers of truth. Phenius Redivivus is a tribute due to the memory of the illustrious ancestor of the Gathelians, whom Livy, though acquainted but with a small part of his abilities, justly calls, *divinum ingenium*. A divine genius he surely was. His posterity, in Ireland, have

still, with filial piety, retained his original alphabet unaltered; while his other descendants, Phenicians, Persians, Hindoos, and Thibetans, have admitted an unalterable mixture. Neither did the Greeks or Romans retain the original; but the former adopted, from the corrupted Syrian alphabet, during their war with Troy, some abbreviations for letters; such as p and s, changed to psi; s and c, called by them xi, and by the Latins ex. The Gathelian branch of his descendants did more. They preserved the language of his contrivance and construction; a monument of his genius, more astonishing to me than the invention of the alphabet itself. The plan was surprising: the execution admirable. It yet stands, monumentum ære perennius, the imperishable record of the miraculous confusion of tongues, the bulwark of revealed truth. All the exertions of tyrannic barbarity, or native treachery, against it, are fruitless; strong is the arm that has and will uphold it. A man, possessed of this incomparable language, could teach Moses Hebrew, Aristotle Greek, and Cicero Latin. The demonstration of this I have in my hand, without labour or study, but by way of amusement, to which opposition would be vain. The descendants of this great man imparted the most valuable discoveries to the human race. The branch in Inisfail was not idle. They imparted letters and civilization to all the nations in Europe. Even the frozen region of Iceland still preserves the Ira leter, i. e. Irish letters; and Runic, i. e. secret characters. To the northern

conquerors of the Western empire they gave Christianity and learning; and the name of Gillemer, i. e. Servant of Mary, king of the Vandals, in Africa, points the nation, whose missionaries converted and baptized him. They neglected not their neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons. To them they dispensed religion, letters, and arts; as we have recorded by their own testimony, Venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Cambden, Littleton. "Multitudes of English youth, fed, clothed, and instructed gratis, in the holy island, are an honorable testimony," says the latter, "to the learning and hospitality of the antient Irish." True; but how were they rewarded afterwards!

In order to set the character of the contending races in the clearest light, it is necessary to continue mining the fountains of the great deep, for the discovery of the links, that connect the chain of cause and effect. Britain had received Christianity before the Saxon conquest; but the animosity between them and the antient Britons must account, either that the one would not labour for the conversion of their conquerors, or that the latter would not listen to their instructions. The task of converting and civilizing them was left for the Milesian Irish; of which honor, the pope's influence, by local prejudices, endeavoured to deprive them.

A striking difference of character, between the antient Britons and the Milesians, is conspicuous, from the contrast of the conversion of Saxons and Danes. The hostility between the antient Irish and Danes was more virulent, and

of longer continuance, than that between the old inhabitants of south Britain, and their overbearing invited allies. Yet, after one fourth of Ireland completely and irretrievably discomfitted the conquerors of France and England, under the great Brien Boroiwe, they communicated to them Christianity and civilization. How was this conquest of national antipathy, embittered by the furious hostility of ages, accomplished? Certainly, by no other weapons but piety and social virtue. So effectually were they civilized, domesticated, and naturalized, in the establishments conceded to them in Ireland, that they entrusted their spiritual and temporal concerns to some of the antient natives, Laurence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, to wit. Could they trust them in better hands? Against the settlement of their barbarous brethren from Normandy, they made the most strenuous opposition. The conduct of the Danes of Wexford may stand as one instance for all. Like the Athenians, who, by the persuasion of Themistocles, abandoned the city, and took refuge in islands and ships, the Wexfordians, at the approach of the English, set fire to the town, and sheltered themselves in the island of Beg-Erin, in the bay. How came the Norman Danes, settled in England by the Conquest, to be more ferocious and uncivilized, than the Saxons and Danes resident in Ireland? They had not the advantage of a civilizing intercourse, like the others. They had an hereditary detestation of the Milesians, for the many humiliating defeats they experienced from them.

To elucidate further the peculiar virulence of these invaders, some unopened sluices of information must be tried. The Lochlins, who infested Europe with piracy, plunder, and devastation, during centuries, embraced a greater extent of territory than Denmark; for they were inhabitants of all the countries bordering on the Baltic, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, part of Russia, Poland, and the north of Germany. They were divided by the Irish into two casts, Duv Ghall, and Finghall. Religion lent features of unexampled atrocity and cruelty to their wars, which were in the beginning religious crusades, formed by religious hatred. Here the impolicy of religious persecution is demonstrated by facts. Charlemagne, the greatest man of his age in body and mind, was yet a bigot. During his thirty years war with the Saxons, i. e. the north of Germany, his conduct more resembled the maxims of the Alcoran than those of the Gospel. He left his prisoners of war no other alternative than baptism or death. This breach of the law of nations, coupled with bigotry, drove the northern heathens to madness. They projected a crusade against Christian countries, put to sea in all the havens of the Baltic, and took a terrible revenge for the intolerable cruelty of the French emperor. The clergy, secular and regular, were the first objects of their vengeance, which set churches, monasteries, and universities in a blaze. As if to put the antichristian practice of persecution to shame and confusion, they retaliated on France what they suffered from the emperor; and, in

spite of that potent monarchy, wrested from it the large province of Normandy, whence they invaded England, and afterwards Ireland, under the borrowed name of English.

In perusing the momentous epoch of the election of Bruce to the monarchy of Ireland, a discerning reader will perceive the deception, false colourings, and fictions, of Leland, and his kindred libellers of the Pale. The settlers are with them the heroes of the drama. All the Irish princes are stated as having declared for Bruce; yet, wonderful to tell, the Anglo-Irish, fewer by far in number, with their degenerate Irish villains, defeated and dispersed the puissant confederation of Scotland and Ireland, as with a conjuror's wand, presto, allegremento, subito. The English were able to revive the hereditary rivalry of the north and south; and, though a candidate for the principality of Thomond invited Edward to Munster, he found the forces of Thomond, the renowned Dalgaissians, the Desmonians, and the English, in formidable array against him. Of this I was aware; but, unwilling to bring forward the fact, untill I put my finger on the unquestionable authority of the annals of Innisfallen, *Iar chonarc do sluagh Geil agus Gallaiv*. Nevertheless, the Scotch and northern Irish, though inferior in number, offered battle on the plains of Samhgil, which the combined army of the south, English, and degenerate Irish, declined; by reason of a prophecy, portending the overthrow of the English on that spot.

The terror of this invasion being over, the

English lords, not unlike the Irish princes after the fall of the monarchy, quarrelled among themselves. A trifle was sufficient to kindle the flames of war, in which the degenerate Milesians were, of course, the chief victims and sufferers, *quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*.

Edward III. called Edward of Windsor, from the place of his nativity, who was crowned by Reginald, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1327, was too much occupied with his wars against France and Scotland, to give any attention to his Irish domain; and the chief settlers carried on their projects of ambition or revenge, regardless of his deputy. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, of Desmond, feeling hurt at the nickname of Rymer, given him by Arnold Poer, (now Power,) resolved to revenge the affront with the sword. He drew into his quarrel the Butlers and Berminghams, and carried on war against the Poers, and their allies, the Burkes. The latter were defeated with great slaughter, the survivors dispersed, and obliged to take refuge in Connaught, while their habitations and lands were ravaged and laid waste.

The earl of Kildare, the king's justiciary, in vain interfered with his authority, to quell these civil wars. On an appointed day, he cited the two parties to appear before him; but Poer, whether conscious of guilt, or suspicious of partiality, disobeyed the citation, and fled to England. His flight did not put an end to the disorders occasioned by him. The confederates continued to spread devastation and terror so far,

that towns, neutral in this private war, dreading the storm, began to fortify themselves. The confederates began at length to be alarmed at the ravages they had made, and the preparations of the king's towns, lest they should be considered as rebels; they sent word to the earl of Kildare, that their arms were not directed against the king and his towns, but merely to take vengeance of their enemies; and that they were willing to appear before him at Kilkenny, to justify their conduct.

The cause of Fitz-Gerald's superiority in this conflict is not so much as hinted, by any writer on this period; yet it is not difficult to see, that Poer's injudicious affront increased the popularity of Desmond, for his encouragement of Irish literature and bards, the best recruiting sergeants; with the enthusiastic fervour of their strains, on the tuneful lyre, the southern Milesians made common cause with them and with Desmond.

The Irish of Leinster, taking advantage of the civil wars of their invaders, proclaimed Donald, son of Arthur Mac Murchad, descended from the antient royal family, king of that province. He carried his arms to the walls of Dublin; but his reign was of short continuance. At a battle near this city, in which he was fighting valiantly, at the head of new subjects, the English had recourse to their accustomed policy, made a set at him, took him prisoner, and confined him in the tower. For this truly English exploit, the gratification to Sir Henry Traherne

and Walter de Valle, was £110 sterling; a considerable sum for them times, when six pence was the value of an Irish Milesian of the Pale, and no eric for the murder of an Irishman from the Irish countries, denominated, in the style of the settlers, waste countries, i. e. lands, whose owners were considered as dead, to be seized by the invaders, whenever they had the power of exterminating the possessors, and enslaving the remnant escaped from the sword. The English, faithful to their original system of extermination, and the murder of prisoners of war, executed David O'Tool, whom they took by the same dishonourable methods of warfare. Mac Murchad was more fortunate; for he escaped by means of a cord, sent to him by Adam de Nangle, who was hanged for this generous unenglish action. The premium of John Wellesley for the capture of David O'Tool is not mentioned.

The chiefs of the settlers were aggrandizing themselves, in the same proportion as the native interest was on the decline. Burke, and Arnold Poer, who had fled from Ireland, to escape the fury of the Butlers, Fitz-Geralds, and Berminghams, were reconciled to each other, by a parliament held in Dublin for that purpose.

In the second year of Edward III., James Butler, son of Edmond, earl of Carrick, espoused the daughter of Edward I. In consequence of this alliance, he was created earl of Ormond, by the king, at a parliament held at Northampton. The county of Tipperary was erected into a county palatine, over which he was invested, with

royalties, franchises, military fiefs, and other privileges.

During the administration of Sir John Darcy, lord Thomas Butler, marched to West-meath, with a considerable force, with a view to subject and eject the antient proprietors. On the vigil of St. Laurence, he was met by Mac Geoghagan, at the head of his forces. A furious battle ensued, in which Butler lost victory and life, with many of his chief officers. O'Brien of Thomond, provoked by their encroachments, ravaged the English settlements in Tipperary.

These few advantages, gained by the Irish over their enemies, did not hinder the latter to cut each other down. John Bermingham, earl of Louth, with Peter his brother, Talbot, of Malahide, and 160 of their English followers, were massacred at Ballibragan, in the territory of Oriel, by the Savages, Gernons, and others of their own nation. James, son of Robert Keating, Lord Philip Hodnet, with Hugh Condon, and their followers, to the amount of 140, were treated as enemies, in Munster, by the Barrys and the Roches. The English of Meath, under the command of Sir Simon Genevil, made an inroad on the barony of Carbrie, in the county of Kildare, but were defeated by the Berminghams, with the loss of seventy-six men.

Meanwhile the remnant of the antient Irish of Leinster, were obliged to be constantly under arms, to resist their exterminators. But these were now too firmly established, and cast too deep roots, in three-fourths of Ireland, to be shaken

by the solitary, divided efforts of disunited clans. Yet some reprisals were here and there made on them. Philip Staunton was killed, and Henry Traherne made prisoner in his house at Kilbeg, by Richard, son of Philip O'Nowlan. This was soon after revenged on the territory of Foghard, in the county of Wexford, which was laid waste, by order of the earl of Ormond.

During the deputyship of Sir John Darcy, serious measures were adopted, to subdue the independent tribes of Leinster. The justice marched with an army towards Wicklow and Newcastle, against the O'Byrnes, who were retaliating on the English settlements. This expedition produced no other effect but effusion of blood on both sides. The justice, sensible of the impossibility of carrying on the war effectually with an empty treasury, desired, with the advice of his counsel, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, son of Thomas of Desmond, to take the command, and carry on the war at his own expence; for which he would be indemnified. He marched at the head of 10,000 men, most of them degenerate Irish, and subdued the Irish enemy in detail. He began with the O'Nowlans, whose country he burned. He treated the Mac Murchads in the same manner, took hostages from them, and re-took the castle of Ley from the O'Dempsies. He supported his troops by requisitions in provisions, clothing, and money, levied at discretion on the people. This oppressive method, by the English called coyne and livery, and bonaght by

the Irish, proved ruinous to the house of Desmond afterwards.

The Leinster Irish, seeing themselves without resource, a prey, marked out for destruction, petitioned the king, to admit them as his subjects, and place them under the government and protection of his laws. The king, as usual, referred the decision of this affair to his Irish parliament, who as usual, rejected it. "We wish to be informed, if we can grant the premises, without injury to others; and we charge you to sound the inclinations of the magnates of that land, in our next parliament to be held there,"* was the language of Edward III. to his deputy. There was a parliament that year, which certified to the king, that the grant would be injurious to his and their interests.

This impolitic, human repulse, spread alarm among the native Irish, and roused the indignation of a long provoked and injured people. They now clearly saw, that the infernal policy, hitherto practised towards them, was to be perpetuated, by the united sanction of the English government and settlers. It was not only lawful, but laudable, to kill them and take their property. The perfidious invitation to the murderous banquet, where the dagger or poison concluded the repast, was a choice stratagem. The art of reviving hereditary feuds, and causing them to cut each other down, with their own weapons, was still better. To have a chosen body, for singling

* Davis's Hist. Rel.

out a chief of ability, on the day of battle, was an approved mode of warfare. "No Irishman was safe to enter a walled town, castle, or any settlement, belonging to these enemies."* In short, they were now convinced, that they need not expect to be treated as human beings; but to be exterminated like wild beasts, on the original invariable plan of the English invaders. Resolved to avenge the national affront, of being refused the condition of subjection to the English government, and the protection of the laws, they rose up in arms, in different parts. Not that all the Milesians joined in this petition, but the repulse of those who did, gave all to understand, that they were to be treated like the Canaanites; and their whole race was chalked out for slaughter. Leland gives the following account of this war, with his usual inaccuracy, and contempt of historical truth.

"The resentment of the Irish, naturally violent, and now too justly provoked, broke out in an insurrection, projected with greater concert, and executed with more violence, than for some time had been experienced. O'Brien, the chieftain of Thomond, was chosen leader of the insurgents; and under his standard some powerful septs of Leinster determined to execute their vengeance. The flame of war soon raged in Meath, in Munster, in the fairest English settlements of Leinster: and the first successes of the Irish, which were not inconsiderable, inflamed their pride even to

* Sir John Davies's Disc.

the most outrageous violence. In their triumphant progress, we are told, that they surrounded a church, where about fourscore persons of English race were assembled at their devotions; these wretches, too sensible of the cruelty of the enemy, and utterly hopeless of escaping their fury, petitioned only that the priest might be suffered to depart unmolested. But the merciless ruffians, instead of complying with this affecting supplication, were only provoked to make the priest the very first object of their cruelty. The Host, which he held forth, in hopes that the awful object might have some influence upon their minds, was torn from him, and spurned under foot; their weapons were plunged in him, and the church, with all the miserable people cooped up in it, destroyed by fire.”*

The term insurgent is here evidently wrong. In the language of the law, and the policy of government, the Irish clans were marked as Irish enemies, like any independent power at war; only with this difference, that the Irish, even while at peace with the Pale, were always stiled enemies, i. e. natural enemies to be exterminated. Indeed had the petitioning clans of Leinster been received as subjects, any rising afterwards might be called insurrection, whether just or unjust. But the war of a people not subjects, nor allowed to be such, by England or its Irish settlers, is ignorantly and foolishly called so.

The story he tells, about the massacre of 80

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 293.

people in a church, the trampling on the host, and murder of the priest, requires better evidence than the assertion of so partial a writer. I see, indeed, Pryn on his margin; but he quotes not a word from him, in support of this story; and, if he did, any one ever so little acquainted with Irish affairs, will see how questionable the authority of English and Anglo-Irish writers is, on Irish barbarities; and be apt to class this tale of horror with Musgrave's affidavit fables on Irish cruelty. If any of the old stock could be guilty of such impiety and barbarity, the degenerate Irish, fighting against their kindred, under the earl of Desmond, who "exacted his coyne and livery with a detestable violence and oppression," were tutored in every species of inhumanity by their new masters. From them they could learn breach of treaty, murder of prisoners of war, perfidious invitations, the kiss of Judas, convivial murder of guests, invited for that very purpose; a contempt for every thing sacred, and violation of every moral duty, when their interest was concerned; the massacre of pious and learned Irish monks; the plunder of the sacred utensils of their altars; and the political foundation of convents, garrisoned with English monks, devoted to the devouring Moloch of English interest.

As he neither gives time, place, party, circumstance, or authority, for his shocking narrative, I pass over to some of his absurdities; for a writer, whose object is not historical justice, but such misrepresentations, and deceptive varnish, as may suit party purposes, must often detect

himself by contradictions and absurdities. This is the case with Leland, whose pages are not less at war with themselves than with truth.

Edward III. under pretence of invading Ireland, made great preparations, and obtained large supplies from parliament. The better to conceal his real designs against Scotland, he sent for the earls of Ulster and Ormond, Sir William and Sir Walter de Burgo, in order to concert the means necessary for his voyage and plan of operations. Further to cover his real views, he ordered all the ships in his part of Ireland to be seized, and conveyed to Holyhead, for the transport of troops; and issued another order, for the impressing of Welsh infantry, to attend him on his expedition to Ireland. To confirm the expectations of the public, he gave orders to all the officers, commissioned for his service in Ireland, to repair thither, without delay or excuse; “a country where the English had as yet but a partial, precarious, and disputed settlement.” Who can reconcile this with the term insurgents, any more than with Musgrave’s denomination of rebels? In the same page,* he says, “the Irish had never been subdued; nor was their country in a worse state, than at the accession of the king or his father.” Then they made war as independent potentates; whom, to stile rebels or insurgents, appertains only to the impudent brazen front of English historical liars, and their descendants.

* Page 294.

That the partizans of English interest, whatever partial successes they may boast of, were worsted in this extensive war, excited by the villianous repulse of the old natives, petitioning to be admitted as the king's subjects, and in that quality to swear allegiance, and receive the protection of the law, is easily proved from Leland himself; for as soon as their expectation of the king's arrival failed, they were happy to conclude, what he calls a precarious and inglorious peace.

“ The only measure now taken for the regulation of Ireland, was, that precarious and inglorious one, of treating with the adversaries of government. The prior of Kilmainham was commissioned to enter into such conventions with all insurgents, both of the English and Irish race, as he should judge most expedient for the pacification of the realm, and the honour and interest of his master. The great lords received orders to assist them by their advice and countenance; and the sheriffs of the several counties and liberties were instructed, that the conferences to be held for this purpose should be protected, without damage or injury to any of the parties. Thus were the turbulent and disaffected taught their own real power, and the weakness and insufficiency of that government which attempted to controul them. Insidious accomodations were readily concluded; and a number of secret enemies admitted to the royal grace and favour, whose perverse dispositions were thus cherished, instead of being broken by a steady, firm, and rigorous authority.”*

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 295.

This is a clear acknowledgment of defeat. For it was not from motives of humanity or lenity, to a race, whom they marked out for extermination, that they would conclude one, so humiliating to English pride. It was truly inglorious, for the Milesians ever to conclude a peace with their systematic plunderers and exterminators, as long as they polluted with their presence the soil of the sacred island.

Another proof of defeat he furnishes, where he represents the deputy as suspecting the chiefs of the settlers to connive at the success of the Irish in this war. “ In the mean time, O’Brien, leader of the Irish insurgents, not yet subdued, found full employment, both for the English councils convened to devise the means of reducing him, and for the troops sent out to oppose him. Deliberations were held, and armaments prepared ; but the leaders were divided, and their troops employed with little honour or advantage. Sir Antony Lucy, an English knight, appointed to the government, was astonished and provoked at the insolence of the Irish, and justly suspected that they must be secretly favoured and abetted by some great lords. He entered on his administration with a determined purpose to support the interests of his royal master, by a vigorous prosecution of the enemy, and a spirited opposition to the insolence and insidious practice of his insincere adherents of the English race. He summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin: his order was neglected, and the assembly inconsiderable. It was adjourned to Kilkenny ; and here the still

still decreasing number of attending members gave new occasion of suspicion. Intelligence was received of some considerable havock committed [victory gained] by the Irish. The governor imagining with good reason, and confirmed in his suspicion by sufficient evidence, that the enemy was secretly encouraged by some lords of English race, determined to strike at the very root of such abuse. He seized the earl of Desmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgho, and his brother, William and Walter Bermingham. The evidence against William Bermingham was full and forcible: he was condemned and executed: his brother escaped only by his privilege as an ecclesiastic: Desmond, who had been obliged to submit to this rigorous governor, after a long confinement was discharged on great surety, and sent into England.”*

That O’Brien, and the independent Irish, were not at all subdued during that war, is manifest, from the “precarious, inglorious peace.” which gives the lie to “not yet subdued.” With his usual candour, he calls in the next page, victory, “havoc.” Now havoc, from the root catbhoc, is only an affray, in its original sense; and a great havoc, attended by victory, deserves the name of a victory. In the usual spirit of contradiction, into which every narrator, shunning or diguising truth, is liable to fall, after furnishing incontestable evidence of the defeat of his favourites, he endeavours to overturn all he had said, by call-

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 292, 293.

ing that peace, dictated by necessity, an “injurious condescension !”

“ This injudicious condescension to the enemies of the English interest, was attended by an event of the utmost danger, and most pernicious consequences, that of the death of William, earl of Ulster, who was assassinated by his own perfidious servants at Carrickfergus. His countess, with her infant daughter, fled in the utmost consternation into England, and the vast demesnes of this illustrious family were left without any sufficient defender. By the law of England, the earl’s lands should have been seized into the king’s hands as guardian to the infant ward ; but this law was of little force against the violence of old claimants. The Northern septs of O’Nial, in whom all national animosities were revived by this event, seized the occasion of recovering their antient power, rose suddenly in arms, passed the river Bann, and fell furiously upon the English settlers established by the family of de Burgho. Notwithstanding a brave and obstinate resistance, the persevering virulence of the Irish prevailed in a course of time, so as to extirpate the English, at least to confine them within very narrow bounds. And their extensive possessions now parcelled out among the conquerours, received the name of the Upper and Lower Clan-Hugh-boy ; from their leader Hugh-boy O’Nial. In Connaught, some younger branches of the family of de Burgho intruded into the late earl’s possessions ; of whom, two the most powerful contrived to divide the great seignory between them ; and

conscious that the law of England must oppose this usurpation, and defend the rightful claim of the young heiress, they at once rejected the English law, renounced their names, language, apparel and manners, adopted those of the Irish, called themselves Mac-William Oughter, and Mac-William Eighter, that is, the Farther, and the Nether Mac-William, seduced their countrymen, settled in this province, by their pernicious example, and from thenceforward transmitted their possessions in the course of tainistry and gavel-kind.”*

With the veracity of a Richard Cox, he here states, that the territory of Clan-hugh-boy O’Neil had belonged to English settlers, untill O’Nial seized on it, during this great war. He forgot his previous statement, that “the English settlers of the north were instantly swept away by the confederate Scottish and Irish army, under Bruce.” The fact is, that the earl of Ulster was then first endeavouring to establish settlers in that district, and lost his life in the attempt.

Another proof of the victorious progress of the Milesian arms, during this just and necessary war, he furnishes unknown to himself, in this last quoted page. As the tide of victory favoured either of the races, many of the vanquished party thought it their interest to change their names and dress, and conform to the language, laws, customs and manners of the conquerors. Thus the Leinster clans, wearied with incessant war-

* Ireland, Vol. I. B. II. c. iv. p. 295, 296.

fare, and distressed by their oppressors, petitioned for the English law; to understand which, and for to become subjects of the Pale, they must learn English; in which capacity, they, by a standing law, should adopt English surnames, language, dress, manners, and customs. This reason alone explains, why all the settlers of Connaught, at this period, adopted Irish laws, language, and surnames, as Mac-William; and in Munster, as Clan-Morres, Mac-Walter, and became Irish in every particular.

In the next page he furnishes a material witness, that the inglorious peace was not dictated by any "injudicious condescension" to the king's Irish enemies, whose blood they thirsted after, but by necessity. "It was found necessary to seize and confine two of the noble house of de la Poer. Nicholas Fitz-Maurice, of Kerry, who avowed his attachment to the Irish of Munster, was made prisoner by his kinsman Desmond, and confined for life; while Kildare, with equal vigilance and spirit, chastised the violence of those who had presumed to disturb the peace of Leinster;"* i. e. of those who favoured the cause of the petitioners for subjection and personal safety.

The severe proceedings of king Edward, against the chief settlers, after this "inglorious peace," are overpowering demonstrations of the victories of the Thomonians and Dalgaissians, over the inhuman monsters, who would refuse to all descendants of Milesius, the condition of subjects, with safety to persons and property; but meant

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 297.

to treat them, as if anathematized for destruction by heaven, in the manner of the Canaanites. The defence of the settlers furnishes proofs no less cogent.

“ But the rigorous measures now pursued by king Edward, served to damp the zeal of these nobles, to enflame discontent, and extend divisions yet further among all the lords of English race. The evils of a distracted state, local feuds and insurrections, violence and ravage, Englishmen renouncing their allegiance and revolting to the enemy, the enemy strengthened, emboldened, and enabled to return with double fury, and reassume those settlements from whence they had formerly been driven, were soon experienced in an alarming deficiency of revenue, highly inconvenient to a prince who now meditated his vast designs against France. Edward was necessitated to seek every resource for supplying his exhausted finances. He depended for some assistance from Ireland: he was disappointed: and possessed as he was with the glittering objects of his ambition, the disappointment was received with a passionate impatience. Not considering that his enormous schemes of conquest had been the very means of diverting his attention from his Irish interests, and consequently the occasion of the distresses of Ireland, and the disappointments he there experienced, he accused his servants and ministers, and denounced the terror of his resentment against all those whom he had employed in this kingdom. Conscious of his own power, and disdaining to

attend to the passions, tempers, and prejudices of his subjects, in a country where his mandate he conceived was more than sufficient to secure an immediate and implicit obedience, he at once resolved on the most violent and offensive measures.

“ He began with declaring, that all suspensions or remissions of debts due to the crown, either in his time or that of his predecessors (except those which had the sanction of the great seal) should be null and void; and the debts strictly levied without delay; in consideration, as he expressed it, of his necessities arising from the war he was to maintain upon the continent and other urgent affairs. Hence he proceeded to a more extensive and vigorous resumption of all grants made not by him only, but by his father. Those to the prior of Kilmainham, who had administered his government with vigour and fidelity, were specifically mentioned. The justices of the king’s bench and common pleas, Mountpesson and Baggot, were suddenly discharged from their offices. He not only dismissed Ashburne, another of his officers, but seized his estate. The deputy was forbidden to grant or alien any of the king’s lands without a strict inquisition into their circumstances and value. The treasurer of the exchequer, who claimed a privilege to dispose of small sums without voucher, was not only prohibited for the future, but obliged to account for such sums from the beginning of the present reign: he was forbidden to take rewards for indulging the king’s debtors; he was abridged of the power

of naming sheriffs, a power hitherto annexed to his office : his receipts of the king's rents were ordered to be open and public : and to complete the scheme of reformation, the deputy was directed to certify to the king in his chancery of England, the qualities, services, fees, number, and behaviour of all his officers in Ireland. But the most offensive and severe of these ordinances was not to be compared with one which crowned the whole intemperate conduct of the king, and afforded just ground of dissatisfaction to a people conscious of their own, and the merits of their ancestors, and too powerful, and too far removed from the seat of royalty to conceal their indignation. It is here inserted at large, that its spirit and purport may be more clearly apprehended.

“ The king, to his trusty and beloved John Darcy, justiciary of Ireland, greeting :

“ Whereas it appeareth to us and our council, for many reasons, that our service shall the better and more profitably be conducted in the said land, by English officers having revenues and possessions in England, than by Irish or Englishmen married and estated in Ireland, and without any possessions in our realm of England ; we enjoin you, that you diligently inform yourself of all our officers greater or lesser within our land of Ireland aforesaid ; and that all such officers beneficed, married and estated in the said land, and having nothing in England,

be removed from their offices; that you place and substitute in their room other fit Englishmen, having lands, tenements, and benefices in England, and that you cause the said offices for the future, to be executed by such Englishmen, and none other, any order of ours to you made in contrarywise notwithstanding."

" Thus were the descendants of those who had originally gained the English acquisitions in Ireland, who had laboured in a long course of painful and perilous service to maintain them, who daily shed their blood in the service of their monarch, pronounced indiscriminately to be dangerous, and declared incapable of filling any, even the meanest department in administration. The degeneracy and disaffection of a number of subjects of the English race, considered in the most striking and offensive view, could only have warranted some secret resolutions of entrusting the affairs of government chiefly to others: but a formal, open, and general sentence of disqualification, was equally iniquitous and impolitic. A just prince could have been induced to it only by the severest misrepresentations; nor can it be reconciled to the plainest dictates of prudence, unless we suppose that Edward had been made to regard the country and the people he thus treated, with the most sovereign contempt.

" But whatever representations he had received, or conceptions he had formed of the old English inhabitants, they were too spirited to endure the loss of their lands, and their own

personal indignities with an abject resignation. The late emigrants from England, triumphed over the old race, as if they had all forfeited their privileges, and were consolidated with those Irish who had been reduced by their arms. The old English, on the other hand, beheld the partiality shewn to those who boasted their English birth, with impatience and indignation. Jealousy and dissention were thus excited among those who still adhered to English government, and proved the mistaken policy of the king's procedure. The consequences were more alarming as the injured party of his Irish subjects were the more powerful, of more extensive influence, and better enabled to support the interests of government, or rather absolutely necessary to the very existence of the royal authority in Ireland. Essentially injured and wantonly insulted, they were soon agitated to that degree of ferment which threatens something violent and dangerous. The most powerful among them fomented the discontents of their inferiours; and where the interests of all were threatened, a common cause and general danger readily disposed them to a truly formidable combination. Their violences were so dreaded, that the chief governour deemed it necessary to summon a parliament at Dublin on this critical occasion,

“ This chief governour, Sir John Morris, was of no higher note or station than that of an English knight, and not distinguished either by his fortune or abilities. And the lords he was to govern, regarded it not as the least of those

insults they had sustained, that the king's authority should be delegated to so inferior a person. The spirited Geraldines were particularly irritated, and espoused the cause of their brethren the old English with extraordinary zeal. Their numerous adherents gave them consequence and power, and their consequence and power served to give countenance to these adherents, and encouraged them to an open and violent avowal of their dissatisfactions. Desmond, too proud and powerful to be attached to government by any other means but favour and flattery, flew through all his numerous partizans of the South, conferred with the nobility who were most attached to him, and practised with those cities and corporations in which he had the greatest influence. Kildare, his kinsman and associate, was equally provoked and equally active and industrious. So that at the time when the parliament was to meet at Dublin, Morris was alarmed at the intelligence of another independent assembly more numerous and respectable, convened by Desmond at Kilkenny. They stiled themselves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land, were the more formidable as they affected to assemble peaceably, and prepared a remonstrance to be transmitted to the king.

“ The only account which the English annalists have given of their transactions, is,* that by a

“ * By their messengers, say these annalists, they proposed the following questions to the king.

“ How a realm of war could be governed by a man unskilful in all warlike service?

few short strictures they intimated the notorious insufficiency of the present chief governour, as well as his rapaciousness and oppressions; imputing the distresses of the realm, and the deficiencies of the public revenue, to the pernicious conduct and counsels of the king's ministers. But we have a petition of the grievances of Ireland, together with the king's answers, among the close rolls of the sixteenth year of this reign, which seems pretty evidently to have been the act of this convention at Kilkenny; which assembled for the first time in this year, and was too formidable to be despised, or to have their representations passed over in contemptuous silence. It is said to be the act of the prelates, earls, barons, and commons of the land, without the usual addition of their being assembled in a parliament held at some particular time and place; and it contains such bold accusations of the king's ministers, and such insinuations against the chief governour himself, as seem not likely to have proceeded from an assembly convened by his authority, and possibly consisting for the most part, of that faction which opposed the old English settlers; favoured, and therefore influenced by the governour. But wherever it was framed, the petition must not pass entirely unnoticed, as it exhibits a distinct and striking view of the irre-

“How an officer under the king, who entered very poor, could in one year amass more wealth than men of large estates in many years?

“How it chanced, since they were all called lords of their own, that the sovereign lord of them all was not the richer for them?”

gularities in administration, and the grievances which had for some time enflamed the public dissensions, and weakened the interests of the crown.

“ The petitioners begin with representing the total neglect of fortifications and castles, particularly those of the late earl of Ulster, in Ulster and Connaught, now in the king’s custody, but abandoned by his officers, so that more than a third part of the lands conquered by his royal progenitors were regained by the Irish enemy: and by their insolence on the one hand, and the excess of his servants on the other, his faithful subjects are reduced to the utmost distress. Other castles, they observe, had been lost by the corruption of treasurers who withheld their just pay from the governours and warders; sometimes obliged them in their necessities to accept some small part of their arrears, and to give acquittances for the whole; sometimes substituted in their place mean and insufficient persons contented with any wages they were pleased to allow; sometimes appointed governours to castles never erected, charging their full pay, and disbursing but a trifling part: that the subject was oppressed by the exaction of victuals never paid for, and charged at their full value to the crown, as if duly purchased; that hostings were frequently summoned by the chief governour without concurrence of the nobles, and money accepted in lieu of personal service; treaties made with the Irish, which left them in possession of those lands they had unjustly seized; the attempts

of the subjects to regain them, punished with fine and imprisonment; partial truces made with the enemy, which, while one country was secured, left them at liberty to infest the neighbouring districts; the absence and foreign residence of those who should defend their own lands and seigniories, and contribute to the public aid and service; illegal seizures of the persons and properties of the English subjects.—All these, with various instances of corruption, oppression, and extortion in the king's servants, were urged plainly and forcibly, as the just grounds of discontent.

“ But chiefly, and with particular warmth and earnestness, they represent to the king, that his English subjects of Ireland had been traduced and misrepresented to the throne, by those who had been sent from England to govern them; men, who came into the kingdom without knowledge of its state, circumstances, or interests; whose sole object was to repair their shattered fortunes: too poor to support their state, much less to indulge their passions, until they had filled their coffers by extortion, to the great detriment and affliction of the people; that notwithstanding such misrepresentations, the English subjects of Ireland had ever adhered in loyalty and allegiance to the crown of England, had maintained the land for the king and his progenitors, served frequently both against the Irish and their foreign enemies, and mostly at their own charges.

‘ As a reward of these services,’ say the petitioners, ‘ your progenitors, Sir, and you, have

granted by letters patent to diverse people of the realm, lands, tenements, franchises, wards, marriages, and pardons of debts, which, by virtue of such letters patent they have held in peaceable possession; till lately that your ministers by orders received from England, as they pretend, have resumed and taken into your hands what your progenitors, Sir, and you have so granted, as well what was granted for good and reasonable cause as otherwise; and this contrary to the tenour and intent of the aforesaid orders, to en-damage others for their own private emolument. Which things, Sir,, seem to your liege subjects contrary to reason, as their ancestors and they have well deserved, and do deserve, by defending and maintaining, as much as in them lies, the dominion of the land to our use. For which, Sir, may it please you to ordain that they be not ousted of their freeholds without being called into judgment, according to the provision of the GREAT CHARTER.'

“ To the several grievances alledged, the answers of the king were now gracious and condescending; and particularly to this last article, he replied, that the grants of his progenitors should be restored without diminution; that those made in his own reign should also be delivered up on sufficient surety that they should be again surrendered, if on a legal inquisition they were found resumeable, as granted without just cause; and that the pardons of debts should be deemed valid, until the causes of such pardons should be duly tried.

“ Such condescensions were at this time the more necessary, as Edward prepared for his expedition into France, and now sent his letters to the officers of state in Ireland, intimating that he had already applied for succours to the principal lords of this kingdom, directing them to treat with these lords, and to use their utmost diligence to prevail upon them to lead or send their respective vassals into Bretany with all possible expedition.”*

The dissensions between the new adventurers from England, and the other settlers, was a just retaliation for their barbarous contempt of their betters, the antient Irish. The soil must partake of the disdain felt or affected for its inhabitants; and Irish birth must vilify the hoggish blood of Englishmen, in the minds of the boorish generation born in England. This is the principle of reaction, that predominates in the physical and moral world, the great law of retributive justice, “ Whatever measure you measure unto others, the same measure shall be measured unto you.” In the course of this history it will be seen, that every fresh swarm of adventurers, under a variety of denomination, have given their precursors the exact measure which those gave to the antient inhabitants.

Some may wonder why Edward, who fought with such success in France, did never attempt to realize his promise of attempting the conquest of Ireland. The advice of the earl of Essex to

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 297.

queen Elizabeth, explains the guarded policy of England, with regard to the Milesians: " You must hide from their view all purpose of establishing English government, until the strength of the Irish be broken." This was the policy of Henry II. and of all the kings for centuries after him, with one unfortunate exception in the case of Richard II. Edward was eye-witness of the astonishing agility, strength, and skill at arms, displayed by his Irish auxiliaries at the battle of Crecy, under the command of the earls of Kildare and Desmond. He thought it better to suffer them to waste each other gradually, by civil wars, than to unite them in a common cause, by avowing the design of conquering them. Leland allows, that " a want of concert and union, among the Irish, prevented them from demolishing the whole fabric of English power, by one general and decisive assault."*

But, if Edward carefully avoided the perilous undertaking of the conquest of Ireland, he did not neglect the means of preserving the English colony; which was more effectually secured by the civil broils of the antient Irish, than by the colonial regulations for its security and preservation. A parliament, convened at Kilkenny, by deputy Bermingham, granted a tax of two shillings on every carucate of land, ecclesiastical as well as secular, in support of the Irish war. The collection of this tax from church lands, was strenuously and successfully opposed, by

* Leland, Vol. I. Book II. c. iv. p. 290.

the archbishop of Cashel.* Several ordinances were passed, tending to unite the settlers in one compact body, who should have but one peace and one war, and to reconcile them with adventurers of English birth. He sent his son, Lionel, duke of Clarence, son-in-law to the earl of Ulster, with 1500 men, to govern and defend the Pale. Lionel, and his army of English birth, manifested an impolitic contempt for the English settlers of Irish birth, very unsuitable to his station and views. He marched against O'Brien of Thomond, by whom he was out-generaled and defeated. The king of England issued two proclamations, one to the settlers, and another to the English nobility possessing property in Ireland, to join his son speedily, with all the troops they could collect. The command was urged under pain of forfeiture. With these reinforcements the advantages his flatterers and Anglo-Irish writers boast his having obtained, appear from undeniable facts to have been fictitious or exaggerated. The most effectual mode of securing the king's portion of Ireland, was found in the payment of tribute to some powerful chieftains, which the pride of Englishmen, and of their partizans, calls pensions. They may call them what they chuse; but, if annual sums, extorted at the point of the sword, be not tributes, I know not what a tribute is. Second fact. The

* This opposition of the archbishop is unjustly censured by Leland, because it was justified by the great charter granted to Ireland.—See Appendix. No. I.

extensive tracts recovered by the Irish of their antient properties, is testified by the king's edict, stating the loss of scutage in these tracts.

After obtaining from the settlers, both lay and clerical, two years value of their incomes, Lionel departed for England. He was succeeded by the earl of Ormond, who shortly after surrendered the administration to Sir Thomas Dale. The post of deputy was found so perilous at that time, that few cared to keep it long. The duke of Clarence, tutored by experience, and his father's advice, came back as deputy, in 1637.

For the purpose of reforming the settlers, he convened a parliament at Kilkenny, where the barbarous statute, which enacted what follows, was passed. "Marriage, gossipred, nurture of infants—high treason! Irish name, language, apparel, any mode or custom of the Irish adopted by a settler—forfeiture of lands and tene-ments; or if he have no lands—imprisonment! Irish law—pernicious! Submission to its decision—high treason! To permit their Irish neighbours to graze their lands; to present them to benefices; to receive them into monasteries or nunneries—highly penal!" What excess of barbarous selfishness and national antipathy, towards a nation always renowned for hospitality, affability, courtesy to strangers, generosity and honor! whose eminent piety merited for their country the exalted title of The island of saints; and whose learning made it the mart of literature for Europe. Did the Algerines, did the Turks, did the most barbarous savages in the world, ever produce

any thing, so insulting to humanity, so ignorant, so cruel, and absurd as this? To prohibit all manner of civility and intercourse, all the good offices of neighbourhood and friendship, between two people, inhabiting the same country, professing the same religion, and from vicinage, frequently needing mutual assistance! What crime was in an Irish name, whether Paddy or Teague? What crime in learning a language, copious and elegant, while their own was an uncouth, barren jargon, and the language of a people with whom they must frequently converse, in spite of penal statutes? This was empaling the Pale from social life; forming an insulated Jewish cast, abhorring all, and abhorred by all. It was counteracting the law of nature, recommending a cross of breeds. It was warring against religion and morality, which commands the love of our neighbours, even of our enemies. It far exceeded the rigour of the Jewish pale, and had no such reasons to warrant it. The Jews were insulated from the neighbouring idolatrous nations, to guard them against idolatry. This English pale excluded the intercourse of a people better Christians than they, better men, more civilized. What crime could be in the melody of the Irish harp, chaunting the sweet strains of Erin's bards? Why should Irish learning and piety be excluded from benefices, founded by Irishmen, or from monasteries founded by them? The Norman conquerors passed no such statute in England, nor the heathen Danes in Ireland. Taken altogether, the popish penal code of the settlers exceeds the

protestant one, and has no parallel in any age or country. If all other monuments had perished, this alone would prove the barbarity, the wickedness, the perfidy, and absurdity of its contrivers. Behold the pretended reformers of the sacred island ! These statutes, lasting monuments of the misanthropy of the framers, were a sufficient provocation to a high-spirited, gallant people, especially when aggravated by the incessant endeavours of the settlers to encroach by force or fraud.

Accordingly we find, that, shortly after the departure of Lionel, deputy Windsore was alarmed with the intelligence, that O'Brien and O'Connor took the field. The earl of Desmond, entrusted with the command of the English forces, met the Irish near the monastery of Mayo, where he lost the battle and his life; most of his followers were either slain or taken prisoners. Such terror did the Milesian arms inspire at this time, that those who received illegal grants of lands durst not come to claim them; and Sir Richard Pembroke, warden of the Cinque-ports, appointed deputy of Ireland, shuddered at the thoughts of so dangerous a situation, and declined it. Such were the natural fruits of overweening, selfish, misanthropic usurpation and tyranny. The severest blows, as yet experienced by the adventurers, were occasioned by the rejection of the Irish petition, to be treated as fellow men and christians, in the humble condition of subjects, and by the proscription statutes of Kilkenny.

Notwithstanding the misanthropic policy, ex-

hibited by the convention at Kilkenny, the settlers were more patriotic for the concerns of the narrow Pale, than the soi-disant parliament of Ireland for the whole Irish nation; and for this obvious reason, there were, among the former, none of those boroughs called rotten, neither pensioners or placemen to represent them. The effect of this appeared in an application of king Edward to the parliament of the Pale, for a liberal subsidy. Importuned by the parliament of England, which was weary of the burdensome support* of the English colony in Ireland, the necessary result of their own perverted policy, he sent Nicholas Dagworth as king's messenger to the Pale, demanding such supplies as the exigencies of the times required. Poverty was pleaded, and the supplies were refused. Irritated by this disappointment, he summoned the parliament of the Pale to London, to meet him and his council, for to deliberate on their common interests. Though they did not absolutely refuse the summons, their answers prove how sensible they were of their rights, and how much alive to the interests of their little commonwealth. The answer of the archbishop of Armagh, and of the county of Dublin, to this requisition, was as follows. " We are not bound, agreeably to the liberties, privileges, rights, laws and customs of the church and land of Ireland, to elect any of our clergy, and to send them to any part of

* According to Davis, it amounted to £11,000 yearly. A sum exceeding the total revenue of the Pale, which then amounted only to £10,000.

England, for the purpose of holding parliaments or councils in England. Yet, on account of our reverence to our lord the king of England, and the now imminent necessity of the land aforesaid, saving to us and to the lords and commons of the said land, all rights, privileges, liberties, laws, and customs before-mentioned, we have elected representatives to repair to the king in England, to treat and consult with him and his council. Except, however, that we do by no means grant to our said representatives, any power of assenting to any burdens or subsidies, to be imposed on us or our clergy, to which we cannot yield, by reason of our poverty and daily expence in defending the land against the Irish enemy." The whole Pale, though, out of complaisance to the king, they allowed their deputies to go to England, unanimously protested against their compliance to be taken as a surrender of their rights and privileges, or a precedent for alienating their legislative power, cautiously reserving to themselves the power of granting or withholding subsidies; so that their deputies, deprived of the power of taxation and legislation, might with more justice be called the king's Irish council, than a parliament. "The nobles and commons, unanimously, and with one voice declare, that, according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws and customs of the land of Ireland, enjoyed from the time of the conquest of said land, they are not bound to send any persons from the land of Ireland to the parliament or council of our lord the king in England, to treat, consult, or

agree with our lord the king in England, as the writ requires. Notwithstanding, on account of their reverence, and the necessity and present distress of the said land, they have elected representatives to repair to the king, and to treat and consult with him and his council; reserving to themselves the power of yielding or agreeing to any subsidies." At the same time protesting, "that their present compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to the rights, privileges, laws and customs, which the lords and commons, from the time of the conquest of the land of Ireland, have enjoyed, in consideration of the various burdens which the said lords and commons have borne, and still do bear, and which for the future they cannot support—*nisi dominus rex manum suam melius apponere voluerit.*"*

"What was the result of this notable controversy, between Edward and his subjects of Ireland, or whether, or how far the king's necessities were supplied, we are not distinctly informed. It only appears that the Irish representatives sat at Westminster, and that their wages were levied on the dioceses, counties, and boroughs, which had chosen them."†

If the period of Irish history, since the invasion, hitherto has been mangled, defaced, and wilfully obscured, by partial writers; of the next reign, Richard II. they have left, instead of history, a romance or novel, without cohesion or

* Unless the king puts his hand to the work more effectually.

† Ireland, Vol. I. B. II. c. v. p. 328, 329.

probability. One important fact, however, has been preserved, which proves that English policy in those days was more deep than it is now. Several acts had been passed against Irish absentees, who spent their incomes in England, to compel residence in Ireland, for the defence of their fortunes. In the reign of Richard II. the absentee act was renewed, and the tax augmented to two-thirds of their Irish revenues, in case of non-compliance, to be applied for the defence of the king's Irish domain; except those on the king's service, students, and those licensed under the great seal, who were taxed but one-third of their revenues. Richard besides allowed his Irish subjects to work mines, coin money, and trade with Portugal. For these favours the king expected some liberal return, to relieve the poverty of the English exchequer, drained by the long wars of his predecessor. With that intent he directed his Irish deputy, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, grandson of the duke of Clarence, to convene a parliament, and move for supplies. But the colony was so exhausted by its constant war with the aboriginal inhabitants, that nothing considerable was or could be given.

The history of the Pale continues to be of little interest, as well as that of the Irish countries, engaged as usual in petty hostilities, untill the landing of Richard II. The historians of the Pale fill this chasm with a piece of English history, concerning Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, the favourite of Richard II. The rise of that favourite, through his master's bounty, created

marquis of Dublin, and duke of Ireland. His renewal of the treaty of peace with Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, and the payment of the stipulated tribute. Leland tells, that the earl of Ormond, who succeeded Sir John Stanly, obtained some advantages over O'Nial, whom he stiles the powerful chieftain of the North, and over O'Brien. But whoever considers the narrow limits and real weakness of the Pale, at that time, tributary to Mac Murchad, with a revenue short of £10,000 a year, will be led to discredit such relations, unless they be explained by a civil war, or some such distraction as would enfeeble the potentates of the north and south.

The reign of Richard II. and of Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh in Leinster, form an epoch in Irish history. We have seen before, that the Leinster tribes, provoked by the scornful rejection of their petition, put O'Brien at their head, and took vengeance on the colonists. The next leader, who led them to victory, was a youth of sixteen, Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, descended from the antient kings of Leinster. So successfully did he carry on the war, that constant supplies of men and money were necessary for the existence of the colony; and so hard were they driven, by that incomparable warrior, O'Cavenagh, that the whole power of England, appeared necessary to save them.

Leland, rather than acknowledge the truth, that they were the victories of O'Cavenagh which summoned Richard and his great army into Ireland, found or made fictitious motives. That he

gave in his name to the electors of Germany, as candidate for the imperial throne: that his inability to recover the conquests of his ancestors in France, or subdue the enemies of his government in Ireland, were represented by the electors as sufficient disqualifications; to wipe off which he ventured on the conquest of a prince, who ruled three counties, Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow! Great levies were raised, and great supplies granted, for this enterprize; from which the parliament and people of England had such mighty expectations, but which the issue disappointed. The English clergy gave a tenth of their property for the intended conquest of Ireland.

In the month of October, 1394, Richard landed at Waterford, at the head of 30,000 foot and 4000 heavy armed cavalry, attended by the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Nottingham and Rutland, Thomas lord Piercy, and other distinguished personages. All this mighty preparation and bustle ended in the renewal of the original treaties made between Henry II. and the Irish princes; and which, it appears, they were willing to observe, as the infractions always commenced with the opposing party.

Mowbray earl of Nottingham, earl marshal of England, was empowered to treat with the Leinster chieftains, who met him at Carlow, and entered into treaties by their interpreters; while the king in person went as far as Drogheda, to meet the powerful chieftain of Ulster, O'Neil, where they accommodated their differences in an amicable manner, and returned to Dublin; whi-

ther Richard invited the four provincial kings, and other princes, to a royal entertainment, as kings Henry and John did before, in which he studied to display his magnificence, having removed the crown jewels from England for that purpose. No less than seventy-five princes attended Richard's court on this occasion, who exercised the rights of sovereignty in their own tribes and districts, 'all blindly attached to their own unrefined customs and manners!' says Leland.

A stupid and bigotted observation. Manners and customs are not the growth of a day; nor can a nation lay them aside in a moment like a cloak, and adopt opposite habits, were they even decidedly preferable, a thing far from being evident. The Irish constitution had indeed failed. It had its period, like every thing human; but it lasted a long time, much longer than any constitution has hitherto lasted in England, and under it Ireland attained prosperity, learning, and renown; a leading rank among the nations of Europe. She enjoyed more of internal tranquillity, and social happiness, than any cotemporary state in Europe; and, if we had no other proof of this, the flourishing state of her numerous learned seminaries, and the immense numbers that resorted to them, from every part of Europe, are in themselves ample evidences; as the muses fly the din of arms. The university of Prague lost its splendour through the Hussite war; and Ireland, become the theatre of war between the Danes and natives, lost her ancient pre-eminence

in the sciences and arts, and thence forward was little resorted to by foreign students. Even after the constitution of Ireland expired, through the nullity of the supreme executive power attached to the monarchy, her manners and customs made the state of society tolerable, during the indeterminate contests of petty chiefs, unrestrained by superior authority, and more tolerable than the tyranny of an English baron.* We have already observed the rudeness and ill breeding of John's courtiers, but then they were young. Well, let us see the behaviour of Richard's courtiers, the prime nobility of England; men in the prime of life, or beyond it. The four principal kings, O'Neil, O'Connor, O'Brien, and Mac Murchad, sat at king Richard's table, in their robes of state; Ormond. and Henry Castile, a gentleman of Richard's court, who understood Irish, interpreted. "The staring courtiers importuned them with such questions, as argued the meanest conceptions of their manners and understanding, and were answered with indignation and affected dignity." Why, Mr. Leland, 'affected dignity?' Dignity was a sentiment habitual to the mind of an Irish chieftain, needing no affectation. Froissard, an eye-witness, does not call that dignity affected; rudeness may be a part of English politeness; we cannot otherwise account for the supercilious and unmannerly conduct of the English courtiers towards their master's guests, men every way their superiors.

* See pages 170, 171, 172.

King Richard having thus settled his affairs in Ireland, and spent some months in festivity with his feudatory allies, departed for England. Doubtless, great expectations of the entire reduction of Ireland was formed in England, from the presence of the king with a royal army, aided by his ablest statesmen and generals; and they criticized the king's remissness with a severity proportioned to their disappointment. But the king and his counsellors, who were on the spot, were better able to weigh the difficulties of such an enterprize. The Irish, though weakened and divided, were still formidable; a formal and serious attempt to reduce the whole island, would probably unite the seventy-five tribes in a common cause, and drive them to forget their domestic quarrels, elect a monarch to conduct their operations, and raise an army in one week of 100,000 armed men; a very moderate estimate. Did they chuse to protract the war; carrying it on defensively, they would ruin Richard's army without fighting, and a nation of warriors would not be subdued by the loss of many battles. We may estimate the hazard of such an undertaking, from the formidable resistance made by one province, under O'Neil, against the power of England, aided by the rest of Ireland. During a vigorous contest of fifteen years, he was more than once on the point of extinguishing the English power in Ireland. The superior fortune of his adversary obtained at last a dear bought victory.

Richard himself experienced the difficulty of

conquering Ireland, in his second expedition, undertaken against the broken remnants of the Leinster tribes, which ended not much to his honour. The story is a short one. The king's governors of the Pale pretended, or had a king's order, which English writers miscal a treaty, to compel all the native Irish to evacuate the province of Leinster, and seek their fortunes wherever they could. It is, I say, highly absurd in Leland or Cox, to pretend that any people would voluntarily, and without compulsion, agree to quit their homes, and resign their inherited lands, without being compelled by the point of the sword. Very naturally they resisted the insolent mandate, and summoned from his studies, at the age of sixteen, that admirable hero, Arth Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, to assume the crown of Leinster, to which he was the legitimate heir. The youthful warrior, born a general, accepted the post of danger and honor with delight. The boisterous temper, the rebellion of the natives, was echoed to the throne; and Richard prepared once more, resolved to come to Ireland with a great army, to assert his own authority, and to support the usurpations of his vassals.

On the 13th of May, 1399, Richard, accompanied by a splendid train of English nobility, and a grand army, landed at Waterford; whence, after some delay to refresh his troops, and receive the submissions of some neighbouring chiefs, he marched in quest of Mac Murchad, the head of the Leinster Irish; who, to secure himself from the superior number of his enemies, retired

to his woods, and at their approach appeared at the head of 3,000 men, so well armed and appointed, and with such an appearance of determined valour, as was perfectly astonishing to the English, who had been taught to despise their rude and undisciplined violence. The royal army was drawn out in order of battle, expecting a vigorous attack; but the Irish forces suddenly disappeared, and Richard, elevated by this retreat, ordered the adjacent houses and villages to be set on fire, and the royal standard to be advanced, under which he created several knights, and among these the young Henry of Lancaster, afterwards the illustrious king Henry V., who on this occasion gave the first proofs of his valour.

To facilitate the pursuit of an enemy, who appeared to fly, a large body of peasants was employed to cut a passage through the woods, which the Irish had by every means endeavoured to render impassable. As the king's army marched through all the difficulties of an encumbered road, perpetually impeded, and sometimes plunged into deep and dangerous morasses, the enemy frequently assailed them with loud shouts. Mr. Leland calls them 'barbarous ululations.' But was it not the custom of the Greeks and Romans, and indeed of most nations, to commence battle with shouts and clashing of armour? The enemy then frequently assailed them, and cast their darts with such force as no armour could withstand, slaughtering their detached parties, retired and advanced with astonishing agility, so as conti-

nually to annoy and harrass the English forces, though they could not be brought to a general engagement. This masterly plan of warfare, rigidly adhered to, brought Richard and his army to intolerable distress. Numbers of his men perished by famine ; their horses, from want and hardship, grew incapable of service ; a general gloom spread through the camp, and his bravest knights murmured at their fate, who were to perish in a service attended with so little honour, and such severe distress. A few ships, laden with provisions from Dublin, having approached the neighbouring coast, the famished soldiers plunged into the sea, seized and rifled them, shedding each other's blood in a furious contest for relief. This was the situation of Richard's army, according to the description of the earl of Totness.

In this situation, Richard made large offers (Leland says, was weak enough to offer territories and castles, in Leinster) to Arth Mac Murchad. I believe Dr. Leland, in the king's situation, would be guilty of similar weakness. These overtures and offers the Doctor makes the Irish hero reject, and in the same breath represents him as suing for an accommodation of his own accord, which resolution he imputes to sound policy. Surely this would not be the conduct of an able general and politician, such as Murchad is described. The truth is, they garble the whole account, to bring off the honour of the English army, and to palliate their defeat. The treaty, which enabled Richard to save the

remains of his army, it seems was so disgraceful that he was ashamed to own it. His violent and extravagant proceeding afterward, offering a reward for the head of a brave and injured prince, whom he was unable to subdue, proved his conscious shame. To cover this perfidy, and the disgrace of the British arms before so inferior a force, romantic tales must be invented. Murchad's uncle, and other lords, against the superior judgment of their general, must go to Richard's camp, and submit, with halters round their necks, when Richard himself was in extremity, in the power of the enemy; and, to be sure, the uncle and the other lords knew nothing of the matter, were totally unacquainted with the merits and success of Arthur's plan.

This story must serve to usher in the king's promises, as unconnected with the negociation; and Arthur must be transformed into the swaggering hero of a tragedy, that he may appear to have rejected advantageous offers; and then, immediately after, with the same levity, court negociation, without any stipulation; and then he is made to break off the treaty, that the English forces may have the honour to retreat without his permission.

In the situation described by the earl of Totness, famine and dismay in his camp, men and horses perishing for hunger and fatigue, his most valiant knights, giving all for lost, lamenting their fate, Richard could not delay a moment to extricate his army from destruction, by treating with the enemy; for, if he hesitated, the army

would doubtless mutiny, and compel him to it. He could not expect a morsel of provisions, except what might come by sea, and that was precarious. By advice of the council, who, certainly, would not advise it, unless necessary for the safety of the army, (and be it remembered, that Richard made the first overtures, "offering castles and lands in Leinster,") Gloucester was commissioned to meet him at a place appointed, and for this purpose marched out with a guard of 200 lances and 1000 archers. An eye-witness (Froissard) of their interview describes the Irish chieftain tall of stature, formed for agility and strength, of an aspect fierce and severe, (it should be haughty and severe,) mounted on a swift and stately horse, darting rapidly from a mountain, between two woods, adjacent to the sea, attended by his train. At his command they halted at a due distance, while their leader, casting the spear from him, which he grasped in his right hand, rushed forward to meet the English lord. The parley was continued for a considerable time, and a treaty of peace concluded, the very existence of which Leland endeavours to find pretences to deny, yet which, nevertheless, saved Richard's army. For we find, in effect, that Mac Murchad withdrew his forces, and that the English army was suffered to pursue its retreat to the capital unmolested. After refreshing his enfeebled army in Dublin, and receiving reinforcements brought from England, he had the meanness to deny his treaty, offering a reward of 300 gold marks for the head of the heroic Arth, sending out his

troops to harrass his country, for he no longer chose to go in person in quest of the formidable Arthur. Here he lay, uttering his vexation against the Leinster prince, for the deep disgrace of his royal arms, until news came from England of more serious importance, that the throne was filled in his absence.

In the succeeding reign of Henry IV. the duke of Lancaster was sent over with an English force, to retrieve the honour of the English arms, who, assembling a parliament at Trim, and collecting the forces of the English settlements, aided by the zealous concurrence of Ormond and Kildare, formed a respectable army, crouded with Irish natives as well as settlers, and marched to subdue Mac Murchad. This chieftain, though weakened by the defection of many of his associates, disdained to employ those arts of generalship on this occasion, which had proved so successful against the greatest English army ever landed in Ireland. Anno 1407, he gave the enemy battle, a desperate, a well disputed battle they called it, in which they claimed the victory, while they acknowledge that Murchad was not thereby reduced.

The year following, anno 1408, Lancaster made extraordinary preparations, stipulating for supplies of men and money from England, and that one or two families should be transported into Ireland, at the king's charges, from every parish in England; yet notwithstanding these extraordinary efforts, he was totally defeated. The battle was fought at the western extremity

of Dublin, where the Phenix Park now stands, and the English, hotly pursued in their flight with great slaughter, choaked up the ford with the dead bodies, and dyed it red with their blood, whence it got the name of *Ath cro*, i. e. bloody ford, which epithet, after the building of a bridge over the ford, was communicated to it also. The duke of Lancaster, who commanded the English, was wounded near the walls of Dublin, and soon after expired.

The details of all the victories of this hero I have not as yet seen, but the result and confirmation of them are to be found, in the trepidation of the colony; the incessant demand of succours from England; the frequent change of governors and councils; the murmurings of the English parliament and nation, for the burden of supporting the English settlers against his victorious arms; the great armies sent from England against him, the greatest that ever landed in Ireland, and their discomfiture.

England was petrified, that the chief of a few Irish clans, occupying the territory now named the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, and Carlow, should humble the victors of Crecy and Agincourt. She endeavoured to practise the resource of base cowardly minds, and take off the hero by assassination, whom she durst no longer encounter in the field.

The English writers have recorded the reward of 300 gold marks, offered for the capture or death of the king of Leinster; they have omitted the perfidy of the English settlers endeavouring

to earn the blood-money. The Irish annalists, unacquainted probably with the proffered reward, recorded the treacherous attempt of the chief settlers to destroy their formidable conqueror. The lords of English descent invited him to a banquet. Conscious of the prowess of the hero, they made every preparation for his ruin. The guests were numerous, bred to arms, and all wore swords. With the sentiments of a Milesian cavalier, fraught with the loftiest flights of chivalry, accustomed to the hospitality of his country, which made every house a sanctuary, even for the worst enemy, he suspected no guile in the invitation of men calling themselves noble. He came attended only by his bard and a servant: luckily for him his bard was not blind. Placed at a window, the minstrel delighted the company with the native airs, superior, by the confession of the worst enemies, to the music of all other nations at that day. He suddenly changed his notes to a Rosg catha, i. e. incitement to battle. Reprimanded, and ordered to play festive airs, he complied, but presently returned again to the Rosg catha. Whether Arth understood him, or was moved with indignation at the disobedience of his harper, he arose from the table, and saw the house surrounded with horse and foot. The scene that ensued would be a subject for the pencil of a Raphael, Angelo, or Phidias. How can I describe the consternation and terror of the traitors, when they saw their treason prematurely detected, before the bottle had settled the preliminaries! Armed as

they were, and numerous, who dare stir, while Hercules stood before them, sober, on his guard, brandishing a sword, that cost almost as much as his horse, with an arm that dealt death among their ranks on the field of battle, and often cut a man cased in armour in two with a single blow. It is not in my power to paint the frown of indignity and contempt he darted on the base assassins, who greeted him with the kiss of Judas, and invited him to a murderous feast. They were already subdued, by shame, guilt, and terror; for the man who dare stir was sure of his death-warrant. I cannot attempt to detail the rapidity and energy with which he fought his way through horse and foot, assembled about the house for his destruction. The Irish annalists narrate this wonderful exploit in a few expressive words: "with the valour of his arm and his heroism he cut his way through them." He mounted his steed, the swiftest that Froissard ever saw, and on arriving home, declared war against the perfidious assassins, who converted hospitality into a man-trap for murder. This just and necessary war he pursued, until he humbled the pride of England, and its Irish colony; compelled them to acknowledge him king of Leinster, and to pay tribute to him, and to his posterity, for tolerating the English colony in Ireland.

He might have his reasons for not expelling the vile ruffians, who attempted his life for the blood-money, by the infamous treason of a murderous feast. He might have been weary of a war, that

lasted upwards of forty years, with a few intervening truces, though generally victorious. He might have foreseen, that the Pale, pushed to extremity, England would subsidize O'Neil or O'Brien to wage war against him. At all events, he might have considered the Pale as an useful appendage to his kingdom of Leinster, paying him tribute. That this was not a pension, as the flatterers of English pride would insinuate, is proved by the authority of Henry VIII. and his parliament of the Pale, who, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, passed the following act against the payment thereof. "Prayen the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, that whereas the king's Irish enemies have been heretofore of great force and strength, within this land of Ireland, by reason whereof they have charged divers the king's towns and faithful subjects with tributes and exactions, for consideration that the said Irishmen, which do take the said tributes should defend the king's said subjects, which they have not done, ne do not, and yet the king's said subjects at the charge to pay them the said unlawfull impositions to their utter impoverishing. Wherefore and forasmuch as our sovereign lord the king, having respect to the poverties of his said poor subjects of this his land of Ireland, hath sent his armie royal hither for the exonerating of his grace's said subjects, whereby his grace's said subjects are highly animated and fortified, and the said Irish enemies greatly enfeeblished, so as nothing lieth in them to do for

having any such tribute. Be it therefore by authority of this present parliament enacted, established and ordained, that no manner Irishman, within this land of Ireland, shall have any tribute, exaction, or any other unlawfull impositions, of, or upon any the king's towns or faithfull subjects within the same land, but that all and every the king's said towns and subjects shall be clearly from henceforth for evermore acquitted, discharged and exonerated from all and every such tributes, any letters or commandments sent to them or any of them, or hereafter to be sent contrary to this present act, in any wise notwithstanding."

As the defeat of the greatest English army that ever visited Ireland, combined with the forces of the English settlers, by a chief of a territory now known by the names of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford and Carlow, at the head of only 3000 men, may appear marvellous, and perhaps incredible, to the self-love of Englishmen, notwithstanding unquestionable English and French authorities, parallel examples, and an elucidation of O'Cavenagh's stratagems, may remove their scruples.

The Numantians of Spain, descended from the same stock as the Milesians, furnish a parallel example of a small force defeating a much greater, not in one battle, but in many. If the Romans, to their shame, at length overwhelmed and annihilated that heroic people, their writers, very unlike the English, instead of endeavouring to defame them, left an honorable testimony of their

valour and generosity. The Lusitani furnish another example.

“ Though Numantia was inferior to Carthage, Capua, and Corinth, in wealth; yet, in honor and reputation of valour, it was equal to them all, in respect of its men, (Celtiberians,) the flower of all Spain. For standing upon a small ascent, by the river Durius, and having neither walls nor towers, it defended itself, with no more than 4000 Celtiberians, against an army of 40000 men, for fourteen years together; and not only kept them off, but gave them severe blows, and made them accept dishonourable terms. At last, when we found them too hard for us this way, we sent the conqueror of Carthage to deal with them. It must be confessed, if we speak the truth, that never was any war so ill grounded. The Numantians had received into their bosoms, the Segidenses, their allies and kindred, who had escaped out of the hands of the Romans. No intercession for pardon would be accepted. They were commanded to lay down their arms. This was resented, as if they were ordered to cut off their own hands. Therefore, at the instigation of their valiant leader Megara,* they flew to arms, and fell upon Pompey; but, when it was in their power to have beaten him, they chose rather to accommodate matters. The next general they encountered was Hostilius Mancinus, of whose forces they made such havock, that not a man of them durst look a Numantian in the face.

* Macgarie is a name common among the old Irish; as Osgar Macgarie.

Yet here too they forbore to destroy their enemy, which they might have done; and struck a league, upon no other advantage but the spoils they had taken with their swords, &c. Lastly, overpowered by a consular army, twenty times their number, led on by Scipio Africanus, who employed against them all the stratagems of superior tactics, they fell, to the eternal disgrace of the Roman name, martyrs to the cause of honor and freedom. Death they preferred to bondage; and thus practised what other nations only talk of, to live free or die.”* Roman armies, in the most flourishing state of their discipline, after the second Punic war, we cannot conceive to have been beaten, without the combination of extraordinary bravery guided by military skill equally great.

The few sketches remaining of Arth’s manner of warfare with Richard II., give some insight into the plan of that great hero’s campaign. He had timely notice of the extraordinary supplies granted by parliament, and the great preparations made for invading his principality. A pitched battle, with more than twelve times the number he could muster, he knew to be imprudent, and probably ruinous. He therefore had recourse to the stratagems of war. It is probable, that he buried provisions for himself and his army, in pits known but to a few trusty men, and removed or destroyed the remainder. That, as the royal army was advancing, the cattle were driven out of their reach; the roads broke up; pits dug,

* Florus Rom. Hist.

bottomed with pointed stakes, and covered with slender wattles and green sods. The hills, intended for temporary encampments, provided with rolling stones; barrels, filled with earth or stones; car wheels, with transverse spikes traversing their axle, with a few stones lashed to it, to encrease the weight; darts prepared of massy oak, well pointed with steel, something like the Roman pilum; with many others, that a fertile invention would suggest. Add to this, that he drew the English army into defiles and morasses, where the superior agility and strength of the Irish, and perfect knowledge of the country, of the turnings, windings, and passes, gave him great advantages. In these places the Irish were swifter than the English cavalry. They threw their darts with such force as no armour could withstand. They cut to pieces all detached parties, whether for observation or forage. "They retired and advanced with astonishing agility, so as continually to annoy and harrass the English forces, though they could not be brought to a general engagement."* Perishing by famine, cut off in detail, 'tis obvious, that the Irish prince might have annihilated the royal army, if his humanity, equal to his abilities and valour, did not plead for them. In vain Leland strives to cover their disgrace with the transparent gauze of fiction. "Arth sued for peace, and offered to go to Richard's camp."—"The Irishman, who well knew the difficulties to which the king's army was reduced, and the impossibility of their

* Leland, from Froissard, an eyewitness.

subsisting for any time in their present situation; horses and men perishing by famine and fatigue; the bravest knights murmuring at their fate, who were to perish in a service attended with so little honor." 'Tis thus the prevaricating historian overturns in one line what he asserted in another. Little honor to be sure they got, except what they deserved, a sound drubbing, for going on a lawless unjust war, for their ingratitude to the family that founded their colony. 'Tis not improbable, that the common proverb in Ireland, 'Byrne, Toole, and Cavanagh, Triur a ruscadh Sassanach,' may be dated from the reign of this victorious king of Leinster. That he could not impede Richard's return to Dublin, is the groundless assertion of Leland. A famishing army, perishing by hunger, cut off in detail, fifty miles from Dublin, that must fight its way with famine and the sword, through the mountains and defiles of the county of Wicklow, where all provision would be removed from its reach, must inevitably have been exterminated before it reached the capital.

Arth little imagined, that gratitude for his clemency would be a breach of treaty, and a price set on his head! Repeated acts of perfidy had not taught the Irish to consider it as a national malady, not confined to individuals. But Arth miraculously escaped the snare of the murderous banquet, while Richard paid the forfeit of his treaty-breaking, and assassination rewards, by the loss of his crown and life.

The first parliament convened by Henry IV.,

of the house of Lancaster, who succeeded Richard II., of the house of York, demonstrated the victories of O'Cavenagh, and their dread of his power, by their solicitude and efforts for the preservation of the Pale. A subsidy for three years was granted by the English parliament for its defence. The act against Irish absentees was renewed, imposing a tax of two-thirds of their income, on such as would not reside on their estates in Ireland; and Henry's second son, Thomas, duke of Lancaster, was sent with some troops to Ireland as deputy.

Henceforward the history of Ireland offers little interesting, untill the reign of Henry VII. The existence of the Pale was secured by the subsidy to Mac Murchad; and the chief settlers, as well as the antient Irish, carried on their local wars, in defiance of its feeble government. England too, during this period, was distracted by civil wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster; and could pay but little attention to Irish affairs. Not a year elapsed without a war in one or other of the provinces; and not unfrequently in all at once. Leinster, in particular, was infested with incessant hostilities, between the English and the bordering septs: for, though they purchased peace from the formidable Arth, they honored not O'Moore of Leix, or O'Connor Faly, with the same respectable attention; but were involved in incessant hostilities with them, to enlarge their frontier.

If the scene was not afflicting, that exhibits a brave magnanimous people, renowned of yore for

the most exalted virtues, tearing each other in pieces with their own hands, for the gratification and benefit of cruel, perfidious enemies, watching the moment to pounce on their destined prey, it would be amusing to peruse the narrative of their petty hostilities. These are transmitted to us, by our annalists, with a scrupulous veracity. There is too much monotony in them, to afford either entertainment or instruction. Two bordering clans fell out, met and fought, made peace, and the war was over for some time. In one of these tremendous battles, which Irish writers registered as matter for history, nine men were killed, and one horse taken ! What a pity they did not acquaint us with the number of the wounded and prisoners, if there were any. '

The pernicious effects of the statutes of Kilkenny were forcibly felt by the settlers. Statutes, which, if at all admissible, could only be enacted by national authority against some party or culpable individuals, but were utterly impracticable in the then circumstances of Ireland. The settlers were not allowed to make peace or war with the Irish, without permission of government ; but it might frequently happen, that waste and havoc was made on them, before they received permission to stand on their defence. They were prohibited to trade, or hold any intercourse, with the Irish enemy. And who else could they deal with ? a handful of men compared to the nation, among whom they dwelt as a corroding canker ; to use the expression of Leland, better applied. Cities and individuals sued for patents, autho-

rizing them to transgress these statutes, as impolitic as inhuman ; and the majority daily transgressed them, without the authority of a patent ; because their observance was impracticable in most cases.

The absurd tyranny of these men is further proved by an act of the colonial parliament, prohibiting the Irish enemy to emigrate, without special licence under the great seal of Ireland ! They would not be received as subjects, protected by law. They were designated as fair game for any settler, who could kill them, and take their properties ; yet they would not be allowed to migrate in quest of safety ! This can appear in no other light than as a game-act ; not unlike the act forbidding the transportation of hawks, under a penalty heavier than the eric allowed for the murder of twenty-four mere Irishmen residing within English jurisdiction.

One cannot help admiring the puny arts, by which English vanity labours to discolor facts, and prevaricate against truth. Mac Murchad, though acknowledged king of Leinster, by both king and parliament, who agreed to pay him and his posterity annual tribute, for his forbearance or protection, must be called an insurgent ! Certainly, whoever rises against another is an insurgent, in the literal meaning ; but, by usage, it has been warped, to signify the rising of an inferior against a superior. Now, surely the Pale can no wise be considered as superior to the man, whom it acknowledged as king, and to whom it paid tribute. Certain chroniclers, determined to

defeat Mac Murchad at any rate, tell us, that deputy Scroop, with the zealous concurrence of Ormond, Desmond, Kildare, and other English lords, and the subjects of Meath, in a desperate and well disputed battle, defeated, but did not subdue the Leinster chief. We wish for better authorities. Why did not they follow up their blow, at least untill he renounced the tribute called Black Rent? Because, according to their story, they were obliged to march against other insurgents. But the conquest of him would be of more important consequences than that of any other Leinster chieftain. 'Tis probable they had sound reasons for altering their position; and the defeat of Arth was, like some modern victories—on paper.

There is a law of action and reaction, pervading every department of nature. There is a law of retributive justice, in the moral system of intelligent beings, which the settlers experienced in different measure from their first settlement. All appointed to station and office of English birth, every fresh swarm of adventurers treated the settlers of Irish birth with the most mortifying contempt and injustice; as if the local difference of birth could found any real cause of disparity. Thus, within the narrow limits of the Pale, distinct English and Irish interests were formed, by prejudice of birth; contested by two violent factions, subsisting until difference of religion absorbed that less serious party badge. The contempt for the settlers of English descent, was manifested by the nobility and gentry of England; as if the

soil or climate of Ireland communicated a taint to English blood in those born there. In the Pale, there was no college or seminary for law, physic or divinity. The inhabitants were deterred, by national antipathy as well as power, from sending their children to the seminaries of the Irish enemy; their only resource was to send them to England. In the beginning of the reign of Henry V., the English parliament decreed the expulsion of all Irish adventurers from England, as vagabonds. Their students, ignominiously turned out of the inns of courts, and every other place of education, were thus deprived of any knowledge of the laws by which they were to be governed. Could the Irish enemy have been treated worse? What a striking display this, of the very opposite character of the two nations? England refused residence or education to the youth of their own colony, of the same race and religion, and expelled them as vagabonds. The Milesian Irish gave habitation, maintenance, clothing, books, and education, gratis, to thousands of English youth, by the testimony of their own writers. The prejudice of England, against every thing Irish, reached the brute creation; and an English parliament voted Irish cattle a nuisance, whether dead or alive.

The inhuman policy of expelling the English settlers from intercourse and education in England, a retaliation on them for similar decrees against the mere Irish in the statutes of Kilkenny, had reasons at bottom unnoticed by those who recorded them. It was the wish of England,

that the learned professions, within the extent of her jurisdiction in Ireland, should be altogether in the hands of born Englishmen; that all lawyers, judges, physicians, and beneficed clergymen, should be of the same English birth. Consequently, the youth of the Pale should not be admitted to qualifications, that might raise up competition. The declaration of war against Irish cattle had also its motives. The English, then no manufacturers, exported hides, tallow, wool, &c., and imported cloth, leather, linen, and other manufactures. The grazing interest, therefore, obtained that violent decree against the horned creation of Ireland. The modern English, for other reasons, whether of sympathy or interest, are reconciled to them.

Great has been the change in the policy of England. The popish kings and parliaments of England discouraged colonial emigration, i. e. absence from the colony and residence in England, by the enormous tax of two-thirds of the property of the absentee. Even such as went to England on the king's business, if they staid beyond the time necessary for accomplishing the object of their mission, were taxed one-third of their property. These severe penalties on absentees continued in force till the Reformation. There was a solid reason for these severities. It was necessary that every man, possessing property in the Pale, or other parts connected with England, should be on the spot, to conciliate the attachment of his tenants and servants, by giving them an interest to fight for; to furnish them

with arms, and train them to the use of them, to be ready to sally out at his command, and join in the common defence of the colony. Modern England encourages Irish emigration; making it, by the act of Union, not alone fashionable, but necessary. Thus the landed proprietors of Ireland, residing in England, are not acquainted with their tenants; who, left to the mercy of agents, middle-men, and tithe-proctors, know nothing of superiors, but through the rack-rent, toil, and demi-starvation. Would the great man, who lives in pomp on their hard labour and wretchedness, come, an utter stranger to them, to invite them to fight his battles, unarmed and untrained as they are, their answer most likely would be similar to that of the ass in Esop. "An ass grazing near his master, was asked by him to use all speed, for the enemy was coming. Would he double my present load? No. Then 'tis indifferent to me who has me, since my condition cannot be worse." Which policy be wisest I leave to time.

The division between the new and old settlers extended even to the clergy; and bishops were seen to inveigh against each other, publishing scandalous reports and recriminations.

The native Irish were too much divided, and occupied in fighting each other, to take any advantage of the disunited colony. Were the representations of the English writers, and the language of parliament and state acts true, intimating a rancorous hatred in all the Irish against the foreign invaders, and a settled design to ex-

terminate or expel them, that handful of foreigners could not stand a general assault from a nation of warriors a moment. Unfortunately for themselves, pride and revenge perpetuated their family quarrels, and blinded them to the consequences of suffering a powerful and neighbouring kingdom to keep a garrison in the heart of their country, and hold possession of its cities and strong holds. Their contempt for the Pale was not wise. They might have seen, from their statutes, and the usual course of their policy, that the extermination of the antient inhabitants was their principal wish, and ultimate object. They did not foresee, what actually happened afterwards, that they would employ their own arms to effect that purpose.

The old settlers prepared a petition to Henry V. on his arrival in England from the battle of Agincourt, setting forth the grievances and vexations they suffered, from the prejudices of new adventurers, in all the departments of government, church and law ; but the chancellor Merbury, of English descent, refused to put the great seal to it, without which its transmission would be informal : it was dropped for the present.

What feigned submissions might have been obtained by deputy Furnival, from Irish chieftains, with whom he never fought a battle that has been recorded, may be guessed by the sentiments of the people at his departure. He was accompanied with the execration of clergy and laity, whose lands he had ravaged, whose castles he had seized, whose fortunes had been impaired

by his extortions and exactions, or who shared in the distress arising from the debts he left undischarged. He might have prevailed on Mac Murchad, to let his son accompany him to the castle, by a liberal share of the plunder of the colony, and persuade the bigotted settlers that he was an hostage. Arth might indulge the parade, assured that no perfidy would be attempted, which he was sure of speedily punishing with exemplary vengeance.

But perhaps the exaggerations of colonial writers, concerning imaginary victories gained, and the implacable hatred of the Milesian race to the foreign invaders, will be more satisfactorily explained from one of themselves; who, tho' sometimes swayed by truth, never missed any occasion to conceal or disguise it. Who, in a court of justice, would reject the testimony of his opponents, when favorable to his cause? Nothing can better illustrate the real weakness of the Pale, and the causes of its preservation, than their own records.

“ The common enemy, [the Milesians,] who had left them [the settlers] leisure for frivolous dissensions, were too much disunited to take advantage of them. They were contented, in the distant quarters of the island, to rule their petty septs, to maintain their state and consequence against their neighbours, to enjoy the honour and advantage of trifling victories, to execute their revenge, or to pursue their local interests. Their aversion to the English was by this time scarcely more national than their aversion to the

rival septs of their own race. They united in the most cordial affection with those of the old English families who had revolted to them ; and their insurrections against the English, far from being uniformly actuated by a desire of exterminating the foreign invaders, appear to have been commonly occasioned by local claims and disputes. Sometimes they rose to avenge the defeat or death of some chieftain, sometimes to recover some disputed lands, or to exact some duties which they claimed. Had the whole Irish race arisen as one man, against the subjects of the crown of England, they must have instantly destroyed them. But the truth is, this little handful of men, for such they were, when compared to the body of original natives, had the same ground of security with any of the particular Irish septs. They had enemies on all sides, but these were enemies to each other ; nor were any concerned to espouse the quarrels of their neighbours, or mortified by their losses or defeats. Sometimes indeed, when a particular sept was in danger of total ruin from the victory of some English forces, their neighbours were persuaded to come to their rescue ; “ for the sake of the Irish language,” (as the manuscript annals* express it,) but without engaging further, and without conceiving themselves bound by one general permanent interest. These particulars seem necessary to be pointed out, not only to account for the subsistence of the English, but to guard against the prejudices

* Ann. Ferbis. MS.

of their annalists. They frequently intimate, that the reigning passion among the whole body of Irish for many ages, was an inveterate and implacable vengeance against the English settled in their country, merely as foreigners and usurpers; and even in the representations of some Irish parliaments, and the acts of state, we find, in the aggravated language of law and politics, assertions of a settled design and general confederacy among the Irish to extirpate the whole race of English subjects. Their perfidious violation of treaties, and their cruelties, are frequently displayed with great severity. But such charges are made on both sides: the sudden insurrections and local quarrels of the Irish, which the writers of England represent as the excesses of an horrid irreclaimable race of barbarians, are ascribed, by the Irish annalists, to the insincerity, injustice, and oppression of their neighbours, to the warmth of just resentment, or the efforts of self-defence. It would be unreasonable partiality to suppose that such representations were always groundless.”*

During the minority of Henry VI., the colonial parliament, sitting at Trim, convened by the archbishop of Dublin, voted an augmentation of twelve men at arms, and sixty archers, to be paid for forty days! Is it not evident from this, that the tributes, paid to Irish chieftains, impoverished the colony; and that, along with the unceasing hostilities of the natives, and their foolish

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. i. p. 16, 17.

contempt of the Pale, a real English garrison protected its existence among a nation who were at any time able to exterminate it; and a nation, whose extermination was planned from the beginning, and afterwards executed, not by the power of the invaders, but by the arms of the Milesians themselves, which shall appear in its proper place?

While tributes to Irish chieftains, and the wars of the latter against each other, left the colony peaceable possession, they abused their repose by factious quarrels, between adventurers of English birth and the old settlers. These resisted the appointment of a bishop of Meath to the deputyship, on account of his English birth. They alledged, that his commission was not confirmed by the great seal; and he was accused of stealing a chalice from one of the churches in his diocese. He was at length accepted, conditionally, on account of the exigencies of the times. During his administration the tribute to the royal family of Leinster was voted justly due, and paid to Gerald Cavenagh, successor to the great Arth.

This great man, and his chief judge, O'Doran, died the same day, in his camp, not without a strong suspicion of their being poisoned by English influence; a suspicion not improbably founded, when we consider the terror he inspired, and the base arts employed by his enemies to rid themselves of a dreaded adversary. A valuable Irish manuscript, written on vellum, contains the unbought eulogy of the departed hero, which

shall be given here. On hearing of his death, the writer paused from his labour, and foisted into the volume a slip of parchment, containing an account of departed greatness. "This year died Arth boy Mac Murchad O'Cavenagh, one of the greatest heroes the world ever saw. Had I the tongues of men and angels, I would never be able to relate his merits. The mighty defender of his injured kindred—the redoubted avenger of tyranny and oppression—the sure refuge of the weak and distressed—the patron of literature and science—the glory of chivalry, is gone! Alas! poor Erin, weep, when shall his equal return!"

During the successive administrations of the earl of March, Ormond, and lord Furnival, little occurs interesting in the history of Ireland. The Irish chieftains continued their domestic quarrels, with a blind obstinacy, inspired by family pride and implacable hereditary animosity; thus, with their own weapons, paving the way for their own extermination, and preparing an intolerable yoke for the remnant that would be permitted to exist, as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The English colonists, torn by the opposite factions of Butlers, Geraldines, Burkes, and that of the new and old adventurers, left a fair opportunity for their Irish enemy to recover his property, which their infatuated pride would not allow them to make use of. O'Brien was too proud, since the days of Brien Boroive, to acknowledge a monarch of the house of Heremon. O'Niall was too powerful, and inflated by the

long list of illustrious monarchs, his ancestors, and scorned to admit a monarch of the house of Heber. O'Connor did not forget that the last monarch of Ireland was his forefather. Mac Murchad, since the time of the victorious Arth, thought himself as well entitled to the throne as either of the three. As the provincial kings renounced the monarchy and constitution, toparchs, in the different provinces, were willing to shake off all submission to them. O'Donnel was too great to obey O'Neil; exemplified in the laconic message of the latter, and the equally laconic reply of the former. O'Neil to O'Donnel—"Pay me my tribute—or if." O'Donnel to O'Neil—"I owe you no tribute—and if?" O'Kelly, Mac Dermot, O'Madain, &c. set up similar pretensions to independence, against the prerogatives of O'Connor. The first mentioned sent a challenge to the king of Connaught, to decide their disputes in a pitched battle, without armour on either side. O'Connor accepted the defiance, but brought his forces in armour to the field, and defeated O'Kelly, who had adhered to his engagement. The south was not less divided. Mac Carty, sensible of his descent from the eldest branch of the eldest son of Heber, excused himself from any subordination to O'Brien. O'Sullivan would not acknowledge Mac Carty his superior. Fitz-Patrick, O'Moore, O'Connor Faly, were not more complaisant to Mac Murchad. Antient claims, of jurisdiction, privileges, tributes, duties, territory, precedence, &c. which could be adjusted by the national convention of

Tara, while the constitution lasted, were now referred to the sword. Add to all these causes of dissention, the contested elections to the chieftainry of each clan and province, hereditary feuds, &c. and it will be easily perceived, that the sword was never suffered to rust in the scabbard. The anarchy, that prevailed among this unhappy people upwards of four hundred years, untill they were extinguished from the catalogue of nations, may be compared to the confusion that would ensue, if all the courts of law and government were abolished, and the people allowed to appeal to blows instead of law, to terminate their differences. To illustrate the fatal anarchy, and horrid animosities, that raged among the ancient Irish, until their dominion was taken away, and their name, nation, laws, learning, language and character were trampled under foot, and that too by their own hands, one example may suffice for the present. The castle of Roscommon, as before mentioned, had been surrendered to the victorious arms of the Thomonians by De Clare, as part of the price for the base assassination of Brien Roe O'Brien, their chieftain, at a banquet, to which he was invited for that very purpose. But, as the earl of Essex remarked to queen Elizabeth, the Irish neither could take a castle, nor keep one, if they had possession. The reason of this, though not mentioned by the favourite, is obvious enough. The Irish had no mercenary troops; and, consequently, they could not keep their clans long together, either to carry on a siege, or garrison a fortress; yet dire necessity compelled one

clan to submit to the restraint of presidial discipline, considered by them an imprisonment. The castle fell again into the hands of the English, and the garrison sorely distressed and harassed the O'Kellys of Imany. Possessed of a secure retreat, they could sally out by night or by day, as opportunity offered, and kill, plunder, take men, women, cattle, corn, &c. into their fortress. The chieftain took counsel with his people, how they might check the devastations of such desperate banditti. The best safeguard appeared to be, to build and garrison a castle, in opposition and contiguous to it. O'Kelly accordingly called forth his kindred and his allies; and with them rested under arms fifteen days, until he erected and garrisoned a castle, in spite of the English and their Milesian allies. What infernal vindictiveness must have rankled in those Milesians, and depraved their feelings, when they would assist this gang of robbers to infest their neighbours with all kind of carnage, plunder, and savage atrocity, and hinder O'Kelly to protect the lives and properties of his people, by his little castle, as it was spitefully called, so speedily constructed. The annalists, though accurate as to facts, yet generally too brief, have not recorded the names of those Irish enemies to O'Kelly, who inhumanly endeavoured to make him and his people a prey to the ruffians, who had been wasting his territory nearly with impunity; whether they were the O'Rourkes, Mac Dermots, Burkes, O'Madains, O'Connors, or a confederation of two, three, or more of them. They

simply state, that a host of Gathelians marched to the assistance of the marauders; and, in conjunction with them, endeavoured to take and demolish O'Kelly's little castle. The castle was well defended, and the combined forces beat off. They forgot to record, whether the chieftain of Imany had an entrenched camp near his little castle, to second the valour of its little garrison, though the fact can hardly be doubted; since it cannot be conceived, that the castle-builder would abandon a work, that cost such exertion, and was so necessary to his people. From this sample, and some more that shall follow, it is self-evident, that a people, thirsting so greedily for each other's destruction, could not long subsist as a nation, in the devouring jaws of anarchy and vindictive hostilities. Indeed there was at that time no such thing as an Irish nation united by interest and the national feelings of patriotism. Each clan was a distinct nation; considering only its own local concerns, and hostile or indifferent to the rest. Sometimes, indeed, they formed alliances among a few clans, for some object offensive or defensive; but these were temporary and precarious, while the Irish alliances with their enemies, for the ruin of their country, were more numerous and steady. The mercenary race of their bards, with few exceptions, abused the influence of music and numbers, on minds of vehement sensibility, meanly flattering and inflaming their passions; and were easily bribed, by the invaders, to rekindle old animosities and wars amongst them. Thus, in the reign of queen

Elizabeth, the bards of the north and south were played off against each other, to revive the rivalry of the houses of Heber and Heremon; and impede, by their mutual vaunting, defiance, reproaches and recriminations, any concert for their common protection.

Leland, with his fellow writers of the same stamp, talk of the successes of the earl of Ormond, during his deputyship, over O'Nial, and some other chieftains, which but ill accord with what he states in the same page.* “We find the limits of the English Pale, as it stood in the ninth year of Henry VI. defined in such a manner, as gives a MORTIFYING idea of the extent of English power in those days;” little more than the county of Dublin being exempt from tribute to Irish chieftains. “In this interval we find a remarkable instance of the poverty or the economy of those times. It was agreed in council, that as the hall of the castle of Dublin, and the windows thereof, were ruinous, and that there was in the treasury a certain antient silver seal cancelled, which was of no use to the king, the said seal should be broken and sold, and the money laid out on the said hall and windows.” Here are two convincing proofs of their inability to put down any of the great chieftains, or compelling them to relinquish their claim to the tribute, called, by those who paid it, **Black Rent**. The narrow limits of the colony, and the tributes therefrom to the powerful families of Mac Murchad, O'Nial

* Vol. II. Book III. c. i. p. 22.

and O'Brien, sufficiently explain the poverty of the exchequer.

Even in this state of real debility, and precarious tolerated existence, the Pale could not divest itself of its absurd antipathies, subservient to the policy of England. In the administration subsequent to that of Ormond, all the statutes against marrying, fostering, or trafficking with the Irish, were renewed. Nevertheless, the parliament of this little tract, called the Pale, paid a laudable attention to their own interests, with regard to English interference. In their petitions to the king, they notice the misrepresentations made to him of his Irish subjects; the incapacity and ignorance of persons sent from England to every office of trust; and their impudent affectation of superiority over the old settlers: their own right to be treated as Englishmen, agreeably to the stipulations of their ancestors, they insisted on. The discontents, arising from those grievances unredressed, kept encreasing, untill they were buried in oblivion by contests of greater moment.

The chief settlers, generally descended from indigent and profligate adventurers, on the testimony of their own cotemporary countrymen, had, by various arts of violence, perfidy, and fraud, profiting of the anarchy and feuds of the old natives, attained princely opulence and consequence. The Geraldines, Burkes, and Butlers, could rank with chieftains of the second class, in power and resources. Of all these, the earl of Desmond was the most potent. He usurped a

large tract of the county of Cork, under pretence of a grant from Cogan; as if that early adventurer had a right to grant other men's estates. He was by patent appointed governor of Limerick, Waterford, Cork and Kerry, dispensed from attendance on parliament for life, on sending a proxy. As an independent sovereign, he exercised all the prerogatives of royalty, and continued his encroachments. Ormond, at this time deputy, began to look with a jealous eye on the aggrandizement of the rival of his house; and interposed his authority, to restrain the rapacity of Desmond. The latter bad him defiance; they collected forces; to war they went, in which the unfortunate natives were, as usual, the principal victims and sufferers. Foiled in his endeavour to defeat Desmond, the deputy was obliged to make a twelve month's truce with him; during which the thane had time to strengthen his party, and encourage the enemies of Ormond to impeach him of sundry acts of mal-administration. The artifices of Desmond succeeded: an order was issued for the removal of Ormond, which, on receiving a favourable testimony of his Irish deputy's conduct, Henry suspended; yet, soon after, whether moved by the accusations sent over, or to remove a cause of jealousy from among the leading colonists, he sent an Englisman, Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to govern his Irish domain. He came attended by 700 men; a necessary reinforcement, in times of turbulence and factious broils among natives and settlers. The Fitz-Patricks and the Butlers

had some quarrels, in which the Irish chieftain of Ossory, as usual, was assassinated. O'Connor Faly and the Berminghams invaded Meath. O'Brien and Clanrickard made war on the colonists of Thomond. The colonial writers here state, "that the Irish chieftains were reduced, the degenerate English intimidated, and some of the most obnoxious among them, particularly of the Berminghams, seized, condemned and executed." The reduction of the Irish chieftains! How reasonable the tales of baron Munkhausen, when compared with such extravagant rant? Long after this period the Milesian power was formidable. It was not with 700 men, and the forces of the petty, impoverished Pale, that such an undertaking could be dreamed of. If, by the mediation of a deputy, peace was restored, or atonement made to an injured or offended chieftain, it was set down, reduction, homage. The native Irish seldom took up arms but to revenge some wrong or insult. The settlers, true to the first principles of their mission, never let slip, but always strove to create opportunities of encroachment. If a provoked chieftain was appeased by submission and satisfaction, 'tis strange language to call the transaction homage, submission, and no way reconcilable with the continuance of the tribute.

At a parliament held in Trim, anno 1447, the bigotted ordinances of the Pale against native Irish were renewed. The beard-act, prohibiting the use of whiskers, now generally worn by soldiers on the continent; an act against the use of

gold or silver trappings or harness, except by noblemen or prelates ; an act against O'Reily's coin ; and an act against the conveyance of gold or silver into England, so remarkable as not to be unworthy of insertion. “ Whereas this land of Ireland is greatly impoverished from day to day, by the great deduction and carriage out of the said land into England of the silver plate, broken silver bullion, and wedges of silver made of the great tonsure of the money of our sovereign lord the king, by his Irish enemies, and English rebels within his said land, whereby his said coyn is diminished and greatly impaired, and Irish money called Relyes do encrease from day to day, unto the great hurt and impoverishment of his said people of this his said land, and diminution of his coin : the premises therefore considered, it is ordained, established, and provided by authority of the said parliament, that of every ounce of broken silver, bullion, and wedges of silver, taken by any person or persons out of the said land, the said person or persons shall pay, satisfie and content to the king, twelve pence for custom of every ounce, to be received by the hands of his customers for the time being, except lords and messengers going into England about the business of the land, that they may take plate with them according to their beings and estates.”

Talbot, on returning to England, his brother, the archbishop of Dublin, being appointed lord lieutenant in his absence, brought several charges of high treason against his predecessor Ormond. The archbishop wrote a treatise in confirmation

of those charges. The king, whether from lenity or policy, quashed all proceedings on the charges, as he did the trial by combat, to which Butler was challenged by the prior of Kilmainham, in support of the allegations against him. These repeated favours confirmed Ormond in his attachment to the house of Lancaster.

As the affairs of Ireland soon became connected with English affairs; and the revolutions in the one always shook the other, more or less, since that period, it will be proper to sketch briefly the causes that first linked the domestic policy of both countries so closely. Notwithstanding two successive reigns in the line of Lancaster, one of whom made a splendid figure on the continent, the house of York had partizans, numerous and powerful, who considered Richard, duke of York, as the legitimate heir; being descended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the elder brother of him from whom the house of Lancaster claimed their right to the crown. Margaret of Anjou, wife to Henry VI. exercised that dominion over him, which strong minds naturally possess over the weak. In all his transactions with France, her national partiality led him to treaties and concessions odious and unpopular in England. Espousing the animosities of those attached to the Lancastrian line, or who procured her marriage, she imprudently led him to destroy the duke of Gloucester, the darling of the people. The partizans of the house of York failed not to take advantage of every mistake of Henry, in favour of their own cause. They represented him

as a weak, pusillanimous man, governed absolutely by an imperious woman, wedded to foreign and party interests; and the superior rights of York were urged without reserve. A pretence was wanting to the politic Margaret, of sending him out of sight. Petitions were procured from the Irish colony, representing it on the brink of destruction; while the Milesians, occupied by their domestic feuds, and the three most powerful chieftains satisfied with their tributes, left it in full security. Richard, duke of York, was pitched on by the court, as the fittest person to meet the pretended storm; as a relative of De Burgo, and the inheritor of a vast estate in Ireland, could not want followers. Neither did they give him any army; for an administration of eclat was the very thing they did not wish for, in sending this dreaded pretender to Ireland. The policy of Richard appears clearly, from the stipulations he made on accepting the office of lord lieutenant of the Pale. His chearful acceptance of the lieutenancy, and the stipulations he made, clearly bespeak the abilities of a statesman. Conscious that he was removed to Ireland from his English connexions, as too formidable, by his pretensions to the throne, founded on his descent from an elder branch of Lionel, duke of Clarence, supported by numerous and powerful partizans, and his popularity contrasted with the odium of an English king held under the government of a French woman, he thought it best to temporize. To disown ambition, natural to most men, especially to those of high rank and autho-

rity, would only render him more suspicious to the penetrating Margaret. But, claiming higher honors, support, and revenue, than any of his predecessors, and a continuance of his delegated authority for ten years, was a virtual surrender of his pretensions to the throne, to cover his real designs. This is the true clue to his administration in Ireland ; the most just, moderate, and conciliating, ever experienced in Ireland from an English delegate. What his character would have been, had he reached the summit of his ambition, his failure and death have left uncertain ; but his management of Irish affairs proved, how far equity and conciliation could operate to tranquillize a distracted state, perpetually irritated, and goaded to acts of vengeance by encroachments and insults. Equally courteous and attentive to all parties, of English or Irish descent, Ormond, the noted partizan of a rival house, or a chief of the Irish enemy, was received with equal affability, as the partizans of his own family, and with every appearance of kindness and attention to their affairs. Ormond and Desmond were chosen as gossips to an infant born to him in the castle ; studying thus to unite these rival lords, or at least, by his honoring a partizan of Lancaster, to remove the suspicion of a lurking pretendership from York. He soon found, that the representations made in England, of Irish disturbances, were the fabrications of designing men. The only opportunity he found of displaying his arms, was presented by a quarrel between Mac Geoghegan and the English of Meath. But

the presence and equity of York soon settled their differences, to their mutual satisfaction. Studious to recommend himself both to natives and settlers, by his equity to the one, and care of the other, he gained many friends to his cause. In a parliament, which he held in Dublin, anno 1450, some acts were passed, of a popular nature. The law of retaliation was enacted, that an accuser should give security to pay costs and damages, on being convicted of false accusation. It was declared lawful to kill robbers and thieves caught in the fact, and a reward to be levied on the district for the service. But the most remarkable act was that, which restrained the tyranny and oppression of the lords of the Pale, abolishing coyne and livery, &c. and is as follows.

“ That where the marchours [those who dwelt on the borders] of the county of Dyvelyn, [Dublin,] and other marchours of sundry counties, and other men within the land of Ireland, do keep horsemen and footmen, as well Irish as English, more than they can maintain upon their own costs, or upon their own tenants, and from day to other do coynce them upon the poor husbands and tenants of the said land of Ireland, and oppress and destroy them, and namely in time of harvest upon their cornes and meadows with their horses both day and night, and do pay nothing therefore, but many times do rob, spoyl, and kill the said tenants and husbands, as well by night as by day, and the captains of the same marchours, their wives and their pages, certain times of the year do gather and bring

with them the king's Irish enemies both men and women, and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen, as well in time of war as of peace, to night suppers called cuddies, upon the said tenants and husbands, and they that are the chief captains of the said marchours, do leade and lodge them upon one husband one hundred men horsemen and footmen some night, and upon one other tenant or husband, so many one other night, and so every captain and their wives, pages, and their sons, as well as themselves, and every of them do lead and bring with them so many of the said Irish enemies and English rebels, with their horsemen and footmen upon the said husbands and tenants, and so they espy the secrecie of the said land : and after that every of the said marchours and their wives, pages and sons, have overgone the said husbands, and tenants of the said marches in the form aforesaid, then they go to the captain aforesaid, and there the thieves of the said marchours do knit and confeder together. And that the said marchours thieves do steal in the English country," distinguished from Irish country, " they do put out to them in the march, and in time of war the men of the same marchours, as well horsemen and footmen, do guide the said Irish enemies and their thieves into the English country, and what tenant or husband will not be at their truce, they do burn, they do rob, spoil and kill, and for the more part, the said land is wasted and destroyed. And if such rule be holden, not punished, it is like to be the utter destruction

and undoing of the said land. Wherefore the premises considered, it is ordained and agreed by the authority of the said council, that no marchours nor other man of the said counties, shall keep more men, horsemen or footmen, but that they shall answer for them, and shall maintain them upon their own costs, or their own tenants. And what men that they do keep, horsemen or footmen, the marchours of the county of Dyvelyn shall present their names to the sheriff, or to the justices of peace of the said county, and they to present them to the mayor and bayliffs of the city of Dyvelyn, and in like case, all marchours and other men of every county within Ireland, to the sheriffs or justices of peace of the counties, and they to present them to the mayor and bayliffs of the said cities within the said counties. Sovereigns or provosts of the best burrough-towns within the said counties. And that the said marchours, nor no other man, shall any more use any such coynees, suppers, cuddies, nor shall take no pledges for them, nor none of their thieves or men shall guide none of the king's Irish enemies in the form aforesaid. And what marchours or other men do contrary to the ordinances aforesaid, that they shall be judged as felons. And that the mayors, bayliffs, sovereigns and provosts of the counties aforesaid for the time being, or any other of the king's liege-men, shall have the king's letters patents under his great seal out of his chancery of Ireland made to them in due form, without fine or fee paying for the said letters patents, or great seal, that where they may

find any such thieves, burning, robbing, stealing, killing, coyning, or taking pledges, as it is aforesaid, to take them and their goods, to be forfeited as goods of felons, and the half of the said goods to go to the king, and the other half to them that do take them. And that no escape shall be levied of the commons of the said counties if any of the said felons be killed for the causes aforesaid, nor they nor any of them shall be vexed nor grieved by our sovereign lord the king, nor his justices, officers, nor ministers, notwithstanding any statutes or ordinances thereof made to the contrary before this time." In a parliament, held under the same prince-royal at Drogheda, in the same year, some useful ordinances were made, to regulate the course of law.

While his equitable administration in Ireland daily increased the number of his adherents, his partizans in England improved every incident to his advantage. Notwithstanding the cautious line of policy hitherto pursued by Richard Plantagenet, an incident awoke suspicions of his designs at court. An impostor, by name Cade, assuming the popular name of Mortimer, caused disturbances, and laid open the popular attachment to the house of York. Richard, resolved to appear in London for his justification, committed the lieutenancy to the earl of Ormond, a known partizan of the reigning family. This appointment appeared extraordinary to Leland, but was perfectly suitable to his situation and subtlety. Had he appointed a Yorkist, he would have confirmed the suspicions of the Lancastrians.

After the departure of the duke of York, nothing very memorable happened, to be recorded in history, except one trait of parental affection and filial piety, which, for the sake of humanity, should not be buried in oblivion. During the administration of Fitz-Eustace, deputy to the duke of York, now apparently reconciled to the king, and residing in Wales, O'Connor Faly made an irruption into the district of Kildare. Surprized by Fitz-Eustace, his small troop fled; and, as he was endeavouring to effect his escape, he fell from his horse. "A generous contest was now commenced between the father and son, which of them should be resigned to the mercy of the enemy. The youth urgently pressed his father to take his horse, to leave him to his fate, and to seize the present moment of providing for his own safety. The father obstinately refused; commanded his son to fly, and was quickly made prisoner; but as it appeared that he had taken arms merely for the sake of prey, not with any deliberate purpose of opposition to English government, he was released without any injury."

The colonial writers make a long story of a petty transaction that occurred at this time. A few barks were fitted out in the north, who captured some ships sailed from Dublin, on board one of which was the archbishop of Dublin. "A force was quickly raised by the deputy, to chastise these pirates," says Leland. Would he call the English government pirates, for similar conduct?

At a parliament assembled in Drogheda, by

Fitz-Eustace, as deputy to the duke of York, where all statutes made in England against suing provisions at Rome were made of force in Ireland, another act was passed, preventing coroners from harassing and detaining jurors, who, on inquisition for murder, return that they know not the perpetrator. In all the acts of the parliament of the Pale, sedulous attention to the rights of the crown, and to the rights, privileges, ease and convenience of the subject, is observable. That little senate was a fair representation of the proprietors and property of the colony; rotten boroughs were first introduced by the rotten house of——.

Nations are seldom wise politicians; and their vanity is often at war with their interest. Nothing would be more acceptable to John Bull's pride, than the conquest of France, and the crowning of his king at Paris; yet nothing more adverse to his interest. The king of France should reside there, attending the interests of that great kingdom, and watching the movements of his potent neighbours, the emperor and the king of Spain. There he should hold his court and parliament, and govern England by a viceroy. Thus were they unwittingly wishing the conquest of England, to make it a province to France. In the reign of Henry VI. the total loss of his French dominions, though a real and great benefit to his English subjects, exonerating them from the burdens of an almost perpetual war, and the drain caused by the frequent residence of their king and nobility there, yet mor-

tified national vanity. It furnished a theme of declamation to the Yorkists, to encrease popular discontents. The birth of an heir to king Henry accelerated the contest between the followers of the white and red rose.

Duke Richard arrived in London, where he was, during the king's indisposition, appointed protector of the kingdom. The Lancastrians striving to wrest this power out of his hand, the parties came to blows, and the victory of St. Albans gave the duke possession of the king's person and authority; then he threw off the mask, under which he courted Ormond, the partizan of his royal prisoner, and appointed his rival, a determined Yorkist, the earl of Kildare, his deputy in Ireland. Margaret of Anjou renewed the contest, and obtained the victory at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, as some allege, through treachery. Richard fled to Ireland; where he was received, not as a fugitive, but as the rightful heir to the throne. During his former administration he had gained powerful friends, and the affection of all the subjects, who now declared unanimously for him. The English parliament, at Coventry, having declared his adherents rebels, many of them followed their leader into Ireland for shelter. Here he protected them against the writs issued from England for their attachment; and the colonial parliament appealed to Irish hospitality, in support of the protection they gave. They enacted a decree, purporting, that it had been ever customary in their land to receive and entertain strangers with due support

and hospitality; that the custom was good and laudable; and that it should be deemed high-treason for any person, under pretence of writs, privy-seals, or any authority, to attach or disturb the persons so supported and entertained.

“ But the temper of the Irish subjects, and the policy of the duke of York, will appear more fully, by an abstract of some laws passed in the Irish parliament after his return.

“ The assembly in the first place assumed the power of confirming the patent made to the duke, constituting him lieutenant of Ireland for ten years. They enacted, that if any person should imagine, compass, or excite his destruction or death, and for this purpose confederate with the Irish, or any other persons, they should be attainted of high-treason. By an act, calculated to guard the duke and his adherents from all the attempts of his enemies in England, they declared in the fullest manner, that Ireland is, and always has been, incorporated within itself, by ancient laws and customs, and is only to be governed by such laws, as by the lords and commons of the land, in parliament assembled, have been advised, accepted, affirmed, and proclaimed; that by custom, privilege, and franchise, there has ever been a royal seal peculiar to Ireland, to which alone the subjects are to pay obedience, that this realm hath also its constable and marshal, before whom all appeals are finally determinable; yet, as orders have been of late issued under another seal, and the subjects summoned into England to prosecute their suits before a foreign jurisdiction, to

the great grievance of the people, and in violation of the rights and franchises of the land, they enact, that for the future no persons shall be obliged by any commandment, under any other seal but that of Ireland, to answer any appeal, or any other matter out of the said land, and that no officer, to which such commandment may come, shall put the same into execution, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels, and one thousand marks; half to be paid to the king, and the other to the prosecutor; and further, that all appeals of treason in Ireland be determinable before the constable and marshal of Ireland, and in no other place.”*

The declaration of rights, issued by the representatives of the English district, on this occasion, shames the memory of the suicide-union parliament.

This parliament gave incontestable evidences of English degeneracy, for hospitality was never an English virtue. Their writers disown it, and transfer it to the unrefined stage of society. To come to issue, once for all, with lying historians and ill-mannered libellers, on the foul epithets they lavish on the ancient and modern Irish, without sparing those of English descent any more than the Milesians, I shall not stoop to retort their own Billingsgate, but come to a definition of what civilization means, and the vices opposed thereto; and an appeal to facts shall determine which was most civilized, and which the contrary. Civility, from the Latin *civilis*, civil,

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. ii. p. 42, 43.

and civis, citizen, comprehends those qualities that constitute a good member of society. These qualities may be classed into four kinds: the necessary, the useful, the ornamental, and the agreeable. 'Tis necessary, first, that every member of society should procure his maintenance by some profession, some branch of industry, and besides contribute his proportion to the public exigencies of the community, in support of those who must devote their whole time to the public service, whether as governors or judges, for the preservation of internal peace, the execution of the laws, or external defence. The long duration of the Irish monarchy testifies of this quality. A love of justice, and obedience to the laws, are primary ingredients in civilization. Two English authorities attribute this to the ancient Irish in an eminent degree. Sir John Davis, long residing as attorney-general among them, affirms, that "no nation in the world loved impartial justice more than the Irish, though it should make against themselves." Antient authors affirmed the same of the Scythians, calling them, the most just of mankind. The words Scoti and Scythians are synonymous; the latter being formed from Scuith, the plural of Scot. Hence the modern Persians call Scythia Chothan; and the Fingallians call the north Gothan, which originally was Scothan. Lord Howth says, "the Irish obey the laws, framed for them on their hills, better than the English do theirs, framed by parliament in walled towns." The virtue of hospitality, though not so

essential to the existence of society, is yet highly graceful, and consolatory to the feelings. It is one for which Ireland was always famous, according to the testimony of all nations, not excepting the English. It was practised by the patriarchs, and by the most renowned nations of antiquity. It constituted one of the most endearing pledges of friendship among the Greeks, Romans, and Gathelians. 'Tis enforced by a tremendous threat in the gospel. "Whatever house you enter, greet them with shalam, i. e. peace, and if they receive you not, shake your shoe-dust in testimony against them. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorra, on the last day, than for them." Coimric, i. e. sanctuary, was an Irish custom, much reprobated by the English; yet it was established among the chosen people, by divine authority, in order to prevent the summary execution of vengeance, untill the first ebullitions of anger abated, and mediation or judgment could determine the case. The exercise of this institution, confirmed by divine authority, towards their kinsmen, the Segidenses, brought the Roman arms on the Numantines, and the arms of England on the O'Moores, for their protection of their enemy, Fitz-Gerald.

Another proof of civilized society is, its competence to provide all necessaries for itself. Now the Irish nation not only supplied themselves with all sorts of manufactures of necessity, but even of elegance, and exported besides. A flourishing agriculture, cloth and linen manufactures, iron

and timber works, curious workmanship in gold and silver, yearly dug up and sent to the mint, a circumstance belonging to no other country in Europe. They had breweries and distilleries, cultivated medicine in all its branches; of which respectable monuments still remain on vellum, and in the traditions of their posterity, with which cures are wrought that baffle modern skill. All the great monasteries, that were colleges, had botanic gardens; as Mr. White, of the botanic garden, Glasnevin, has proved, from the number of exotic plants still growing wild about their ruins.

The knowledge of the Irish in astronomy was evidently greater before Christianity than since; to which department, some fragments of their books on astronomy, still preserved, attest their attention. They spoke a language copious and elegant beyond any cotemporary, which the remains of their compositions in poetry and prose abundantly evince. Their music was acknowledged, by their bitterest enemies, incomparably superior to that of the neighbouring nations; and the remains thereof, preserved in Ireland, Scotland, and England, though plagiarized, leave no doubt on that head. If music be sentiment guided by harmony, they possessed, in the perfection of sublime simplicity, the most soul-moving melody, never descending to the caterwauling semidemiquavers of some farraginous, incongruous, unmeaning overtures. Spencer, from imperfect translations, was enabled to perceive the beauty of the original compositions of the Irish bards, and the samples published by Miss

Brookes, shew that nothing equal to them in harmony and sentiment was at that time produced in Europe. In fact, literature was so deeply interwoven in the constitution, laws and customs, of the Gathelians; every man's consequence and rights depended so much on records; a passion for literature, especially history, poetry, and music, was so firmly engrafted in the Milesians, that it could not be extirpated without the extirpation of the nation. Every clan had hereditary* lawyers, hereditary historians, hereditary physicians, hereditary bards, combining poetry and music. Thus family interest was interested in the improvement and preservation of every art and profession; every generation was sedulous to hand down the records, containing the rules and improvement of each profession, to their posterity. Hence the Danish wars of two hundred years, and the English and Irish wars of four hundred years continuance, were unable to pluck up the strong and deep roots of Irish learning, until the nation and it fell together. Even still there is no such general passion for learning to be found in the bulk of the people in any other country, working against a current of obstacles and oppression.

The fate of English literature was quite different; because it had not such deep roots in the constitution. The wars, tyranny, and policy of the Danes, succeeded to crush, what the Gathelians

* Hereditary professions may possibly not be the best suited for the rapid progress of arts and sciences, but they afford the greatest security for their conservation.

generously kindled there, to a half-smothered ember ; so that, untill the Norman conquest, few barons could write their names. “ In former times many farms and manors were given by bare word, without writing, only with the sword of the lord on his headpiece, with a horne or a standing goblet; and many tenements with a quill, with a horse combe, with a bow, with an arrow.”*

It was already observed, that the exports of England were raw materials, and its imports manufactured goods. Not alone in Westminster-abbey, but in all the great buildings in England, the workmen, as well as the oak, were sought in Ireland. That they were inferior in every art. That their music and their poetry were contemptible, in the judgment of their countrymen, as soon as they heard the lively rapidity, and soul-animating strains of Milesian bards. They are called upon to name a single virtue, civil or religious, a single feature of civilization, imported by them into this ill-fated island. They brought nothing with them but rapacious indigence, and plenty of vice, by which they corrupted the primitive simplicity of the natives. They paled themselves in their districts, in boorish selfishness, like hogs in a sty; excluding all intercourse with an enlightened civilized people, whether of friendship or business, alliance, charity or religion. Their barbarous lawgivers prohibited access to Irish poets, musicians, and novellists; least they should, as they alledged,

* Hayward's Life of William I.

charity or religion. Their barbarous lawgivers prohibited access to Irish poets, musicians, and novellists; least they should, as they alledged, "corrupt the imaginations of the settlers." Can we call such people any thing but barbarians, who excluded from their villains (their tenants were held in villanage) those very branches of the fine arts, fitted to harmonize the feelings and civilize the man—"Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast." They talk of degenerate English! Yes. There were degenerate English, who adopted social virtues for unsocial churlishness; who obeyed the law of nature, in conforming to the laws, customs and manners of the nation: what a handful of strangers always are inclined, and indeed bound to do, when nothing is found in them repugnant to religion and morality. There were many, who exchanged an uncouth, barren and barbarous jargon, such was the English then, for an elegant, copious, and expressive language. Many could not be restrained by all the severities of penal laws, even the threat of death itself, from this degeneracy. They felt their pretended degeneracy to be a transition from barbarity to civilization; and the fascinating attraction of social virtues, and elegant amusements, drew many to the Gathe-lians, in despite of penal laws, and the commination of forfeiture and death. Were there no English who did not degenerate? Yes, surely. Those who followed precedents laid by their forefathers, who copied domestic examples, a few of which are here inserted, did not degenerate.

William the Conqueror, after having defeated the English, at the memorable battle of Hastings, in which their king, Harold, lost his crown and life, “ the wayes where he passed being as free from resistance, as his thoughts were from change, whether it were upon licentiousness after the late victorie, or whether for want of necessary provision, or whether to strike a terrour into the English, or whether to leave no danger at his backe, he permitted the sword to range at large, to harrie freely, to defile many places with ruine and blood.”*

The Conqueror “ secured himself against his” new “ subjects, not by altering their will, but by taking away their power to rebell. The stoutest of the nobilitie and gentlemen were spent, either by warre, or by banishment, or by voluntary avoidance out of the realme. All these hee stripped of their states, and in place of them advanced his Normans : insomuch as scarce any noble familie of the English blood did beare either office or authoritie within the realme.”†

In the reign of William Rufus, the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury took the island of Anglesey, “ The Welsh that were there taken, were very hardly, or rather unmercifully and cruelly entreated ; some had their eyes pulled out, some their hands cut off, some their armes, some their noses, some their genitalles. An aged priest, named Kenredus, who had bene a chief director of the common affaires, was drawne out

* Hayward's *Lives of the three Norman Kings*, p. 80.

† *Ibid.* p. 86.

of a church whereinto he had fled, had one of his eyes pulled out, and his tongue torne from his throat.”*

Henry IV. of England, dissatisfied with the duke of Gloucester, “entered into counsaile with John Holland, earle of Huntington, his halfe brother, and Thomas Mowbray, earle of Nottingham, howe the duke of Gloucester might be suppressed or oppressed rather. The cruelty which was but wavering in the king, yea wanting by nature, was soone confirmed by evil advise: and being once inclined to blood, he did not faile, either of example of lewd action to follow: or direction of cruell counsaile what to doe: so the plotte was contrived, and according thereto, the king and the earle of Nottingham rode together into Essex, as though it were to disport themselves in hunting: when they were in the midst of the forrest, the earle made staye, and the king passed forth with a small and unsuspectious company to the duke, lying at Plashey; there he stayed dinner: and then pretending occasion of present returne, he desired the duke to accompany him to London, the faire entreatie of a prince, is a most forcible commaunde: therefore the duke supposing that onely to bee intended in deede, which was pretended in shewe, went to horse-backe with the king, taking such small attendance, as upon the sudden could be in a readinesse, and appointing the rest to come after him to London. So they rode to-

* Hayward's Lives of the three Norman Kings, p. 179.

gether, using much familiar talke by the way, untill they came neere the place of await: then the king put his horse forward, and the duke comming behinde, was suddenly intercepted and stayed, crying aloud, and calling to the king for his helpe: the king continued his journey, as though he had not heard: and the duke was violently carried to the Thames, and there shipped in a vessel layed for the purpose, and from thence conveyed over to Calice.”*

In the reign of Henry IV. Owen Glendor, a Welsh esquire, endeavoured to expel the English from Wales. “ That his aspiring and ambitious humour might beare some shew of honest meaning, he pretended to his countrymen the recoverie of their free estate, the desire whereof was so naturally sweete, that even wilde birdes will rather live hard, lye at large in the ayre, then bee daintily dyeted by others in a cage; and opportunitie was at that time fitly offered, or else never to be expected, to rid them of their thraldome, falsely and colourable intituled a peace, whilst the one king’s power was waining, and the other not yet fullye wexen, and either of them grew weake by wasting the other: neither was their any difference which of them should prevayle, sithe the war touched both alike, inso-much as the overthrow would ruine the one, and the victorie the other. So hee exhorted them to take courage and armes; and first to kill all the English within their territories, for libertie and

* Hayward’s Life and Raigne of Henry IV. p. 36, 37.

lordes could not endure together ; then to resume their auncient customes and lawes, whereby more then armes, common-wealths are established and enlarged : so should they bee a people uncorrupt, without admixtion of forreine manners of bloud ; and so should they forget servitude, and eyther live at libertie, or else, perhaps, bee lordes over other.

“ Heereupon many flocked unto him, the best for love of libertie, the basest for desire of bootie and spoil, insomuch as in short time hee became commaunder of competent forces to stand openly in the fiede. And being desirous to make some prooffe of his prowesse, he sharply set upon his ould adversarie Reignold, lorde Grey of Ruthen, whose possessions he wasted and spoyled : slew many of his men, and tooke himself prisoner....

“ The Welshmen being confident uppon this successe, began to breake into the borders of Herefordshire, and to make spoyle and pray of the countrey, against whom lord Edmund Mortimer, earle of Marche, who for feare of king Henrie had withdrawne himselfe (as hath been declared) to Wiggomore Castle, assembled all the gentlemen of the countrey, and meeting with the Welshmen, they joyned together a sharpe and cruell conflict : not in forme of a loose skirmish, but standing still and maintaining their place, they endeavoured with maine might to breake and beare downe one another. The courage and resolution of both sides was alike, but the Welshmen were superiour both for number and direction, for they were conducted by

one knowne leader, who with his presence every where assisted at neede, enflaming his soldiours, some with shame and reproofe, others with praise and encouragement, all with hope and large promises ; but the Englishmen, had no certaine generall, but many confused commaunders, yea every man was a commaunder to himselfe, pressing forward or drawing backe as his owne courage or feare did moove him. Insomuch as no doubt they had taken a great blow that day by theyr ill governed bouldnesse, had not Owen Glendor presently uppon the breaking up of the field ceased to pursue the execution, and shewed himself more able to get a victorie, then skilful to use it. But even to his side the victorie had cost bloud, and many of those which remayned, were eyther wounded or wearie : the night was neere also, and they were in their enemies countrie ; by which meanes our men had libertie to retire rather then runne away, no man being hoat to follow the chase. They lost of their company about a thousand men, who sould their lives at such a price, that when manhood had doone the hardest against them, certaine manish, or rather devilish women, whose malice is immortall, exercised a vaine revenge uppon their dead bodyes," in a manner too brutal to be here inserted, " and would not not suffer their mangled carcasses to be committed to the earth, untill they were redeemed with a great summe of money."*

* Hayward's Life and Raigne of Henry IV. p. 140, &c.

Henry IV. "entred into Scotland with a puissant armie; wherewith hee burnt many villages and townes, cast downe diverse castles, and ruined a great part of the townes of Edenborough and Lith, sparing nothing but churches and religious houses: so that in all places as he passed, the spectacle was ougly and grislie which he left behind him; bodyes torn in peeces, mangled and putrified limmes, the ayre infected with stincke, the ground imbrued with corruption and bloud, the countrie wasted, the grasse and corne troden downe and spoyled; insomuch as a man would have sayde that warre is an exercise not of manhood, but of inhumanitie."*

In the reign of Edward VI. a sedition, which had spread over a considerable part of England, being "broken and beaten downe, Sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal of the king's army, was deemed by many not only cruell, but uncivill and inhumane in his executions. One Boyer, mayor of Bodmin, in Cornwall, was observed to have beene among the seditious, but by absolute enforcement as many others were. The marshal wrote to him a letter that he would dine at his house upon a day which he appointed; the mayor seemed glad, and made for him the best provision that he could. Upon the day he came, and a large company with him, and was received with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner he took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the eare, that execution must that

* Hayward's *Life and Raigne of Henry IV.* p. 146.

day be done in the towne, and therefore required him that a paire of gallows should be framed and erected, against the time that dinner should end; the mayor was diligent to accomplish his demand, and no sooner was the dinner ended, but he demanded of the mayor whether the work were finished, the mayor answered that all was ready, I pray you, said the provost, bring me to the place, and therewith he tooke him friendly by the hand; here beholding the gallows, he asked the mayor whether he thought them to be strong enough, yes, said the mayor, doubtlesse they are; well then, said the provost, get you up speedily, for they are prepared for you. I hope, answered the mayor, you meane not as you speak; in faith, said the provost, there is no remedy, for you have beene a busie rebel; and so without respite or defence he strangled to death.....

“ Divers others were executed by martial law, and a great part of the country was abandoned to the spoile of the souldiers, who not troubling themselves to discern betweene a subject and a rebel, whilst their liberty lasted, made indifferently profit of both.”*

A transaction occurred, during the deputyship of the duke of York, which deserves notice, as illustrative of national character. Three centuries had now elapsed, since the elopement of O'Rourk's spouse with the sexagenarian, Diarmuid Mac Murchad, king of Leinster; and but two instances of crim. con. have been noticed

* Hayward's *Life and Raigne of Edward VI.* p. 64.

during that long period. The antient Irish, as chaste as prolific, regarded the illicit intercourse of the sexes with abhorrence. A high sense of honor, and religious sentiment, bridled the natural impetuosity of that passion, implanted for the preservation of the human race, and which, when legitimate, is the fountain of many social virtues. The adultery of Mac Murchad lost him the hearts of all his people, and occasioned his flight, and his introduction of the English into Ireland. A similar transgression of conjugal fidelity raised a storm against O'Neil, the most powerful of Irish princes, to whose force he was obliged to submit. He had put away his lawful wife, daughter to Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, and niece to the earl of Ormond, and took to his bed the daughter of Burke, earl of Clanrickard. Every motive of ambition, family pride, and jealousy of a rival house, instigated Ormond to form a confederacy against him. The cause was popular among a religious people, lovers of justice, and would furnish an opportunity of displaying more than the natural resources and power possessed by himself and the Pale. In conjunction with the lord lieutenant and other allies, all of whom are not named by the annalists, he undertook the important expedition. When the uncle professed so much zeal for the queen of Ulster, is it likely her father, the king of Leinster, would neglect her cause? Every chieftain whom he visited, on this honorable errand, readily submitted to his demands; and gave aid in an

enterprize which drew on him the blessings of the clergy and laity.

In their progress they burned O'Dempsey's castle of Leix, and released the son of Bermingham, therein confined. In the King's county, O'Connor readily submitted; and O'Farrell, in Longford, supplied them with provisions. They razed the castle of Barcha, and laid waste the neighbouring country. The O'Reilly's in Cavan, and also Mac Mahon, in the plains of Louth, readily acquiesced to their demands. Thence marching against O'Neill, with an army augmented by the forces of the chieftains through whose territories they passed, they compelled him to put away the daughter of William de Burgh, with whom he unlawfully cohabited, and take back his own lawful wife, the daughter of Mac Murchad, and niece of Ormond.

The following statement of the relation of Ireland to England, and the causes of the violent antipathy of the latter towards the former, may be acceptable from the pen of a colonial writer, who is not liable to the suspicion of a bias against the settlers.

“ It is indeed generally imagined and represented, that the bloody wars, between the families of Lancaster and York, had a violent and dangerous effect upon the native Irish, in exciting them to a general confederacy, and raising their whole powers against the English pale. But we have, from their own annalists, more particular accounts of the transactions of the distinguished septs, at this period, than these

jejune remains usually afford. And, had any considerable attempts been made against the English, these writers would have gloried in displaying them. They tell us indeed of some petty insurrections against particular settlements of the English, and record, with triumph, that they were averted by the payment of tribute. But they are particular in relating the contests, invasions, and engagements, in which their chieftains were involved with each other, which are generally so futile, and sometimes so horrid, as to raise no suspicion of art or fallacy in their annalists. The representations, made in England of this people and their conduct, were generally false and interested, to magnify the zeal of the great lords, to procure remittances for a chief governor, or to conceal the offences and irregularities of either. The English vicegerents, even of the very best dispositions, were kept in ignorance during their residence, and shut up in the seat of government from any knowledge of the native Irish, or any general intercourse even with the most peaceable among them. They received their information through corrupted channels; it was transmitted and believed. But the truth is, that the contest for the crown of England, during this period of carnage, had its principal effect, in Ireland, on the great lords entrusted with the administration, or possessed of power or influence. Vicegerents unnoticed, and unrestrained by the throne, were tempted to exercise their authority, with an intemperate and unjust severity. Slight pretences,

or false representations, served for loading the subjects with oppressive taxes. Different parliaments were summoned at the interval of a few months, and repeated subsidies imposed without necessity, and beyond the abilities of the people: a grievance so flagrant and so severe, that, by a law made in the thirty-fourth year of this present reign, it was forbidden to hold more than one parliament in a year; and, if the chief governor should issue his writs for summoning another within the year, it was enacted that the persons summoned might without peril refuse to appear, and that the acts of such a parliament should be void. The law, however, was but temporary, to continue for three years. The great lords, who were ever rivals to each other, were at the same time less restrained; and by mixing in the contests of England enflamed their resentments, and were ready to rush against each other in all the phrenzy of political and personal animosity.”*

As every revolution in England affected Ireland more or less, since the first connexion of the two countries, the triumph of the house of York over that of Lancaster, was a victory to the Fitzgeralds, and a defeat to the Butlers. No sooner was Edward IV. seated on the throne, after the deposition of Henry VI. than he confirmed the earl of Kildare in the government of the Pale, to which he had been provisionally appointed by the prevailing par-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. ii. p. 45, 46.

tizans of York. To him succeeded George, duke of Clarence, appointed governor for life. In reward for their attachment to the reigning family, Fitz-Eustace was created baron of Portlester, and Barnwall, baron of Trimblestown. The earl of Ormond was sacrificed to the vengeance of the triumphant party, executed, and a general war was declared against the name of Butler. Sir John, brother and heir to the earl, fled into Ireland, accompanied by the remnant of the Lancastrian faction; where, being joined by his followers, he boldly defied the king's deputy. Had not the earl of Desmond, a zealous partizan of the reigning house, taken up arms against their enemy, rival of his family, Fitz-Eustace might have experienced some difficulty in the encounter. He collected a numerous army of his followers and allies, pursued the Ormondians in the county of Wexford, which town they had taken, challenged and defeated them in a pitched battle. -Elated by this success, and by his elevation to the deputyship, as a recompence for his services, he considered himself more powerful than any Irish chieftain; but an incident happened in Meath, frequent between the antient and new Irish, that undeceived him, and completely humbled his pride.

One of the settlers, by name Petit, of which name and family the marquis of Lansdowne is, endeavoured to encroach on the southern Hy-Nialls, known then by the name of Melachlin, formerly sovereigns of the two Meaths, and often monarchs of Ireland, but then pent up in the

northern part, bordering on Brefny O'Reilly. Even the remnant of that once powerful family were able to beat off Petit and his marauders; but deputy Desmond, in proof of his loyalty to the English interest, marched with a powerful army, to support the usurpation of the invader. The neighbouring chieftain, O'Reilly, powerful in cavalry, independently of national, had particular interest in this quarrel. He did not wish to have the Pale exactly contiguous to his territory, or himself and his people to be annoyed by banditti, issuing from castles they would not fail to build on their new acquisitions. The chieftain of east Brefny, (County of Cavan), valiant as wise, collected his forces secretly and speedily, and gave the earl of Desmond a total overthrow, took him and his principal officers prisoners, and, at the intercession of young O'Connor Faly, dismissed them without ransom. The scribblers of the English colony, with their accustomed effrontery, talk of the insurgents of Brefny on this occasion; as if an independent prince, who acknowledged no subjection to the crown of England, and who, in all state papers, was styled an enemy, never rebel, like any other sovereign potentate, could be designated by such language.

The earl of Desmond and his officers, were fortunate in falling into the hands of a generous enemy, unaccustomed to massacre prisoners of war. Mortified by this act of Milesian generosity, it was during his administration, that the bitterest acts were passed, breathing fiend-like

enmity to the ancient race. Acts, when we consider the impotence, as well as the malignity of the Pale, of a nature to excite alternately, laughter, contempt, scorn and horror. Anno 1461, at Trim, an act, setting a price on the heads of Milesians, going from, or coming into any part of the Pale, if he or they be not in company with an Englishman of good repute, wearing English apparel. An act, that every Irishman, living among the English settlers, shall change their surnames, speak English, and wear English apparel. An act that no ship or other vessel, of any foreign country, shall go fish to Irish countries.* The impotence of the Pale, to execute its malice on the old stock, is attested by two acts, ordering its inhabitants to be armed en masse, and trained to war, from the age of sixteen to sixty. Shortly after passing those furious edicts, against a people, whose unsuspecting generosity and alliance raised his family to the rank of princes, he closed his administration with an ignominious death. Tiptoft came from

* "At the request of the commons, that where divers vessels of other lands fro one day to other going to fish amongst the king's Irish enemies in divers parts of this said land, by which the king's said enemies be greatly advanced and strengthened as well in victuals, harneys, armour, as divers other necessities also great tributes of money, given by every of the said vessels to the said enemies from day to day to the great augmentation of their power and force against the king's honour and wealth, and utter destruction of this said land, whereupon the premises considered, it is enacted and ordeyned by authoritie of the said parliament, that no manner vessell of other lands shall be no time nor season of

England, as deputy, with secret orders, 'tis said, to compass the destruction of Desmond. He beheaded him at Drogheda, having first procured his conviction of high treason, by the parliament of the Pale; a fate which he met in his turn, on his return to England. Nevertheless, the fortunes of the Geraldines, destined to pave the way for the overthrow of the Milesians, were again restored by the earl of Kildare. He boldly repaired to the king of England, expatiated on the services of his family to the English interest, and Edward IV. satisfied with his explanation, appointed him his deputy in Ireland. It need not be added, that Kildare restored the honors of his family, and summoned a parliament obsequious to his wishes, confirming his acts and those of Desmond, and condemning their adversaries. The temporary revolution, effected in England by the earl of Warwick, restoring Henry VI. to the throne, left Kildare undisturbed in the government of the English colony. The measures he adopted

the year from henceforth, from the feast of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ next coming, go in no part of the said land betwixt the said Irish enemies to no manner fishing without one special licence of the lieutenant, his deputy, or justice of the land for the time being, or licence of another person having the king's power to graunt such licence, upon pain of forfeiture of the ship and goods to the king, and that whatsoever person or persons, that find or impeach any of the said vessels, rumpants or forfeits against this act by the authoritie of the same it be lawful to them so making any claim in the behalf of the king and approving the said forfeitures by any of the said vessels so to be made that the

for the defence of the Pale, demonstrate the nullity of its resources; and that it was not power, but will, the antient proprietors wanted, to pluck that deleterious thorn out of their side. Against Irish enemies and English rebels, how formidable were the forces he mustered for the defence of the colony? Just one hundred and sixty archers, and sixty pikemen, twenty-four of whom were to be commanded by his son Gerald. In addition to this terrible army, he formed an armed association, to be headed by the chief settlers. In the county of Kildare by the earl himself, lord Portlester, and sir Rowland Eustace. For the county of Dublin, lord Howth, the mayor of Dublin, and sir Robert Dowdal. In the county of Meath, lord Gormanston, Plunket and Barnwall. In Oriel, (county of Louth) the mayor of Drogheda, sir Lawrence Taaffe, and Richard Bellew.

If the reader could be amused with a detail of the petty transactions of the English colony, or the family quarrels of the Butlers and Fitz-

king shall have the one moiety of the said forfeiture, and the said persons or person shall have the other without any impeachment, and that all manner vessels of other lands coming in the said land of Ireland a fishing, being of the burthen of twelve tons or less, having one drover or boate, every of them to paye for the maintenance of the king's wars there thirteen shillings four pence by the yeare. And all other small vessels, as scarfes or boats, not having drover nor lighter being within the said burthen of twelve tunns, every of them shall pay two shillings going a fishing in like manner. Provided always, that no vessel fishing in the north part of Wicklo, be charged by reason of this act, and that

Geralds, he will to satiety find the pages of English writers stuffed with these uninteresting narratives. One circumstance, however, may be constantly observed, in the conduct of their puny senate, a great attention to their own interest, and a stern opposition to English encroachments. A native of England was appointed deputy by Edward IV. without consulting the colonists. He was opposed and disowned. Kildare kept the lieutenancy; Keating, prior of Kilmainham, governor of the castle, refused him entrance. After a few ineffectual attempts to appoint an Englishman born, Gerald Fitz-Gerald held the reins of government over the English district, to which he first gave consequence, by his policy, and his alliance with Conbacach O'Nial. The settlers throve wonderfully on the fertile soil of Erin. The family of de Burgo (Burk) had alliance with the kings of Scotland and England; but the alliance with O'Nial was far more important to the aggrandizement of Fitz-Gerald, and of more fatal

the lieutenant, his deputie or justice of the land for the time being, shall have the foresaid summes and duties of money so paied, to be employed in the king's wars for the defence of the said land, and that the customers and collectors of the same summes, shall accompt before the said justice, lieutenant or deputie, for the time being, or such auditors that shall be for the same appointed by the king or them, and not before the barons of the exchequer in the said land, and that none of the said vessels so coming from other parts in the said land, shall not depart out of the said land, till every of them pay their said duties, upon pain of forfeiture of the vessells and goods to the king.

consequence to the Hibernian interest. We need no longer be surprized, that he was continued in the government during the changes of England; even when out of administration, he was of more real weight and power, through his Irish connexions, than the deputy governor of the colony.

These alliances, fatal to the antient Irish, and prohibited by the barbarous bigotry of the English popish parliament of the Pale, were the wisest plans that could be devised, not only for the aggrandizement of a leading family, but for the preservation of the Anglo-Irish interest. O'Byrne and O'Toole were still powerful in the vicinity of Dublin; so that a popish Pale parliament, at the instigation of Kildare, allowed the archbishop of Dublin to present Irish clerks to benefices within their districts, for two years. Admirable condescension! to grant two years respite of the exclusion of Irish catholics from benefices founded by their own kindred.

In the connexion of the two islands nothing material occurs, during the short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. The accession of Henry VII. of the house of Lancaster, made some impression, where the majority were decided Yorkists. Notwithstanding that Kildare, and all his creatures in office, were known to be of that party, yet his alliance with O'Nial made him too formidable to be displaced or provoked. The Yorkists of England, provoked by some imprudent steps of Henry VII. inflaming their party prejudice, courted their Irish partizans. The scene that ensued thereon, shews with what

caution historical narratives of civil commotions must be received. The question is, whether a Robert Simnel, or the earl of Warwick might have escaped out of prison, and fled to the colony, where both powers and numbers were for him, than that a youth of mean parentage could personate him, and impose on the leading men, who forwarded the house of York? It is less improbable, that a victorious party would succeed in discrediting the name and memory of a defeated and slain pretender, than that an ignorant young boy would act a part beyond the abilities of the greatest actor who ever trod the stage. "He was not to personate an infant taken from his cradle, and known to few, but a lord entertained at the court of Edward to the age of ten years; one with whom the nobility of the realm had frequently conversed, and were perfectly acquainted. He was to be accurately instructed in many circumstances, and to speak with ease and correctness of various persons and incidents, in which the least failure or mistake must prove fatal to his design." Leland's guesses are futile on this subject. He was not sent to Ireland to be distant from severe scrutiny. He was sent to the only place where, with the greatest ease and security, he could raise a force. He came recommended by some of the first nobility in England, who must have well known the young earl of Warwick at court. Kildare himself had personal knowledge of him; and, therefore, could hardly be deceived. Now he and his privy council, after maturely examining and weighing the evidences

of his birth and titles, were satisfied of his personal identity. Could Margaret of York, second sister of Edward IV. be deceived by a new-born stripling, personating her cousin? yet she lent every aid in her power to the young pretender. Could her sister Elizabeth, and her husband, the earl of Lincoln, be likewise imposed on? However opinions may vary, the Yorkists made some exertions in his behalf. Two thousand men arrived in Ireland from Flanders, under the command of general Swaart; and his solemn coronation took place in Dublin: "He was conducted in due state to the cathedral, called Christ-Church, attended by the lord deputy and officers of state, the English nobles, and all his other adherents. The bishop of Meath explained and enforced his right to the crown from the pulpit; it was formally recognized by all who attended on the ceremonial; a crown, said to have been taken from a statue of the Virgin, was placed on his head, amidst the acclamations of the people; and from the church he was conveyed in pomp to the castle of Dublin, elevated on the shoulders of Darcy, chief of a considerable English family of Meath, a ceremony which seems to have been adopted from the native Irish."

Invested with regal authority, in complete possession of the Pale, Simnel proceeded to support his claims to the crown of England, with an Irish army, aided by Swaart and his Belgians. They landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire, marched towards York, where they were disappointed of their expectations of a rising in their favour;

thence to Newark, near which Henry VII. met them with a great army, when one of the most obstinate and bloody battles commenced, that ever took place between forces so disproportionate; and which, in its issue, was most disastrous to Simnel and his adherents. Defeated and taken prisoner, Simnel was placed in the kitchen by Henry; but Swaart, most of the leaders, and almost all the soldiers, too brave to retreat, remained on the field of battle. English writers say, that only the vanguard of the royal army was engaged. No doubt the whole of that great army could not have engaged at once with the paucity of their antagonists; but they might, and probably did, successively, relieving each other. The valour of Swaart and his Belgians, erroneously called Germans in most printed books on this subject, is praised by colonial writers. Very likely commendation was due to them; but the impression made on the public mind, by the strength, agility and desperate valour, displayed by the Irish at the battle of Stoke, extorted the admiration of their enemies. This stimulated the politicians of that day to speculate on the immense advantages that would accrue to England from a more complete connexion with Ireland; an incontrovertible monument of the high notion the Irish taught them to entertain of Irish valour.

“ The late transactions in Ireland, the bold attempt in favour of Simnel, and the desperate valour displayed by the troops led into England by the Geraldines, had made this country the

subject of general discourse and speculation; and the rising spirit of project and enquiry had engaged individuals to search deeply into the revolutions experienced in Ireland, ever since the reign of Henry the Second; the declension of the English interest, the dispositions, temper, and power of the old natives, the designs and competitions of great lords, the conduct of the king's officers, and the means of rendering an appendage to the crown of England, in itself so valuable, of real weight and consequence to the general weal. There is a discourse still extant in some repositories of curious papers, said to have been presented to the king and council, not later than the present period, in which the affairs of Ireland are copiously examined. The author labours to engage the king in the complete reduction and settlement of this country, His hopes of success he founds on a supposed prophecy, that about the present time, this great and important undertaking was to be completed, and that, in consequence, an united army of England and Ireland was to seat the king upon the throne of France, to restore the Greeks, to recover Constantinople, and to make him emperor of Rome. Yet notwithstanding this ridiculous fanaticism of the projector, his researches were accurate, and his policy judicious. He recounts no less than sixty regions of different dimensions, all governed by Irish chieftains, after their antient laws and manners, together with a long catalogue of degenerate English, who had renounced all obedience to government, in the several provinces.

The pale of English law and civil obedience, he confines within the narrow bounds of half the counties of Uriel, Meath, Kildare, Dublin, and Wexford, and the common people of these districts he represents as entirely conforming to the Irish habit and language, although they professed obedience to the laws; so general had been the intercourse of fostering, marriage, and alliance, with the enemy, of which the deputy himself had set the example, and which of consequence he could not restrain. The grievances of these countries, from oppressive exactions, unnatural feuds, expeditions undertaken by deputies from personal animosity, or private interest, to the utter ruin of the subject, and without the least advantage to the state; laws forgotten, neglected, and defied; an encreasing degeneracy, a general ignorance, and scandalous inattention to instruct and reform the people, are all detailed fully. The remedies proposed are, a competent force sent out of England to support the authority of a chief governor of integrity and equity; a strict attention to training the people to the English art of war; garrisons stationed so as to awe the Irish enemies and rebels, to put an end to local quarrels, and gradually to reduce the whole body of inhabitants to obedience; equitable and moderate taxation, substituted in the place of arbitrary impositions, with other particular regulations, many of which were afterwards adopted. Such remains of antiquity are not unworthy of notice, as the sentiments and opinions of cotemporaries serve to illustrate and confirm the repre-

sentations collected from history or records.”*
Pandarus sive Salus Populi. MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Nothing occurs very interesting in the reign of Henry VII. until the desperate battle of Knoctow, in 1504. The historians of the Pale are prolix on a succession of deputies, who did nothing worth mentioning, except the laws of Poynings, and the dissensions raging between powerful families of English descent, which scarcely interest any but their particular posterity. Henry VII. jealous of lords of Irish birth as his deputies, sent over Edward Poynings, with some English forces, to whom having added those of the Pale, he endeavoured to figure as a warrior. He first marched against O’Hanlon, where he was disappointed of his expected glory. His next essay was in the county of Carlow, where he fared no better. The method of warfare, practised by his antagonists, was judicious; in case of a smaller force keeping on the defensive against a greater. “Instead of marching to the field in all the pomp and pride of chivalry, and engaging in an open and regular battle, they [the Irish] darted upon their prey from inaccessible woods and morasses; to these they retired at the approach of the royal army; from these they again issued upon any prospect of advantage, but before the deputy could draw out his forces, were already vanished, so as to keep him in perpetual terrour and perplexity, without permitting him to strike any decisive blow.”†

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. iv. p. 97, 98.

† Ibid. Vol. II. B. III. c. v. p. 101.

Leland's prejudice here, or his ignorance, is truly pitiable. Did he not know, that military stratagems, preparing victory, reflect the highest honour on a commander? Neither did the Irish always adhere to this desultory and perplexing mode of warfare. Sometimes they fought obstinate battles in the open field; and instances are not wanting, of their giving and accepting challenges to fight on a given day, on chivalrous principles of gallantry.

Poynings, having failed in his martial career, endeavoured to retrieve his honour by a display of legislative capacity. He summoned a parliament at Drogheda, which passed such acts as were qualified to regulate the English district, and confirm the influence of England; of which the following, called Poyning's law, obtained some celebrity, during the struggles of the Irish volunteers for a free trade and a free parliament.

“ Item, at the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and licence, wherein amongst other the king's grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, sith the last day of the reign of king Edward the second, no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such

causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the king and his council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained: that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore-rehearsed; and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law."

Among other acts passed in this parliament, one made it high treason to incite the Irish to make war upon the English; another prohibited any person born in Ireland, from being constable of Dublin, Trim, Leixlip, Athlone, Wicklow, Greencastle, Carlingford, and Gragfergouse; the infamous statutes of Kilkenny were also revived.

Hitherto the English Pale was so inconsiderable, as to be an object of contempt, rather than respect, to the neighbouring chieftains. In this reign, the earl of Kildare raised it to importance, For the long-wished reduction, of those called degenerate English, to obedience, the quarrel of one of them with an Irish chieftain furnished a good pretence. The alliance of the lord of Ireland's deputy, the earl of Kildare, with O'Nial, the most powerful of the Irish princes, furnished the means.

Three castles belonging to O'Kelly having been demolished by Mac William de Burgo, O'Kelly sought the assistance of the lord-justice. Gerald Fitz-Thomas, earl of Kildare, then lord

justice, mustered a powerful army, being joined by the nobles of Leath Cuinn, (the northern half of Ireland,) viz. O'Donell (Aodh Roe) and his son; the principal chiefs of Cineal-Conaill, and a party of the Conatians, viz. O'Connor Roe, and Mac Dermott, lord of Moy-luirg; the chiefs of Ulster, except O'Nial, who were, Art, son of Aodh O'Nial, tanist of Cineal Eogain; (a district in Ulster,) Donall, the son of Magenis; Mac Mahon and O'Hanlon; O'Reilly; O'Farrell, commonly called the bishop; O'Connor-Failge; the O'Kellys, and even the sons of William de Burgo; and the forces of almost all Leath Cuinn in general. This numerous and combined army being assembled, marched into Clanrickard, against Mac William de Burgo, who had also mustered a great army. Those who joined him, on that occasion, were as follows: Turlogh, son of Teige O'Brien, lord of Thomond, and his brothers, with all their forces; the Mac Nemaras; O'Carroll, lord of Ely, with all his clans and chieftains, joined by the nobles of Ormond and Ara. Mac William and O'Brien held a council of war, in which, with the assent of their chiefs, they came to the brave and spirited resolution, not to submit, but by arms to decide the contest.

At Knocktow, within five miles of Galway, on the 19th of August, 1504, was fought the most memorable, the most bloody battle that stains the Irish annals. "Such was the vehemence, and such the obstinacy of it, that, at a great distance from the field of action might be distinctly heard, the violent attack of the martial chiefs; the ve-

hement blows of the champions; the desperate charge of the royal heroes; the noise of the nobles running through the ranks; the clamour of the troops, when thrown into confusion; the cries and exultations of the victorious youths; the sound of the brave men falling to the ground, and the continued deroute of the inferior soldiery by the nobility. The battle ended with the defeat of Mac William, O'Brien, and the chiefs of Leath-Modha; (the southern half of Ireland.) Among the slain was Morogh, the son of O'Brien. Of the nine battalions of galloglasses, which were of their party, only one escaped, and that much broken. An incredible number of the lord-justice's forces were also slain, though victory favoured his side.*

In this terrible conflict the brave fell by the axe of the brave, and they were pursued with slaughter by enemies equally swift. It was a day of exultation and triumph to the partizans of England, a day of grief and consternation to all the wise well-wishers of Ireland, a sad presage and sure forerunner of its final overthrow. In proportion as that sanguinary day raised the spirits of the Pale, it dejected the Milesians of foresight, as it removed every reasonable hope of concert between the north and south for mutual defence. Con O'Nial, chieftain of Tyrone, seems not to have approved of this war; since, though kinsman of Kildare, he did not join him in it.

“ In the memorials remaining of this present

* Annals of Dunnagall.

period, written by an Englishman, we are told, that immediately after the victory of Knocktow, lord Gormanstown turned to the earl of Kildare, in the utmost insolence of success: "We have slaughtered our enemies," said he, "but, to complete the good deed, we must proceed yet further,—cut the throats of those Irish of our own party;"* Kildare replied, "'Tis too soon yet."

In treating of the subjugation of pretended degenerates, it is of importance to Irish history, to find strong evidence from a writer commonly partial to the English side of the question. "This degeneracy we find commonly imputed to a lawless spirit of riot and disorder, impatient of the restraint of English law; a contagion indeed too readily caught by men who live in a state of perpetual warfare, without refinement or discipline. But some part of it may reasonably be imputed to the weakness of English government, which left remoter districts unrestrained and undefended, so that the inhabitants were necessarily obliged to court the alliance and support of the neighbouring Irish clans. The mutual wants of both parties, induced a correspondence; and that good-natured sociability and hospitality, by which the Irish were distinguished, improved and extended it. The warm and powerful affection of the sexes, free from the artificial restraints of civility and refinement, knows no distinction of race or families. Laws forbid

* Book of Howth, M.S.

all intermarrying with the Irish; but laws were insignificant barriers against the humanity, and the power of mutual intercourse and affection. But whatever causes may be assigned for it, the old English race had by this time proceeded so far towards a coalition with the old natives, that even in the Pale, and the very seat of government, the Irish manners and language were generally predominant. And it may be doubted whether such effect could possibly have been produced, if the old natives had ever been possessed invariably and unalterably with that inveterate national aversion, to which their repeated insurrections are commonly ascribed. The solution was easy, and might have served the purposes of a selfish policy; but there are other causes to be assigned: and candour must acknowledge that national prejudices and aversions are as generally predominant in those who possess superior power, who are impatient of opposition, and provoked at any appearance of rivalship in men whom they are habituated to regard as inferiors. In the remains of the old Irish annalists, we do not find any considerable rancour expressed against the English. They even speak of the actions and fortunes of great English lords with affection and sympathy.

At the accession of Henry VIII. the relative position of the two nations was such, as should have alarmed Irishmen, had they any policy. The titles of York and Lancaster, united in that

. * Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. v. p. 119, 120.

imperious monarch, delivered England from the distractions of civil wars. Being farther freed from burdensome continental possessions, she was possessed of liberty and leisure to turn her ambition towards Ireland, rent by incurable divisions; a nation literally dismembered into sixty or seventy petty states, and still pursuing their unfortunate quarrels.

During this reign, the earl of Kildare, having strengthened himself by alliances with powerful Irish chieftains, ruled longer, as deputy, than any of his predecessors, and with unbounded sway. But for having laid the foundation of English power in Ireland, his services to the crown of England were requited in a very unexpected manner. The king was prepossessed against him, partly by cardinal Wolsey, his mortal enemy; and in part by representations of malpractices, sent over by the enemies of his house. He remanded him over to England, to give an account of his conduct; and, on his arrival, committed him to the tower. Before this misfortune he received the mortification of a defeat, anno 1522, acting against O'Donnel, of Tyrconnel, in conjunction with one of the greatest confederacies formed in Ireland. O'Nial sent to O'Donnel, "pay me tribute—or if." O'Donnel returned answer in the laconic manner; O'Donnel to O'Nial, "I owe you no tribute—and if." War immediately ensued between the two chieftains; and the magnitude of the preparations, made by O'Nial against the chieftain of Tyrconnel, proves the high opinion entertained of

his military talents. These preparations, and this war, are thus related in the annals of Dunagal.

“ An. 1522. A desperate war broke out between O'Donell and O'Nial. Mac William of Clanrickard, the English and Irish chiefs of Connaught, the O'Briens, the O'Kennedys and the O'Carrolls, joined and leagued with O'Nial against O'Donell. The nobles or chiefs, who came from the west, with their forces, on that expedition, were Mac William of Clanrickard, and a party of the O'Briens, viz. Donogh and Teige, the sons of Turlogh O'Brien, and the young bishop O'Brien, Maolruana O'Carroll, the O'Kennedy's; with them the Conatians, who until then were under tribute, and proved faithful subjects to O'Donell, viz. O'Connor-Roe, O'Connor-Don, the son of William de Burgo, and Mac Dermott of Moyluirg. These promised to join O'Nial about the middle of August. O'Nial assembled the forces of Cineal Eogain, (Derry, Tyrone and Armagh,) the Mac Genisses, those of Oirgialla, (Louth,) the O'Reillys, the people of Fermanagh, and a great number of Scotch auxiliaries, under the command of Alexander Mac Donald. O'Nial's mother being the daughter of the earl of Kildare, a strong body of English troops, together with a great number of the galloglasses of Leinster, composed of the Mac Donalds and Mac Sheehys, came and joined them.

“ O'Donell also assembled his small but faithful army, in Cineal-Conaill, viz. O'Boyle, O'Dogherty, the three Mac Sweenys, the

O'Gallaghers, and stationed them, under his son Magnus, at Port-na-Tri-Namhad, (the port of the three enemies,) a narrow pass through which he supposed O'Nial would endeavour to enter Tir-Connell. O'Nial, apprized of this, marched through Tyrone, unexpectedly, into Fermanagh, and thence to Ballyshannon, where he laid siege to the castle, which, though ably defended by Brian-an-Cobblaigh, was taken by O'Nial, who put Brian and most of his forces to the sword, on the second day of June.

“ When O'Donell had intelligence of O'Nial's march, to cause a diversion, he ordered his son Magnus to enter Tyrone, and ravage the country; whilst with the main body of the army, he went in quest of O'Nial. As soon as O'Nial was acquainted that Magnus had entered Tyrone, he crossed the river Finn, and marched as far as Kenmair, laying waste the country, but Magnus, meantime, having executed his orders, returned from Tyrone in triumph. O'Donnell, finding it impossible to overtake O'Nial, returned, and having united his forces with the army of Magnus, directed his route to the plain of Dromline, to give battle to O'Nial. Here he held a council of war, in which it was determined to attack O'Nial by night, though his army was much stronger than O'Donell's, before he was joined by the Conatian forces. But O'Nial, having intelligence of their intentions, took every possible precaution to prevent being surprised.

“ O'Donell having animated and arranged

his small force, ordered them to forsake their horses, confident then, that once engaged, they must conquer or die. On their approach, the advanced guards of O'Nial gave the alarm; on which the forces of O'Donell rushed on so vigorously, that they and the advanced guards entered the camp, pell-mell. On falling in with each other they raised loud and clamorous shouts. The troops of O'Nial received the charge bravely; both armies engaged with the greatest obstinacy; but after a severe conflict, O'Nial was defeated, with considerable loss. After this victory O'Donnell marched to the relief of Sligo, then besieged by the Conatian army. But, panic-struck on his approach, having received intelligence of his victory, they made proposals of peace, raised the siege, and fled precipitately to the Curlew mountains, where the Conatian army dispersed."

Here was a great display of conduct and valour, talents with which the Island of Saints and heroes abounded; but which, alas! availed her nothing; because the dissensions of her children turned their arms against one another.

The Pale was not less distracted by divisions than the nation. The great English lords, exercising royal authority, like Irish princes, were mortal enemies one to another. O'Nial and O'Donell were not more at variance than Fitzgerald and Butler. Kildare, in the plenitude of his power, when he might be considered immoveable, experienced the ill effects of cabals. A powerful one was secretly formed, to prepare

and present articles of impeachment against him to the king. These were, his Irish alliances; exaction of coyne and livery; Irish nursing, gossiped, and other transgressions of barbarous statutes, made by a boorish, a misanthropic race. These, with many other charges, either unfounded, or not peculiar to the earl, made so unfavourable an impression on that haughty, capricious, and lustful tyrant, that he sent orders to the deputy to repair to England, to answer these charges. He tried by every art to elude this peremptory order. In vain he sent his wife as his proxy; hoping, perhaps, a better fate from female eloquence or beauty, with a lascivious monarch. Henry continued inflexible, and Kildare was obliged to obey; but, before his departure, he committed two faults. The first was, to arm and garrison his castles. The second was, to commit the government to his son, lord Thomas, a youth scarce twenty-one. During the father's confinement in the tower, a report was industriously spread abroad, that he was executed. The Butlers, enemies of his house, received the news with exultation, and communicated it in letters, some of which fell into the young deputy's hands. At a period when no regular intercourse was established, it required time to procure correct information. The young deputy was credulous enough to believe the report without further investigation, and plunged into rebellion with boyish precipitancy. He scorned to act with the refined policy of a prince Maurice; who, under pretence of zeal for the service of Charles V. fought

under his banners, only to come upon him off his guard. Fitz-Gerald, full of chivalrous honor, openly avowed his design of fighting against the king, in revenge for his father's death. He marched into Dublin at the head of a troop of horse, entered the council-chamber, where he delivered the sword of state; accompanying his surrender of the government with a declaration of war against king Henry. After collecting his forces, both of English and Irish descent, he ravaged the Pale, and proposed to the citizens of Dublin to give him a free passage through the city, to attack the castle, otherwise he would destroy it with fire and sword. The passage was granted; he left a party of his forces to carry on the siege, and marched with his main body to punish the earl of Ormond, for refusing to join him in the insurrection. The earl of Ormond's son came to meet him with his forces, but lost the battle and his life. Thereupon he ravaged the estates of the Butlers, and levied contributions, when he was called back by intelligence from Dublin, that his besieging party was cooped up, between the armed citizens and the garrison of the castle; and that except a few, who profited of the first tumult, by swimming across the river, they were all either slain or taken prisoners. Fitz-Gerald summoned the city to deliver up his men; and, on their refusal, formed the siege thereof, with a force not well qualified for such enterprises. After many unsuccessful assaults, he was obliged to retreat, but obtained the liberation of his soldiers by seizing the children of the citizens,

who had been removed from the city during a plague. While inspecting his castle of Maynooth, he received intelligence of an English army being in the bay. He marched immediately to annoy them on their landing; met a party of them already landed, engaged and slew all who did not surrender as prisoners. Then he planted his artillery on the shore, and forced the ships to put back to sea, while one of his partizans took a schooner loaded with horses and troops. The troops, however, landed on the opposite shore, and thence entered the city. Hereupon Fitz-Gerald marched westwards, to obtain succour, while his castle of Maynooth was besieged by Skeffington, with his English forces. There was no impression made on the castle during fourteen days; nor had the garrison the least doubt of holding out until they were relieved, when treachery defeated their hopes. It was betrayed by one Parese, foster-brother to lord Thomas, who, on receiving his wages, was hanged by Skeffington. Meanwhile Fitz-Gerald exerted himself with great vigour, in the hope of raising the siege of Maynooth. He applied to the chieftains of Connaught and Ulster, and raised an army of seven thousand men, with which he marched to the relief of his castle; but, on seeing the fall of Maynooth, most of them, giving up his cause as desperate, returned home. Nevertheless, with the remainder, he ventured to meet the deputy in the field, but his auxiliaries, unacquainted with cannon, shrunk from the discharges of the artillery, terrified more, 'tis probable, by the noise than

the execution. Unknown objects, striking forcibly the senses, are apt to inspire the bravest men with some degree of apprehension. Thus it was, that the Romans were defeated by means of Pyrrhus's elephants, who, on acquaintance, despised these unwieldy masses. Fitz-Gerald, however, finding himself no longer able to keep the field in Leinster, retreated to Munster, in expectation most likely of succour or protection, from his kinsman Desmond. Thither he was followed by Leonard Grey, his kinsman. After some indecisive skirmishes, the unfortunate lord Thomas, finding Desmond, through the intrigues of Harry, indisposed to succour him, was induced to dismiss his troops and surrender himself on assurance of pardon. However this may be, he certainly received such assurances of favour, and at least of a powerful recommendation to the king, that he consented to dismiss his troops, and to attend lord Grey to Dublin. Lord Thomas was sent to England, confident of his promised pardon being ratified. Unhappy youth! he little knew the tyrant, on whose clemency he relied. As he was on his way to Windsor, prepared to cast himself at the king's feet, he was arrested, and committed to the tower, where he was suffered to languish for a while in despair, that, to use the words of Nero, he might feel himself dying. Harry's vengeance extended to the whole family. He gave orders to the new deputy, Grey, to seize on his five uncles, though three of them were known to have opposed the rebellion. His order was obeyed. The deluded men accepted Grey's invitation to a

banquet. They were first feasted with all the appearance of amity, then made prisoners, sent to England, confined in the tower, and put to death.

The marvellous escape of the younger branch of the Geraldines, a boy of twelve years of age, from the vengeance of this monster of lust and cruelty, deserves to be recorded, as an instance of divine interposition in favour of individuals and families, as well as of nations and empires. "This infant, by the vigilance of his guardians, was secreted and conveyed to his aunt, the widow of Mac-Arthy, Irish dynast of South Munster. This lady, solicitous to preserve the remaining hope of her noble family, consented to a second marriage with another Irish chieftain, called O'Donel, on the express condition that he should protect her nephew: but soon convinced of the insincerity of her new husband, who sought to recommend himself to the English government, by delivering up this youth, she conveyed him into France, where the king entertained him; and when Henry had the meanness to demand him as a rebel-subject, favoured his escape to Flanders. The like demand was made to the emperor, when this young lord had escaped to his court, but with like success. He was permitted to seek the protection of cardinal Pole, who, in defiance of his declared enemy, king Henry, received lord Gerald as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and by his favour and support, preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare."*

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. vi. p. 154.

We have passed a period of atrocious and incessant warfare; darkened by the barbarous misanthropy of the invaders, and the implacable enmities of the invaded; disgraced by the cold-blooded cruelty and inhuman perfidy of the pretended civilizers of Ireland. We have seen, that the English popish penal code left nothing to the ingenuity of human malice to invent, or demoniac malignity to inflict, on the persons, families, and properties of the antient natives; that nothing was omitted that could ulcerate the human heart, engender incurable antipathy, and eternize hostility. Were the same diligence and abilities employed, to collect and divulge the penal statutes of the popish code, as those which favoured the public with a digest of the protestant penal laws, I believe the former would be found far more ingenious in devices of inhumanity, for temporal gain, than the latter in tormenting men, for the honor and glory of God, and the salvation of their souls. It would seem that Englishmen became no worse men by their embracing the reformed religion, since the stimulant of religious bigotry, invigorating the appetite of temporal gain, has not enabled them to reach the climax of savage and perfidious atrocity, practised by their popish ancestors on a nation of the catholic profession. The protestant penal code entitled any protestant to seize the horse of a catholic worth five pounds; but it was on condition of giving five pounds to the owner, the value, when the act was passed, of a good horse. The popish penal code allowed

any English papist to take the life of an Irish catholic vassal of the Pale, on paying six pence fine. The murder of an Irish catholic out of the pale was praise-worthy; if of high rank, applauded. The reader need not be asked, whether he would rather part with his horse, even by compulsion, on receiving cash for him, than lose his life, with impunity or reward to assassins.

Let us not imagine, that nothing but war, cruelty, and perfidy existed in those distracted times. While history records the miseries, inflicted by mankind on each other, by their vices and follies, numerous examples of social virtues, and domestic felicity, are generally passed by, which incline us to congratulate that nation and epoch which afford least matter for the historian. The Irish annalists equally intersperse their concise narratives, with an account of characters, illustrious for their learning, piety and humanity; of this sort was Phelim O'Reilly, celebrated for his liberality to poets and travellers, who kept an open house for the reception of passengers.

A new æra now opens upon us. The king, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, sacrifices his religion to his lust, severs his kingdom from the unity of the catholic church, and the jurisdiction of its chief pastor, and thus opens the flood-gates of error, letting in an inundation of heresies of all sorts. In addition to the calamities, with which Ireland was already afflicted, this super-added another "pestilent bane," as lord Clare calls it. I wonder did he ever learn the catechism from his grandfather, the priest.

English historians, as well as their Irish partizans, give such accounts of this reformation, began by Henry VIII. as favour their own party; and, for want of knowing the real, attributed to imaginary causes, its tardy and small progress in Ireland. That arbitrary tyrant never meant any alteration in the creed or ritual he had learned, but solely thirsted for money and pleasure. To indulge his capricious lusts, he created the schism; to acquire money, and also to deprive the Pope of partizans, he suppressed monasteries, and seized their estates and moveables. He had too much need of partizans, to lock up his vast plunder of ecclesiastical property in his own coffers. He prudently distributed a great portion of it among men of rank, lead and talent, whom he thus interested to espouse his innovations: adding withal, such titles of honor and distinction, as generally captivate human vanity. With these means, and the exercise of unlimited power, the authority of an obsequious parliament, the concurrence of a corrupt prelacy, and the general timidity and procrastinating policy of English catholics, the schism was completed in England. In Ireland it met with greater opposition.

Leland is futile and tedious, beyond suffering, in accounting for the resistance of the Irish to heresy and schism. Blindness and bigotry; a dissolute course of life; odious and absurd distinction of inhabitants; ignorant clergy and superstitious laity. On these topics he dwells, with a tedious, unmeaning prolixity, proving him ignorant of the true causes. If the ignorance of the

clergy and laity accounts for the resistance of the Irish to innovation, why not dissolve protestant colleges, that clergy and laity, through ignorance, may acquire a blind attachment to the established church, and an abhorrence of the oppressors. An odious distinction between the inhabitants continues yet; why does it not protect the flocks of the established church from being thinned by Methodists? There are numbers of blind and bigotted men of the establishment daily seduced into conventicles. The real causes were these. The abuses that were complained of over Europe, existed indeed, but were not felt with the same weight. The wealth of the Irish clergy was collectively great; but not so great as the reunion of sees has made it, reducing fifty to twenty-five. They exercised hospitality, the fashionable virtue of their country, without which they would incur general contempt; and, in some of the petty wars of the tribes, be plundered unmercifully, perhaps grossly insulted in their persons. The original intention of the donors of church lands, for the support of the poor, and instruction of the ignorant, was fulfilled here better than any where else. Each prelate had a number of widows and orphans on his pension list, and the wandering poor received relief from his kitchen. The abbeys were generally seats of literature and hospitality. The study of medicine was one of the branches of their learning; for the relief of the sick poor in their vicinity, and for poor applicants of any nation or country. For this purpose they kept their *Materia Medica* in a botanic garden contiguous to them;

as Mr. White, of the Glasnevin Botanic Garden has proved, from the samples of exotic plants growing wildly about their venerable ruins. Add to all these titles of respectability, the chastity that distinguished the Irish clergy above those of any other country, attested by foreign writers, and then you will see cause, why the clerical character was held in such high estimation in this country, and why Henry's attempt upon them, and upon the unity of the church, provoked universal opposition, even in the Pale. In my travels through Europe the same opinion still prevailed, of the chastity of the Irish clergy. It was an adage among the clergy of the continent; and they had every opportunity of observation, as the whole of the Irish clergy, secular and regular, were educated among and spent their lives there. *Hibernus (clerus) bibax sicut anser, et castus sicut angelus.** This restraint of a natural passion, whose vehemence in the Irish is attested by the antient proverb, *Libidinosi Scoti*; could only be achieved by religious zeal, a high sense of honor, and reverence for their character and functions. Besides, the Irish were then, what they now are, a religious people, tenacious of antiquity, and enemies to innovation. Their abhorrence of Henry's plundering and schismatical schemes, is not imputable to ignorance, or blind attachment, but to the assiduous care of the clergy in catechising them, and to the subtlety of their minds, naturally penetrating, which easily

* The Irish (clergy) tipple like geese, i. e. sipped often, but not to excess, at their meals, and are chaste as angels.

discerned the marks of the true church of Christ, unity, (not to speak of sanctity,) apostolicity, and universality. They clearly perceived, that Henry was militating against all these; and that the church of England, torn from the main body of the faithful, would, like a branch torn from a tree, wither, and produce insects; so would a schismatical limb, severed from the communion of the faithful, decay in the faith, and be overrun with innumerable heresies. They saw, that the pretended reform, by substituting reason for authority, sapped the foundation of revealed religion. Fortified by these unquestionable facts, the reader may safely peruse the account of this most tyrannical attempt, of forcing a new religion on the Irish nation, as given by Leland, and admitted by Plowden, with few exceptions. These gentlemen cannot be supposed unreasonably partial to Irishmen, and catholics; the one, on account of his country, being an Englishman; the other, on account of his religion, being a protestant divine.

“ Lord Cromwell, who upon the death of Wolsey had succeeded to as much of his prince’s favors, as Henry would again bestow upon a subject, in his quality of vicar general in spirituals, appointed George Brown, the provincial of the Augustine Friars, who had been prominently conspicuous in preaching up the reformation in London, to succeed Allan in the archiepiscopal see of Dublin. He was sent over with other commissioners, specially instructed and appointed to confer with the clergy and nobility,

in order to procure a general acknowledgement of the king's spiritual supremacy. . . . No sooner had the commissioners appointed by the king explained their instructions, and demanded an acknowledgment of his supremacy, than Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Englishman, by birth, and who had sometimes held the office of chancellor, openly and boldly declared against an attempt so impious. . . . He summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province: and to those whom he could collect, he pathetically represented the danger, which now threatened the religion of their ancestors: exhorting them to adhere inviolably to the apostolic chair, by such arguments and motives as were suited to their understandings. He reminded them, that their country had been called in the earliest ages the Holy Island; a convincing proof that it ever was and is the peculiar property of the holy see, from which the kings of England derive their lordship. He enjoined them by his spiritual authority to resist all innovation, as they tendered their everlasting felicity: and pronounced a tremendous curse against all those, who should sacrilegiously acknowledge the king's supremacy. In the mean time he dispatched two emissaries to Rome, to represent the danger of the church, and to entreat the interposition of the pontiff in defence of his rights and interests in Ireland.

“ This spirited opposition of the most eminent amongst the Irish prelates, enlivened the zeal and vigor of the friends of Rome. Henry and his minister seem to have imagined, that no one

could have presumed to attempt the least resistance to his royal will, in a point which had been already solemnly decided and established in England. His agents were probably possessed with the same idea. But to their utter mortification, the king's commission was treated with indifference and neglect; and his vicar, on account of the meanness of his birth, became even a subject of popular ridicule.* Archbishop Browne, with the assistance of some of his suffragans, laboured in support of the commission: but he was treated not only with disdain but outrage, and his life was exposed to danger from the opponents of the reformation. Such at least were the apprehensions he expressed. He informed Lord Cromwell of his bad success, and the opposition of Cromer: represented the melancholy situation of ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland; the extreme ignorance of the clergy, incapable of performing even the common offices, and utter strangers even to the language, in which they celebrated their mass;† and the furious zeal of the people, whose blind attachment to Rome was as determined, as the constancy of the most enlightened martyrs to the

* Archbishop Browne in one of his letters to Lord Cromwell, tells him with an awkward and uncourtly simplicity, the "countrie folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you in their Irish tongue, The black-smith's son."

† That might have been the state of the clergy within the Pale, as they had as yet no seminary of learning in the English district; they were excluded from English schools, and they were not allowed, by their own bigotry, to frequent the seminaries of the antient Irish.

true religion,* who exulted in expectation of effectual support from the pope, and that he would engage some of the old chieftains and particularly O’Nial, the great dynast of the north, to rise in defence of their religion. He recommended as the most vigorous and effectual method of procedure, that an Irish parliament should be assembled without delay, which, like the English legislature, might by law enforce a general acknowledgment of the king’s supremacy, so as to terrify the refractory and to silence their opposition. This advice was approved: and the Lord Gray, who was still engaged in suppressing the disjointed relicts of the Geraldine rebellion, received a commission to summon a parliament, which was accordingly convened at Dublin on the first of May 1536.†

“ So limited at this time was the jurisdiction of the Irish parliament, or to speak more properly, of the provincial assembly of the Pale, that the master of the rolls reported to the king, that his laws were not obeyed twenty miles from his capi-

* What true religion? Was it the schism produced by Harry’s lust? Was it by removing the foundation of revealed religion, and submitting mysterious, incomprehensible doctrines to be scanned by ignorant and delirious imagination? Was it to open the door to endless varieties and contradictions, to numberless heresies, daily sprouting up like mushrooms, to whose growth, on the principles of the separatists, no mortal can set limits.

† Lord Grey was infringing the treaty of peace and pardon, concluded with lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, murdering and plundering wherever he could, those unconcerned as well as those concerned.

tal. Yet did Henry successfully exert every device of art and power to render the members that composed it ductile and subservient to his dictates. The transactions of the late parliament at Westminster were holden out to the members convened, as a model of the ordinances the king expected at their hands. Therefore, as to all the acts which concern the reformation of religion, the Irish statutes are mere transcripts of the English acts upon the same subjects. The king was declared supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland: all appeals to Rome in spiritual causes were taken away: the English law against slandering the king in consequence of these innovations was enacted and confirmed in Ireland, together with the provisions made in England for payment of first fruits to the king: and not only of the first fruits of bishopricks and other secular promotions in the Church of Ireland; but by another act he was vested with those of abbies, priories, colleges, and hospitals. By a further act the authority of the bishop of Rome was more solemnly renounced, and the maintainers of it in Ireland made subject to a *præmunire*. All officers of every kind and degree were required to take the oath of supremacy; and every person who should refuse it was declared, as in England, guilty of high treason. All payment of pensions and suing for dispensations and faculties to Rome were utterly prohibited, by adopting the English law made for this purpose, and accommodating it to Ireland. By one act twelve religious houses were suppressed: by another

the priory of St. Wolstan's was particularly suppressed ; and the demesnes of them all were vested in the crown.

“ As to the right of inheritance and succession of the lordship of Ireland, they pronounced the marriage of the king with Catharine of Arragon to be null and void, and the sentence of separation by the archbishop of Canterbury to be good and effectual. They declared the inheritance of the crown to be in the king and his heirs by Queen Ann (of Boleyn) : they made it high treason to oppose this succession, misprision of treason to slander it ; and appointed an oath of allegiance to be taken by the subjects of Ireland for the sure establishment of it under the penalties of misprision of treason. But scarcely had this act been passed, when intelligence arrived of the condemnation and death of Ann Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with the Lady Jane Seymour. With the same ease and compliance with Henry's wishes, they followed the servile corruption of the English parliament, and instantly repealed their late act, and passed an act of attainder on the late Queen Ann, George Boleyn, Lord Rochford, William Brereton, and Mark Smeaton, who had been accused as accomplices in the supposed guilt of that unhappy lady. Both the former marriages of Henry were by this new act declared null and void : the succession was new modelled, and declared to be in the king and his heirs by the Lady Jane, his then queen ; and, in default of such heirs, the king was empowered to dispose of the inheritance

of the lordship of Ireland (as of the crown of England) by letters patent, or by will.

“ Other acts were made for the encrease of the king’s revenue, and the internal regulation of the Pale. The usual subsidy of 13s. 4d. on every plough land was granted for ten years. The lands and honors of the Duke of Norfolk and other absentees* were vested in the king, and one twentieth part of every spiritual promotion was granted to him for ever. All pensions paid by the king’s subjects to any Irish sept were utterly abolished; the antient laws against marrying and fostering with the Irish were revived in all their severity; and the use of the English order of living, habit, and language, were strictly enforced throughout the Pale. It was provided, that no ecclesiastical preferment should be conferred on any, who did not speak the English language, unless after three solemn proclamations none so qualified could be found; that an English school should be kept in every parish; and that such as could not pay for the education of their children at such school, should be obliged to employ them from the age of ten years in trade or husbandry. To prevent waste of lands, either by the suppression of monasteries or attainder of rebels, commissioners were appointed to grant leases of all crown lands; and others for pardoning any persons concerned in the late rebellion, who should submit within a given time,

* Time probably will determine whether the union, encreasing absentees, was wiser for security, than those severities against absentees.

except such as had been attainted by name. These were named in the very first act of this parliament, intituled, An act for the attainder of the earl of Kildare and others.

“ Such were the laws which this corrupt and servile parliament passed to gratify the resentment, lust, avarice, and ambition of Henry. Ingenuity could not have devised a collection of laws more emphatically calculated to render the English power contemptible and odious to the Irish nation. This policy of the English, to discourage all connexion of the colony with the native Irish, it has been lately observed,* was not “ to be reconciled to any principle of sound policy : it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the Pale, and from motives of personal interest or convenience had formed connections with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs ; and it had the full effect, which might have been expected : it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the Pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent districts.”

“ As the religion professed by those within and those without the Pale was at this time one and the same in every respect, an observation of the same illustrious personage, to whose authority I have just referred, applies indiscriminately to

* Speech of the earl of Clare in the Irish House of Lords on the 10th of February, 1805.

both; " it was equally hopeless and impolitic to call upon the people at once to abjure the religion of their ancestors, and to subscribe to new doctrines. Accordingly, says Dr. Leland, the laws for the regulation of the Pale, and even those which declare the right of succession to the throne, were received without opposition. But those relative to ecclesiastical jurisdiction had all the violence of religious enthusiasm to encounter. The Romish party had collected their adherents, and were prepared for a vigorous contention. The two proctors from each diocese, who had usually been summoned to parliament, composed a formidable body of ecclesiastics, avowed adherents to the holy see. They claimed to be members of the legislative body, and to have a full right of suffrage in every public question; it therefore became necessary, before the act of supremacy should be proposed, to define their rights. It was declared by a previous act, that their claim was presumptuous and groundless; that they were summoned merely as counsellors and assistants, (as the King's judges and other learned men had decided) and that from the first day of that parliament they should be accepted and taken as counsellors and assistants only, whose assent and concurrence were by no means necessary to any parliamentary transaction.

" Although the partizans of Rome were thus deprived of the assistance of so powerful a body, yet when the act of supremacy came to be proposed, Lords and Commons joined in expressing

their abhorrence of the spiritual authority assumed by the King, whilst the ministers of the royal party were equally determined in defence of it. Archbishop Browne took the first part in supporting the propriety of this act, by such arguments as probably had their weight upon his own mind, and were more likely to influence his hearers, than those of greater force and solidity. He pleaded the authority of the Popes themselves against the usurpation of Rome; so that in asserting the king's supremacy, he claimed no more than what Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, had granted to Lucius, the first Christian King of the Britons: but the argument he concluded with, was most likely to confound opposition; he pronounced those, who made any difficulty of concurring with him, to have no right to be regarded or treated as loyal subjects. Fear served to allay the violence of such as could not be persuaded; and the most determined partizans of Rome were obliged to reserve themselves for a clandestine opposition to the execution of a law, which they could not prevent from being enacted.

“ At this period of the Irish history, the whole Irish nation, within and without the Pale, was Catholic. Archbishop Browne and the other commissioners, together with the ministers and royal party, whom they had gained over to the reformation, were the only Protestants in the country. The hand of power was therefore called in to compel submission to these acts thus forced upon the nation. The royal party, who

had possessed themselves of the reins of power within the Pale, aware of the consequences of their abusing it, ere the session was over, passed a special act, to make it felony to attempt to invalidate any of the laws passed during this session of the parliament. And no wonder, as Leland observes, that to these vigorous counsels and decisions of the legislature, it was at this time peculiarly necessary to add an extraordinary vigilance and activity in the field. It was obvious to foresee, that religious controversy must aggravate and protract the disorders so long and so grievously experienced in this country. Rightly then was it said, “ At this time a new schism arose, which has been the bane and pestilence of Ireland.”* The question of papal authority threatened to divide those, who had hitherto been most united; and whilst the king’s subjects within the Pale, who disapproved the late regulations, were thus in danger of being seduced from their allegiance, at the same time a new bond of union was formed amongst the old Irish chieftains. Formerly to their petty septs (called nations) their views had ever principally been confined: then their temporal interests were separate, and their mutual enmities frequent, fierce, and rancorous. But now the defence of their antient religion was inculcated as the cause of all, and afforded a new pretence for insurrection; a pretence which operated so powerfully upon the Irish, that it seemed almost

* Lord Clare’s speech.

for the time to have absorbed the other numerous and heavy grievances, which Henry had accumulated upon their nation.”*

Hitherto the Irish suffered in their goods and persons, now they were attacked in the sanctuary of conscience; no wonder a high-spirited and religious people should resist. The failure of their just and necessary resistance requires explanation. They had improvidently abandoned their sea-port towns, and foreign commerce, first to the Danes, and afterwards to the English, for a yearly tribute. These were fortified, and rendered, since the introduction of fire-arms, not only impregnable, but inaccessible, to a people destitute of these new war machines. The Milesians, thus cooped up in their own country, from foreign intercourse, by which they might obtain arms and ammunition; excluded from towns, where they were manufactured, were further precluded, by the non-intercourse act of Edward IV., of which the following is an extract, from any communication with foreigners. “Item at the request of the commons, that where divers vessels of other lands fro one day to other going to fish amongst the king’s Irish enemies in divers parts of this said land, by which the king’s said enemies be greatly advanced and strengthened as wel in victuals, harness, armour, as divers other necessities also great tributes of money given by every of the said vessels to the said enemies from day to day to the great augmentation of their power and force against

* Plowden. Hist. Rev. State of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 52, &c.

the king's honour and wealth, and utter destruction of this said land, whereupon the premises considered, it is enacted and ordeyned by authoritie of the said parliament, that no manor vessell of other lands shall be no time nor season of the year from henceforth, from the feast of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ next coming, go in no part of the said land betwixt the said Irish enemies to no maner fishing without one speciall licence of the lieutenant, his deputy or justice of the land for the time being, or licence of another person having the king's power to graunt such licence, upon pain of forfeiture of the ship and goods to the king."

Archbishop Browne, an apostate provincial of the English Augustinians, met with vigorous opposition in the seat of government. Out of the Pale he could effect no change, as he owns himself. "The viceroy is of little or no power with the old natives, therefore your lordship will expect from me no more than I am able."* O'Nial, O'Brien, and several other chieftains of less note appeared in arms, either on pretext or in defence of religion, but were foiled by the inequality of arms, and obliged to make peace with Henry. The tyrant learned by experience that the Irish were more easily gained by favors, titles and bribes, than subdued by force. Accordingly he passed an act, declaratory of his design to confer titles, honors, and bestow estates suitable thereto, on loyal and meritorious men; thus to procure

* Letter to Lord Cromwell, vicar in spirituals to Harry.

their acquiescence in the suppression of monasteries. "Where our sovereign lord the king's most excellent majesty, for the relief and fortification of this his Highness's realm of Ireland, having respect to the great lack of nobility or men for honour now within the same, of his most kingly benevolence hath created, erected, and enabled and hereafter intendeth to create, name, erect and enable divers persons unto names of honour and dignities within this his said realm, enduing them with divers possessions and hereditaments, and to others freely have also disposed and hereafter intendeth to dispose others his Graces possessions, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the same realm," &c.*

Pursuant to this policy, Uliac de Burgo was created earl of Clanrickard and baron of Dunkellan; Morough O'Brien, earl of Thomond and baron of Inchiquin, and his son Connor, baron of Ibraken. O'Nial accepted the title of earl of Tyrone; and his son was created baron of Dungannon. Several other dynasts were courted in the same manner, and promised shares of ecclesiastical plunder. The innovations, by these means of seduction, gained some partizans among the great, but with the multitude they found no favor. While the king of England was cajoling Irish chieftains with titles; and what they valued more, a partition of the lands of suppressed abbeys, he assumed to himself the title of king of Ireland. To make his reformation

* An act for lands given by the king.—33 Hen. VIII.

less disgusting to the Irish, some excellent statutes were passed in the parliament of the English district. It was enacted, that voters for members of parliament should be possessed in freehold of forty shillings a year, more than forty pound a year at present; and that those who were elected for counties, cities and towns, should be residents of the places for which they were elected. Afterwards was passed an act for the suppression of Kilmainham, and other religious houses, upon the *free* surrender and grants of the superior. Peerages and bribes were dispensed with a prodigal hand, to all men of weight, whose opposition to the king's violent schemes might be apprehended. Meath was divided into two counties; for a reason, stated in the following preamble of the act, which proves the small extent of the Pale at that time. "Forasmuch as the shire of Methe is great and large in circuit, and the west part thereof laid about and beset with diverse of the king's rebels, and that in severall parts thereof the king's writs for lacke of ministration of justice, have not of late been obeyed, nor his Grace's laws put in due execution." It was also enacted, that on the death, resignation, or recal of a deputy, the privy council should elect a man of English birth to succeed him, during the king's pleasure; or in default of such, to elect two of English blood and surname as lords justices.

Notwithstanding all the efforts of Harry's policy and power, wherever the Milesian power prevailed, religious houses were protected. Da-

vies remarks, "that the abbeys and other religious houses in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and Fermanagh, though they were dissolved in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. were never surveyed, nor reduced into charge, but were continually possessed by the religious persons, untill the reign of James I."

Francis I. of France, informed of the general disposition that prevailed in Ireland, to resist the English schism and innovations, attempted to be forced on them, sent some emissaries to Ireland, to tamper with O'Donnel of Tyrconnel, a chieftain well known in Rome and France, and of great authority. But he, either unwilling to break his late engagements, or despairing of being able to form any general confederacy, declined the task. On the other hand, Henry was accompanied to Calais with a considerable body of Irish troops, who astonished the French by their agility and their ferocity in battle. There is a stratagem for procuring provisions, attributed to that brigade, which I have met no where else. "They caught a bull, tied him to a stake, kindled fires around him, so that the scorching flames caused the animal to bellow piteously. All the horned cattle within hearing crowded to the spot, where they became a booty."*

In closing this reign, it will not appear improper to sketch the character of this daring eccentric man, who commenced the great changes in church and state, whose agitations have not as

* Plowden, Hist. Rev. State of Ireland, Vol. I. p. 65.

yet subsided. In person handsome and of good stature, he neither wanted penetration or learning. Bred up a catholic, and taught scholastic theology, he was in the beginning of his reign a zealous stickler for its tenets. Shocked at the heretical doctrines of Luther and his associates, he was the only christian prince who drew the pen against them, in his *Defence of the Seven Sacraments*. Happily for them, that violent prince could not draw the sword against them. He was liberal to men of science, and encreased the salaries of professors. In his promotions to bishop's sees, he always had regard to learning and merit, except the instance of Cranmer, whom he promoted for the purpose of his divorce; so that the bishops appointed by him, endured imprisonment, chains, exile and torture, for the confession of the catholic faith, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. He never departed from the catholic faith, but for the gratification of luxury and lust. He always held the sacrament of the eucharist in the highest veneration, which he manifested a little before his death. Quitting his chair and kneeling to receive, some of his courtiers observed, that his majesty, infirm as he was, might receive sitting. "If, instead of kneeling, I could throw myself under the ground. I could not pay sufficient honor to the most holy sacrament," replies he. His natural good sense and christian education, were overpowered by four violent passions, excessive pride, lust, avarice and cruelty. Before his rupture with Catharine, her piety and exem-

plary virtues commanded his esteem, and bridled the impetuosity of his character. After his divorce and schism, he gave loose reins to the violence of his passions, making dreadful havoc of the nobility, citizens and clergy. In the public records are numbered three or four queens, two heroines, two cardinals, and a third condemned absent. Dukes, marquises, earls and the sons of earls, twelve; of the Geraldines, six; barons and knights, eighteen; abbots and priors, thirteen; monks, priests and religious, seventy-seven; and others almost innumerable, both gentle and simple. This visitation, brought by a lustful tyrant on popish England, and the still greater calamities for which he paved the way, might move one, not acquainted with the conduct of popish England towards catholic Ireland. They only received back their own measure, and as yet only part payment. For, untaught by all they suffered, during this reign and the succeeding one of Edward VI., no sooner did they recover their spirits under queen Mary, than they practised on Irish catholics such infernal perfidy and cruelty as exceeded all their former crimes, as shall be seen in its proper place.

Since his schism and divorce, Henry had not a moment's peace of mind or tranquillity. The wives he chose proved to be strumpets, or at least as such he beheaded them, except the last, who only escaped by surviving him. The heresies he detested, crept in through the breach he made in despite of him, though he burnt some heretics, in *terrorem*. The reconciliation with the catholic

church, which he seemed once before his death to have seriously wished, was impeded by the terror he inspired; for none of the bishops, called together for that purpose, durst disclose his thoughts freely, lest the proposals were meant to ensnare. He died unregretted; nor was his memory honored with a sepulchre by any of his three children, who reigned successively after him. His will was broke; for he strictly enjoined his son Edward to be reared a catholic, and he was reared a protestant; and the catholic tutors and commissioners, appointed to superintend his education, and assist in the administration of the kingdom, were turned out. His three children died without issue, and the seed of the wicked perished, but not before they bathed this unfortunate island in the blood of its best inhabitants.

During the reign of Edward VI., the administration, conducted by his uncle, the duke of Somerset, under the name of Protector, was chiefly busied in making those alterations in religion, called Reformation. Their endeavours succeeded to their satisfaction in England, but in Ireland they still met unabating opposition. This they experienced in every shape. The saved branch of Kildare had not as yet attained man's estate; but St. Leger, the deputy, was strenuously opposed by Ormond, in a scheme of taxation, which was protested against as illegal and oppressive. In the violence of contest, they came to mutual impeachments, which ended with the death of Ormond, who was poisoned at a feast in Ely-house, with sixteen of his retinue.

Nobody did it, to be sure; but the undegenerate Englishman was extremely glad of the sudden departure of his powerful opponent.

The change meditated in religion, determined the English government to send over a reinforcement of 600 horse and 400 foot, under the command of general Bellingham. Joining his forces with those of the Pale, he marched against O'Moore, and O'Connor, over whose undisciplined force, fire arms, as yet terrific even by their noise to the Irish, gave him a decided superiority. He routed them in the field, drove out the old inhabitants from Leix and O'Faly, and planted castles thereon in defence of his conquest. Reduced to the situation of desperate fugitives, the two chieftains, forsook by most of their followers, were prevailed on to come to an accommodation, and rely on the generosity and good faith of Englishmen. Accepting the proffer, they accompanied St. Leger, into England, where the only favor they received was, not to be brought to immediate execution. They were imprisoned, their lands were declared forfeit, and given to those by whose counsel they had surrendered. O'Moore soon after died in captivity. An ineffectual attempt of O'Connor to escape, only served to make his confinement more rigorous, and their lands were divided among English adventurers. Their kinsmen and followers, most likely to revive their claims, were persuaded to enlist in the king's English army, to relieve their immediate necessities. Thus were two strong feathers plucked

out of the Milesian pinions, without the interference of their neighbours, who could never adopt the wise policy of the Pale, "one peace, and one war, with the common enemy." In honor of this first and considerable addition to the Pale during centuries, Bellingham received the honor of knighthood, and was appointed governor of the enlarged district. Some attempt at insurrection, occasioned, perhaps, by the dread of changes in religion, were suppressed in their birth by his vigilance.

The efforts of the English council, to force a new religion on the Irish, kept this unhappy country in constant agitation. At a conference held for this purpose in the hall of Mary's-abbey, Dowdal defended the Roman liturgy, and Staples of Meath, the new-fangled English translation; as usual in such cases, each party claimed the victory. A proclamation not having the force of law in either countries, government avenged the opposition of Dowdal, by deciding the long contest for precedence between the sees of Dublin and Armagh in favor of the former, whose intruded bishop, Browne, was an apostle of the new doctrines. The primate, probably taking this first aggression as a prognostic of more serious severities, and not being animated with the spirit of martyrdom, retired to the continent. Had he stood his ground, the tide of popularity ran so violently in his favor, both within and without the Pale, his opposition would in all probability have compelled the protector to abandon his scheme of reforming Ireland. The

cause was abandoned, at a critical moment, by a man, whose station, abilities, and first essay, commanded the enthusiastic devotion of the nation, and the innovators in power were left leisure and opportunity to improve by the absence of the leader of a catholic nation against schism and heresy. Immediately a successor was appointed to him, contrary to canon law; and John Bale, "the violent and acrimonious impugner of popery," (Lel.) was appointed to the see of Ossory. All the clergy, not excepting Goodacre, the intruded bishop of Armagh, wished, in complaisance to popular prepossessions, to have Bale consecrated according to the Roman ritual. The furious innovator rejected, with fanatical scorn, these venerable formalities. The evidence of a protestant divine, on the intemperate conduct of this fanatic, though not detailed or explicit, hints a good deal. "Bale insulted the prejudices of his flock without reserve or caution. They were provoked; and not so restrained, or awed by the civil power, as to dissemble their resentments. During the short period of his residence in Ireland, he lived in a continual state of fear and persecution. On his first preaching of the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him, or opposed him; and to such violence were the populace spirited against him, that five of his domestics were slain before his face; and his own life saved only by the interposition of the civil magistrate. These outrages are pathetically related; but we are not informed what imprudences provoked them, or what was the intemperate conduct which his ad-

versaries retorted with such shocking barbarity.”*

The ministry of the colony, sensible of the unpopularity of religious innovations in Ireland, saw the necessity of holding out some boon to conciliate the nation. They frequently and strongly urged the expediency and necessity of extending the English law and constitution, to the old natives, as an inducement to coalesce into one people, attached to one monarch and one political system, but without effect. It is not clear, that the antient Irish would exchange their own laws and usages, under which their country obtained renown, for those of the Saxons. True, indeed Milesians petitioned for English laws; but they were those of Leinster, whose properties were intersected by, or contiguous to the Pale. No instance can be found of the powerful chieftains petitioning for such a favor.

The clashing of English and Irish law, produced much confusion and bloodshed among the Milesians and settlers. On the death of the earl of Clanrickard, his followers elected a chieftain, according to Irish usage; and the young lord asserted his claim, grounded on English law, with the sword. On the demise of the earl of Thomond, the baron of Ibraken, heir, according to English law, was compelled by his tribe to declare a Tainist according to the Irish constitution, who, though compelled for the present to relinquish that station by the interposition of the English government, waited but a favourable opportunity

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 201.

to recover it, by a sanguinary and successful war. But the principal commotions, occasioned by this unnatural collision of opposite constitutions and conflicting laws, were in the family of O'Nial. By the persuasion of Henry VIII. the chieftain of Ulster was induced to accept the title of earl for himself; and to accept so much of English law, as regarded hereditary succession to the principality by the eldest branch. Partiality for Matthew, an illegitimate son, procured for him the title of baron of Dungannon, and destined him for the inheritance. John, in Irish Shane O'Neil, assisted by his brother Hugh, laboured to wane their father from his unjust partiality, and his shameful dereliction of the independence and prerogatives of his illustrious house. The baron, aware of the impressions made on his father, and that the majority of the nation would favour the rights of the legitimate offspring, alarmed the deputy by the news of these beginnings of war, the intrigues of his brothers, and the connivance of his father. Thereupon the earl and his countess were suddenly seized and imprisoned in Dublin. John collected his followers, and declared war against Matthew, to whose practices he imputed the indignity offered to his parents. The deputy hastened to the relief of this creature of English government. John attacked and defeated them, with considerable slaughter; "and, encouraged by this success plundered his father's mansion, ravaged his whole territory, and spread desolation through a district, the fairest and most flourishing in the whole island, more than sixty miles in

length and forty broad.* This most flourishing district was inhabited and cultivated by the ancient natives. All the attempts of Sir James Crofts, to reduce him, ended in disgrace and disappointment; nor was the war, though it subsided at intervals, totally extinguished for many years.

The abortive attempt of the duke of Northumberland, in favour of Lady Jane, gave but a feeble and brief interruption to the legal rights of queen Mary. At her accession, notwithstanding a promise of general pardon, the few abettors of innovation in Ireland took the alarm. Bale, the bitter declaimer against popery, and Casey of Limerick, fled. Others, confiding in the promised amnesty, remained. George Dowdal was restored to the primacy, and compensated with the priory of Atherdee for the spoil of his diocese by the English intruder. No violent changes were attempted in the establishment, "a licence only was published, as in England, for the celebration of mass, without penalty or compulsion; and among the royal titles, that of supreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland, still continued to be inserted in the acts of state."†

The restoration of the house of Kildare deserves mention, among the acts of beneficence that graced the beginning of this reign. Young lord Gerald, by his marriage with the daughter

* Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 205. This testimony of a writer, no way partial to Ireland, would prove that the English had imported no improvements into Ireland at that period.

† Leland, Vol. II. B. III. c. viii. p. 206.

of Sir Anthony Browne, formed a connexion, that procured his restoration to the honors and estates of his family. Charles Kavenagh was created baron Balyan, and in the patent is styled captain of his sept. O'Connor Faly, so long imprisoned, obtained his liberty, by means of his daughter, who had formed connexions at the court of England. The grantees of his territory, alarmed at his return, prevailed on the deputy to make him renew his submission, and give his son hostage for keeping the peace.

Leland judged rightly, that the desire of re-establishing the antient religion, rather than friendship to Ireland, influenced the queen in granting these graces. “ Mary was the readier to grant such conciliating marks of favour, as she judged of the dispositions of her Irish subjects by what she observed in England; and apprehended the same difficulties in her design of restoring the antient religion, in a country that had scarcely known any other, which she experienced among a people, of whom numbers were averse from it, even to a high degree of fanaticism.”*

All who renounced the catholic faith were secured from severities, by the general pardon, except these who adopted a state incompatible with canon law. Dowdal was appointed commissioner to enquire concerning such people, and ejected the five bishops, who betrayed their religion, not for that offence, but for taking wives,

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 207.

and refusing to part with them, contrary to the discipline of the catholic church; viz. Staples of Meath, Browne of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, and Traverse of Leighlin.

However, a crime, horrible to relate, which makes humanity shudder, effaces all the merits of this reign, and is not exceeded by the foulest act in the records of human depravity. The antient inhabitants of Leix and O'Faly, ever since the English settlement here, had to guard against English encroachments. Their wars with the English, in defence of their patrimony, were frequent, only suspended occasionally by a peace in name, but a truce in fact. Sometimes ejected, they as often retook possession, at the point of the sword. The English, who beheld with greedy eyes, their fair well cultivated plains, (Morison) wearied with the invincible courage and perseverance with which they defended their inheritance, had recourse to the vilest treason, against the law of nature and nations; against God, appealed to as guarantee of treaties; against man, whose welfare is interested in fidelity to engagements. The chief men of the two septs are invited by the earl of Sussex, as to an amicable conference, to the Rathmore of Mullahmaisteen, to adjust all differences. Thither they unadvisedly came; all the most eminent in war, law, physic and divinity, all the leading men of talents and authority, the stay and prop of the tribes, to the number of four hundred. They rode into the fatal rath, confiding in the olive branch of peace, held out to allure, in the cha-

racter of ambassadors, sacred among all nations, even barbarians and heathens. They perceived, too late, that they had been perfidiously dealt with, when they found themselves on the sudden surrounded by a triple line of horse and foot, who, on a given signal, fell on those unarmed, defenceless gentlemen, and murdered them all on the spot! Ah bloody queen Mary! Yes. Blood-thirsty Philip, and his blood-thirsty spouse, occasioned the death of a few heretics, perhaps five or six, during her reign. In one day she butchered 400 Irish catholics, all cavaliers, and men of chivalrous honor, the heroic descendants of one of the greatest heroes in the western world, Conal Kearnach, chief of the knights of Ulster. And the sequel! full of horrid deeds. The army, thus glutted with the noble blood of the magnanimous, the pious, the hospitable, the brave, were let loose, like blood-hounds, on the multitude, dispersed in their villages, now without council, union or leader. A miserable massacre was made of these unhappy people, over the whole extent of what is now called King and Queen's county, without regarding age or sex. The detail of the diabolical outrages, committed on these large and populous districts, would make hell blush, to be out done by devils in human shape. I leave the reader to surmise the scenes of horror that ensued, when the whole population of an extensive territory was consigned to military execution. A few brave men here and there selling their lives as dearly as they could. What conflagration of villages and unfortunate

victims, rushing from the flames on the spears of their murderers. What shrieks and lamentations of women and children. A brutal soldiery, drunk with blood, and the contents of cellars, raging with fire and sword through the country, cutting down men, women and children, with indiscriminate slaughter; children massacred before their affrighted parents, reserved for their greater torture to die a double death, the first in witnessing the massacre of their innocents, and then be cut down last.

Leland passes over most of these infernal deeds; Plowden omits them altogether. Though the historian of the Pale omits the enormous perfidy by which these gallant clans were circumvented, he does not entirely conceal the inhuman barbarity with which their utter extirpation was pursued. "Numbers of them were cut off in the field, or executed by martial law, and the whole race would have been utterly extirpated, had not the earls of Kildare and Ormond interceded with the queen, and become sureties for the peaceable behaviour of some survivors."*

The copy of the annals of Donegal, that I have perused, and Leland appears to have copied from, misdate this deplorable catastrophe of the O'Moores and O'Connors, confounding it with a similar perfidy, practised on the Butlers, near Kilkenny, in the reign of Elizabeth. Had not the warlike tribes of O'Moore and O'Connor been circumvented by treachery, their lands

* Leland, Vol. II, B, III. c. viii, p. 208. An. of Doneg. MS.

could not have been bestowed to adventurers, and converted into shire ground, without a war as sanguinary as that of O'Neil or O'Kavenagh; nor would there be any necessity for the intercession of Ormond and Kildare, in the reign of Philip and Mary, to save a remnant of them noble families from utter destruction. Curry follows in the same track; and also quotes Lee's Memoir, that queen Elizabeth's officers invited the Irish to treat near her garrison towns, whence they sallied out, to butcher them. That is true of the massacre of the Butlers near Kilkenny, and of the O'Neils near Derry; but Mullagh-Maisteen is not near any garrison town. Why are not the battles of the O'Moores and O'Connors, if fair war was, recorded, before their patrimony was given to strangers, and a remnant of them spared by intercession? The number of the chief men, who assembled for the conference, proves that the sept of the O'Moores was yet in its integrity. Allowing one hundred common men for every chief, 40,000 men inhabited that territory. This was not after the reign of Mary, when a remnant only remained. The place of conference too, on the confines of the Pale and Leix, as between two neighbouring powers, proves, that the O'Moores were then in full possession of their inheritance, which was not the case after the reign of Mary. The names of King and Queen's county, Philipsborough and Maryborough, are irrefragable evidences of the reign, during which Leix and O'Faly were changed into shire ground. As are two

acts of the provincial parliament, confiscating the same from the original proprietors, and vesting it in Philip and Mary, passed in the session of 1556, unquestionable evidence of the date.

“ Where the counties of Leixe, Slewmargin, Offaly, Erry and Glynmalry which belong of right to the king and queen’s most excellent majesties, were of late wholly possessed by the Moores, the Connors, the Dempsies and other rebels, and now by the industrious travaile of the earl of Sussex now lord deputy of Ireland, be brought again to be in the possession of their majesties, and so remain to be disposed as to their highnesses shall be thought good; forasmuch as the well disposing of the aforesaid countreys and planting of good men there, shall not only be a great strength to those quarters, but also a wonderfull assurance of quiet to all the rest of the English countreys, and a great terror to all Irish countreys bordering on the same.”*

“ Prayen the commons in this present parliament assembled, that forasmuch as the O’ Moores, O’ Dempsies, O’ Connors, and others of the Irishry lately inhabiting the countreys of Leixe, Slewmargin, Erry, Glynmalry and Offaly, and by their sundry manifest treasons after many pardons granted to them, and sundry benefits shewed to them, yet often rebelled, committing great hurts to the king and queen’s majesties most loving subjects, by the which they provoked the most worthy prince king Edward VI. brother to our

* Preamble of an Act for the disposition of Leixe and Offalie.

sovereign lady the queen's majesty, to use his power against them, who at length to his great charge did subdue and repress the said Irish enemies, or rebels, bringing into his possession the countreys aforesaid, sithence which time the said O'Moores, O'Dempsies, O'Connors, and others of the said Irishry have traiterously, contrary to their bounden duties, by force entred the said countreys, and them so did hold against the king and queen's majesties, unto such time as their majesties by the diligent and painful travel and labour of the right honourable the earl of Sussex, their majesties lord deputy in Ireland, by the sword, edicted and reduced the said countreys out of, and from the wrongful and usurped possessions of the said Irish enemies or rebels to their majesties former possession."*

There is no necessity for loading protestant England with the sins of their popish predecessors, since they have enough of their own to answer for. Howbeit, upon a fair review of the subject, I think the malice of English papists, towards the antient Irish, left no species of persecution for protestant ingenuity to invent or improve on; since whatever is most base in hypocrisy, whatever is most savage in barbarity, whatever is most atrocious and infernal in cruelty, was abundantly, incessantly, even to su-

* Preamble of an Act whereby the King and Queens Majesties, and the heirs and successors of the Queen be entitled to the counties of Leixe, Slewmargin, Erris, Glenties, and Fermanagh, and for making the same countreys shire grounds.

persecution, practised by them, against the antient proprietors of this country.

After the re-establishment of catholicity during this reign, though the Pale parliament revived all the statutes made in Ireland, for the punishment and suppression of heresy, yet it is worthy of remark, and honorable to Irish catholics, that, in the plenitude of power, they persecuted none for heresy. Before their conversion, the Milesians persecuted not the christian missionaries, who preached to them; after their conversion, they persecuted none for dissenting from them. This feature of magnanimity belongs to no other nation. The testimony of a protestant divine, though studiously mutilated and disfigured by himself, is nevertheless strong in support of the laudable spirit of toleration, manifested by Irish catholics.

“ The successor to George Browne in the see of Dublin, presented a petition to the parliament, complaining of devastations made in the archiepiscopal rights, during the late schism. His application was favourably received: it was enacted, that all conveyances made of the lands and possessions belonging to the see, by Browne, without a royal licence, all demises of any parcel of the archbishopric, to his own use, or to that of any bastard of his, should be utterly void. The spirit of popish zeal which glutted all its vengeance in England, was, in Ireland thus happily confined to reversing the acts of an obnoxious prelate, and stigmatizing his offspring with an approbrious name. Those assertors of the Reformation who had not fled from this king-

dom, were by the lenity of Irish government suffered to sink into obscurity and neglect. No warm adversaries of popery stood forth to provoke the severity of persecution; the whole nation seemed to have relapsed into the stupid composure of ignorance and superstition, from which it had been scarcely awakened. And as it thus escaped the effects of Mary's diabolical rancour, several English families, friends to the Reformation, fled into Ireland, and there enjoyed their opinions and worship, in privacy, without notice or molestation."*

The indulgence, enjoyed by protestants in Ireland, during the reign of catholicity, cannot fairly be imputed only to the lenity of Mary's ministers; but more justly to the tolerant spirit of the colony, its parliament, and the nation. Englishmen had in this, as in many other respects, degenerated from their ancestors; for whose fickleness and intolerance, they adopted a firm attachment to the catholic church, together with a spirit of toleration worthy of christians. They degenerated, when the representatives of the Pale declared hospitality a laudable national virtue, not to be infringed. An English political writer, of some eminence, residing some time in Ireland, declared, that one Englishman, born in Ireland, was worth three born in England. This must be allowed degeneracy, but was it not for the better? 'Tis not necessary, with the learned Lynch, to quære who was the father; crossing

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 213.

the breed, and Irish institutions, may explain the difference.

• What strange language the spirit of party inspires? The tranquillity of Ireland, on the score of religion, during the reign of queen Mary, is called, a relapse into the stupid composure of ignorance and superstition, from which the nation had scarce been awakened!!! As if the christian religion, which was given to mankind for their instruction and consolation, should become a subject of unceasing litigation, a bone of contention, to be wrangled and fought about, frittered into party badges, inflaming those passions it was meant to subdue. What a pity, the Irish were not roused from their stupid composure, by running after crazy mountebanks, vending their quackeries of new invented doctrines, with as great an assortment of sample patterns, as there are delirious fancies in the heated brains of bible-mad fanatics. So the calm, enjoyed by protestants in Ireland, when they were few, and the catholics all powerful, the effect of an enlightened philosophy, or great native generosity, is the effect of a stupid composure in ignorance and superstition! What pity the neighbouring island partook not somewhat of that stupidity of composure, instead of the active intolerance of burning zeal. It were much to the honor of christianity, and the happiness of mankind, that it had been a little more general.

During the remainder of this reign little occurs worth recording, except a bloody contest between the chieftains of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, O'Neil

and O'Donnel, occasioned by the collision of Irish and English laws. " Domestic dissention had for some time raged in the leading family of Tirconnel. The chieftain to this district, worn out with age, and oppressed by the unnatural cruelty of his son Calvagh, who had detained him two years in prison, could but ill support the honours of his family, or the independence of his tribe. Hugh, his other son, to revenge these quarrels which had raged between the brothers, fled with his partizans to O'Nial, pressed him to seize the favourable moment of forcing Tirconnel to submit to his superior authority, and offered to assist him in the invasion of his own country, and the destruction of his own family. John was readily persuaded to an expedition so suited to his passions; summoned his vassals and auxiliaries, so as to exhaust all Tirowen, and the whole adjoining tract of Ar-gial of their military inhabitants; and, entering Tirconnel, pitched his camp between two rivers, displaying his great force, and denouncing vengeance against all his opposers, The first alarm of this invasion determined the inhabitants of Tirconnel to secrete their valuable effects, and drive their flocks and herds into the more inaccessible quarter of their country; a precaution which the hostile chieftain affected to treat with contempt and scorn. " Let them drive our prey into the midst of Leinster, or let them hide it in the South," cried O'Nial. " We shall pursue it to the remotest quarter of the island. No power shall protect our enemies; or stop the

progress of the prince and sovereign of Ulster.

“Calvagh, on whom the defence of his country had devolved, found his forces utterly unequal to a contest with this arrogant invader; and as the common danger had reconciled the father and the son, he consulted the old chieftain, on the conduct he was to pursue, and the measures to be taken in this dangerous emergency. “Do not,” said the father, “attempt with our inferior numbers to meet the enemy in the field. O’Nial is advancing on us, and in this new situation his camp bears a formidable aspect; but what though it be provided with stores of every kind; what though every necessary and every luxury is brought thither and exposed to sale, as in a regular market, yet the state and magnificence of the enemy, may be greater than his precaution; attack his camp by night; one sudden and vigorous effort may disperse our enemies at once.”

“The advice was applauded: and two gallant youths freely offered to undertake the dangerous office of entering the camp at the close of day, in order to spy out the circumstances and situation of the enemy. They passed his guards, mixed with his tumultuous soldiers, traversed the camp, and made all their observations, unheeded. An unusual blaze of large tapers directed them to the general’s pavilion, where John O’Nial lay surrounded by his body guards, consisting of sixty Irish vassals, bearing the battle-ax, and as many mercenary Scots, armed with their broad cutting swords and targets.

And so little were the youths suspected, that when supper was brought to these guards, they invited them to partake of their repast. To accept this invitation, was to form a friendship with these men not to be violated: which should prevent them from giving any intelligence, or, if discovered, would have rendered their intelligence suspected.* They therefore declined the courtesy; and flying to their companions, related what they had seen and heard, and enflamed them with impatience to surprise the enemy. Even the old O'Donnel mounted his horse, and offered to lead his countrymen to the attack; they were formed by Calvagh into one compacted body, and, under the conduct of their spies, burst into the camp at midnight, bearing down their opposers, and spreading terror and confusion. John O'Nial, to whose tent the enemy was pressing forward with dreadful slaughter, started at the tumult, found himself abandoned by his guards, and fled precipitately; two youths only accompanied him, sons of the revolted Hugh O'Donnel, and by swimming over rivers, and traversing unknown ways, with difficulty gained a place of safety. The whole army of Tirowen dispersed, and left the victors to enjoy the plunder of the camp.

“ Such is the account of this local war, in

* This instance of the honor of Irish spies, recorded by Englishmen and protestants, is one of the evidences of the sacred rights of hospitality among the antient Irish, which forms a striking contrast with the perfidious invitations of their pretended civilizers to the murderous banquet.

which the English government had not sufficient power or authority to interpose.”*

A swarm of Scotch islanders, invited over by the chieftains of Tyrconnel, joined their countrymen already settled here, ready to enlist in the service of any prince, who would employ them for the purposes of ambition or revenge. In an engagement with deputy Sussex, they were indeed defeated, but not reduced. Thus was unfortunate Ireland lacerated by the incessant wars of Irish chieftains, and fresh swarms of invaders, from all parts of the neighbouring island, Scots, Welsh and English.

In the south, the baron of Ibraken, declared earl of Thomond, renounced the name of O'Brien, and consented to hold the lands annexed to this title, according to English law, as an English subject, and swore allegiance with all his freeholders, to the utter mortification of his Irish adherents. He accepted the title of earl, say the annalists, but gave up the dignity of Dalcais, to the astonishment and indignation of all the descendants of Heber, Heremon, and Ir.

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 215.

PART II.

HITHERTO we have rapidly travelled over a period of four centuries, since the invasion of the exiled king of Leinster with his English and Welsh auxiliaries. His invasion it ought to be called, because he was the prime mover, the leading commander, and his Leinster forces, headed by his son, Donald Kavenagh, formed the main strength of the invading army. A period, crowded with the tumults of anarchy, local wars, and blackened with perfidy and cold-blooded cruelty. We have seen two very opposite characters on this sanguinary theatre, conflicting for the soil. The one, comparatively feeble, but aided by a phlegmatic temper and deliberate policy, unrestrained by any law, human or divine, in the pursuit of its object. The other, mighty and formidable, if they could recover the constitution; but, in the convulsions of anarchy, abusing their native and acquired valor, for mutual destruction, frequently at the instigation, and through the intrigues of their destroyers. We have seen one race of men, planted in the English Pale, vow the extermination of the whole Milesian race, co-members, though sounder and purer, of the same catholic church. We have seen that impious plan, first laid down by father Gerald Barry, a popish priest, in these memorable words,

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“debilitentur, deleantur;” i. e. let the Milesians be debilitated and exterminated, pursued with a cool, undeviating policy, unexampled since the destruction of the Canaanites. We have seen the heads of the catholic church shamefully prostituting their spiritual authority, to abet an unjustifiable invasion, for English subsidy, and to extend their temporal power over the catholic church of Ireland, the only limb of the western church exempt from that profane mixture of spirituals and temporals. An invasion, not like most others, for dominion, but for extermination, and the seizure of all private property. We have seen men, of the same race and religion, prosecuting each other with vengeful, implacable war, to the utter overthrow and destruction of the whole of them. We have seen the popish penal code, decreed against the old natives, by members of the same church, more sanguinary and inhuman, than that dictated by religious rancour and national antipathy afterwards. Barbarous decrees, worthy only of Mahometans, which should have opened the eyes of the nation, if they were not blinded by self-conceit, and too mean an opinion of the Pale, which was tributary to them, and whose decrees they laughed at, as impotent bravados. They soon had, and their posterity has had, abundant cause to lament their mad divisions, and their improvident contempt for the English garrison, planted in their country, animated with implacable hatred towards them, and ardently thirsting for their lives and properties. The reader may perceive,

from unquestionable facts, that difference of religion is not really the efficient cause of the mal-administration of Irish affairs; though it covered the selfish policy, of a very selfish nation, with a plausible veil.

After reviewing the horrors of war and perfidies, that afflicted this unhappy people so long; all the evils, that flowed from excessive pride, and its concomitant, vindictiveness, in justice to a departed nation, we must take a peep at their counterbalancing comforts. The Milesian tillers were freeholders, paying but a moderate tax to their chiefs, which was spent in hospitality among themselves. Their labour was moderate, and their enjoyments many. Freedom they enjoyed even to excess, and an elective chief, without any mercenary force, could not tyrannize over a people of warriors. Vehement in friendship as in enmity, they were the most social, neighbourly, hospitable, charitable people in the world. Affliction, distress, never wanted cordial sympathy or relief. Hospitality was not only a national virtue, practised by all ranks, but it was further established by law, and that antecedent to Christianity. An estate was assigned, and a building erected, for that purpose, entrusted to a Biatach, i. e. hospitaller, bound to entertain all travellers with diet and lodging, for one or more days and nights, according to rank or exigency; the allowance and time for each being distinctly specified in the Brehon laws. The hospitable lawgivers were not satisfied with providing comforts and ease for the stranger and

traveller, they moreover attended to furnish them with amusements and pleasures. The Biatach must have a chess-board in readiness, a kind of play which the Milesians delighted in, and the bard must be at hand, to touch the tuneful lyre. Other accommodations have been reported; but, if ever true, they were abolished by the introduction of Christianity. Further, the Biatach must have messengers on the highways, to invite and guide all passengers to the feast, and “compel them to come in;” since, it is fair to use a gospel phrase, in relating an evangelical virtue, unparalleled in any other nation or age. Will any man wonder, that such a people should have so quickly embraced Christianity, without making martyr or confessor, without drawing a single drop of blood, or confining preacher or convert a single hour? The evangelical counsels they had already practised, in high perfection, before they heard them preached by christian missionaries; scarcely having any thing to learn, but the mysteries, rites and sacraments. But one may justly wonder, wherefore a people, so renowned for sanctity and learning, whose sublime virtues balanced their terrible faults, pride and vindictiveness, should be delivered over to the most cruel, unrelenting enemies, long agonizing tortures, and final excision! By the confession of their enemies, no nation in the world has suffered such dreadful and long-continued calamities, except the Jews; and surely the Irish have not crucified the Son of God, whose flock they encreased by innumerable proselytes, and adorned by the prac-

tice of the most exalted virtues. For what crime, or for what mysterious purpose, has he sacrificed this generous and brave people? Such have been the frequent appeals of our bards to heaven. Shall human infirmity attempt a solution? The proximate cause of their calamitous overthrow consisted in their implacable animosities against each other, springing from excessive family and personal pride, into which the known magnanimity of their ancestors had too generally degenerated, receiving constant fuel from the adulatory compositions of their poets-laureat. The fall of Ireland was prophesied by its great apostle, St. Patrick, and afterwards by many of its saints, who all agreed in promising it a glorious resurrection. The final cause of this deplorable catastrophe was, probably, not concealed from them; but, if they have divulged it, I had not the happiness to meet any of their works on this deep and awful subject. They foretold the great naval power and prosperity of England; together with its schism and heresy, and the decline of that power. All these events are so many links in the great chain of causes and effects, that, by a mysterious, but unerring operation, produce the various appearances, the diversity of scenes and revolutions, that succeed each other on the theatre of the world. Nations and empires, at particular periods, and in different places, arise to eminence, in arts, sciences, prosperity and power. These have, like every thing mortal, their limited periods, after which they begin to decline, to make way for others. Virtue, prosperity, luxury, decline, are

four cardinal points in the fatal circle, that involves the fortunes of nations and families.

If the scene has been hitherto turbulent and sanguinary, it is speedily to be darkened, with a lowering tempest, pregnant with ruin to the antient inhabitants. The antient glory and happiness of the island of sanctity, learning, hospitality and heroism, is to be trampled under foot. In addition to their former misfortunes, a fresh scourge is prepared for the proud Gathelians. If popish England assailed their persons and properties, protestant England assaults even the sanctuary of conscience. The loss of life, and its comforts, God knows! was grievous enough; but the attempt of wresting from them, by tyrannic violence, their belief, and hopes of an immortal inheritance, was still reserved to fill the cup of misery brimfull, and drive a religious people to utter despair. The universal law of re-action brought down the visitation of offended heaven on popish England, during nearly two centuries; and involved the English settlers in a participation of the same evils they inflicted or meditated against the antient race, with whose posterity theirs, for the most part, is confounded in one mass of common wretchedness.

The instrument, for effecting the total change of religion in England, and persecuting the Irish of both races, with a similar intent, was extremely well adapted for that bold experiment of tyranny. Harry's illegitimate daughter, for such she was, even by the law of nature, as she was his daughter's child, dissembled her reli-

gious opinions with great art, during Mary's reign, and in the beginning of her own. On hearing of the persecuting queen's death, she rode up to London, put in her claim for the crown, was accepted, and took the coronation oath in the usual form, including a solemn promise of maintaining the constitution in church and state, as she found it left by Mary. An oath she regarded as little as her father did his own, or his matrimonial vows. Elizabeth was of a good stature, red-haired, with grey blue eyes, with a sharp, piercing physiognomy, expressive of art, subtlety and dissimulation. Freckled in the face, and slightly pitted, though she relished the incense of judicious adulation, she was penetrating enough to discern, that the complimentary gallantries of courtiers regarded more her power than her personal charms. She inherited all the good and bad qualities of her father; but rather exceeded him, at least in the last. Like him, she was, tyrannical, proud, violent, vindictive, lustful and capricious, yet with more art; she knew how to disguise, conceal or palliate these odious passions. Endued with a penetrating discernment of men and their characters, she was enabled to chuse proper ministers for every undertaking. Two of the ablest and worst men of her age were her ministers; Cecil and Bacon, related to each other. The only signal instance recorded, in which she could accuse herself of having subjected her judgment to the dictates of love, was in the choice of Essex for the Irish war. His failure therein was in-

strumental in bringing him to the block and her to her grave. While the catholic continued the national religion of England and Ireland, she did not consider herself securely seated on the throne, being a bastard, according to the laws and decisions of that church. She therefore meditated the overthrow of that church, and substitute for it a novel one, in the formation of which she had great share; a daring scheme, which she pursued with wonderful art, obstinacy and cruelty, during her whole reign. Like her father and sister, she persecuted; but, a better hypocrite than either, she metamorphosed her persecution on the score of religion, into the execution of the law against state criminals; and with consummate address, put on, sometimes, an air of commiseration for the unfortunate culprits, the severity of whose sentence she would sometimes condescend to mitigate, affecting lenity. Cecil, plot-maker in chief to her and her successor, was powerfully instrumental in forwarding her disguised persecution: and Mary, the captive queen of Scots, whom she hated as a catholic, a beauty, and the lawful heir to the throne, furnished a good pretext for destroying the catholic magnates of England, who would not adopt her new creed and ritual. She cordially hated the Irish; not only for being Irish, like the rest of her countrymen, but, moreover, for the stubborn opposition her reformation met there. In England her victims were numerous: of whom some perished in jails, dungeons, black holes, &c. some were privately tortured on the

rack, whipt, &c. and some privately executed, and some publicly. In Ireland this lioness slew many more, all her wars with O'Neil being in a very principal measure, crusades against catholicity; for the chief article of accusation against him was, his protection of the catholic religion, monasteries and seminaries for the education of clergymen.

The successful war of Elizabeth on the catholic church of England was tyrannic and inhuman, in as much as conversion, enforced by fines, imprisonments, torture and death, is unworthy of the christian religion, degrading to humanity, and can only make hypocrites. It was truly a desperate undertaking, when we consider the power of her enemy, Philip II. of Spain, and the possibility of her catholic subjects being driven by persecution to join the invaders, had the Spanish forces, then deemed the best in Europe, effected a landing. Such, at least, has been the conduct of the reformed, in similar circumstances. But, if the attempt was tyrannic and desperate in England, it was additionally absurd in Ireland. People were here punished, not only for not violating their conscience; but there were no suitable means employed, to reconcile them to the change proposed. Most of the ministers, sent over to preach to them, are described by cotemporary protestants, as immoral, and ignorant, especially of the country language; so that she might as well have sent her English rituals, and English preachers, to preach to Chinese as to Irish, in her time. In all the avenues to her new

church, nothing meets the eye, but fines, imprisonments, torture, death; all whose effect was to make the people miserable, provoke insurrections, wars, destruction and confiscation. The new religion could only gain terrified or interested hypocrites, while the means and methods of persuasion were neglected or inadequate. “The clergy in Ireland, excepting the grave fathers, who are in high places about the state, and some few others, who are lately planted in the new college, are generally bad, licentious, and most disordered. . . . Whatever disorders are in the church of England, may be seen in that of Ireland, and much more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides these, they have particular enormities; they neither read the scripture, nor preach to the people, only they take the tythes and offerings, and gather what fruit they can off their livings, which they convert as badly.”* That the Irish clergy were of opposite character, and merited the esteem of their flocks by their morals, piety and diligence we have from the same authorities. “It’s a great wonder, to see the odds, which is between the zeal of popish priests and the ministers of the gospel. For they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travelling hither; where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward, or riches

* Spencer, (on this period). State of Ireland.

to be found, only to draw the people to the church of Rome. Whereas, some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened, and having livings of the country offered to them, without pains, and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God, or zeal of religion, be drawn forth from their warm nests, to look out into God's harvest."* Besides prepossession, every motive of persuasion, edification, esteem, were on the side of the catholic Irish nation. With the innovators there was nothing but brutal force, cruelty, perfidy, and abominable morals. Moreover, national antipathy was, in itself, a strong obstacle to innovations, coming imported from a quarter whence this country seldom received benefits, but, full often, the greatest injuries. "It seems difficult to conceive any more unjust or impolitic act of government, than an attempt to force new modes of religious faith and worship by severe penalties, upon a rude, superstitious, and unlettered people. Persecutions or attempts to force conscience will never produce conviction. They are calculated only to make hypocrites or martyrs; and accordingly the violence committed by the regency of Edward, and continued by Elizabeth, to force the reformed religion on Ireland, had no other effect, than to foment a general disaffection to the English government; a disaffection so general, as to induce Philip II. of Spain, to attempt partial descents on the southern coasts of this

* Spencer's State of Ireland.

island, preparatory to his meditated attack upon England.”*

Encouraged in England, by the success of her father and her infant brother in a similar enterprise, relying on an obsequious parliament, a venal prelacy, a timid, cautious nobility, and the absolute power invested in the crown, since the rival houses of York and Lancaster were united in the person of Henry VII. when both parties, hating and dreading each other, finding the rights and claims of all the objects of their respective devotion centered in one man, set no limits to their obsequiousness, and vied in servility. Elizabeth made ample use of this plenitude of arbitrary power in England, as well as sham plots, and fictitious insurrections, for the supposed deliverance of captive queen Mary, to prostrate the pillars of the ancient church. In Ireland, expecting greater opposition, she sent instructions to her deputy, Sussex, to pack a parliament, and instruct the members in the duty she expected from them.

The north and south of Ireland were still distracted, by the seeds of commotions contrived and planted therein by Harry VIII. Daniel O'Brien was at variance with the earl of Thomond, for chieftainry, and the Irish constitution. The North was disturbed by causes of the same kind, which committed Shane O'Neil in a war with the baron of Dungannon, in which the

* Speech of Lord Clare in the Irish House of Lords, Feb. 10, 1800.

latter was defeated and slain. This spirited prince perceived, from the encreasing power of the English in Ireland, and the hard measure dealt by them to two powerful clans, the necessity of vigorous measures, not barely in support of independence, but for existence. The first step of greatest consequence to attain security was, to re-establish the antient bond of union among the chieftains, at least of the north, which consisted in the authority exercised by the Hy-Nialls, as kings of Ulster, over the rest of the chieftains. This authority, enfeebled and precarious, since the fall of the monarchy and constitution, was slighted altogether, during the civil wars between him and the baron of Dungannon, he now endeavoured to restore. With this intent he marched into O'Reilly's country, (Cavan,) and compelled him to make homage and give hostages. Thence to Donegal, where he took Calvach O'Donel, his old enemy, unprepared to meet him in the field, and exacted from him similar submission. The English, alarmed at the progress of O'Nial, asserting his sovereignty in Ulster, proclaimed a general hosting, and the deputy, Sussex, marched in quest of the northern chieftain; but, before hostilities commenced, they came to an accommodation. O'Nial pleaded, that the reduction of his own refractory vassals was but a just exercise of his legitimate authority, furnishing no fair pretence for English interference. That his irruptions into the Pale were provoked by injuries, and by designs formed to cut him off by assassination, of which he offered

proof. A treaty was provisionally concluded, by which O'Nial was to be acknowledged dynast of Tyrowen, with all the rights and prerogatives of that station, provided parliament would sanction it. That he should still retain the title of earl of Tyrowen, with the antient authority over all who would be found to owe him vassalage. The treaty being thus concluded to O'Nial's satisfaction, he resolved to attend the queen in person for its ratification, and agree to any reasonable conditions, that might conduce to its stability, but to attend her in a manner suitable to his princely dignity. "He appeared in London, attended by a guard of gallowglasses, arrayed in the richest habiliments of their country, armed with the battle-ax, their heads bare, their hair flowing on their shoulders, their linen vests dyed with saffron, with long and open sleeves, and surcharged with their short military harness; a spectacle astonishing to the people, who imagined that they beheld the inhabitants of some distant quarter of the globe." They imagined not wrong; for they were an oriental people, emigrated into this western isle, still retaining the dress, manners, institution and language of their ancestors, without much alteration, except their conversion to christianity, during some thousands of years.

Elizabeth with affected tenderness and condescension received O'Nial; who "with firmness and composure acknowledged, that he had opposed the succession of Matthew's children to the sovereignty of Tirowen. But it was well

known, (he added,) that this Matthew, whom Henry the eighth had incautiously created baron of Dungannon, was the offspring of a mean woman of Dundalk, the wife of a smith, and for sixteen years reputed to be his son; until earl Conn accepted him as his child, on the allegation of an adulteress, and with a shameful partiality preferred him to his legitimate issue. That if he himself were to resign his pretensions in favour of any son of such a father, yet more than one hundred persons of the name of O'Nial were ready to assert the honour of their family against the usurpation of any spurious race. That the letters patent, on which their claim was founded, were in effect vain and frivolous; for Conn, by the antient institutions of his country, could claim no right in Tirowen, but during his own life; nor was he empowered to surrender or exchange his tenure, without consent of all the lords and inhabitants of this territory. Or if the cause should be determined by the English law, it is the known order and course of this law that no grants can be made by letters patent, until an inquisition be previously held of the lands to be conveyed: but no such inquisition had been held in Tirowen, which had not known the English law, nor ever been reduced to an English county. Were it still insisted that the inheritance should descend in succession to the rightful heir, he was rightful heir, as eldest of the legitimate sons of Conn. But his pre-eminence was deriyed from an origin, still more glorious; from the free election of his country-

men, who on his father's death had chosen him their leader, as the best and bravest of his family; an election ever practised in his country without any application to the crown of England. And thus invested with the sovereignty of Tir-owen, he claimed only those rights and jurisdictions, which a long train of predecessors had enjoyed, which were ascertained and recorded, so as to exclude all controversy, and to render the interposition of the English government totally unnecessary.* He pathetically represented the injuries he had received, the desperate attempts made to destroy him, and lamented the iniquity of his enemies, which had driven him to seek his own security, by any appearance of opposition to the royal authority. The flattery of his address, and the strength of his allegations, had such an effect upon Elizabeth, that she dismissed him with presents and assurances of her favour.

O'Nial, now become ally of the queen, exerted himself in her service. He encountered and defeated the Hebride Scots, ever swarming into Ulster, slew their leader, and retook some towns claimed by the English. Satisfied with these services, the queen dispatched to him letters patent, confirming the terms of their former agreement, expressing entire approbation of his conduct. This confirmation of the treaty gave him some respite, to carry on his original plan of recovering the sovereignty of Ulster; a thing not to be atchieved by patents, without the sanction

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. i. p. 222.

of a good army. Accordingly, he kept arming and training his followers, which gave umbrage to two sorts of people, the chieftains, who were unwilling to own any superior; and the settlers, who dreaded nothing so much as the revival of subordination and union among the Irish, who dreaded the power of Ulster, if its kingdom was restored. The representations of these to the queen, of O’Nial’s hostile intentions, drew from her this laconic reply: “Tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage. There will be estates for them who want.” To Sussex succeeded Arnold, an English knight, in the government of the colony, and to him shortly after, Sir Henry Sydney, who had served before in that station, to the satisfaction of his employers, and was well acquainted with the country, the temper of its inhabitants, and the method of subduing by division. To assist him in forwarding the English interest, Saint Leger was appointed president of Munster, and Randolph was stationed at Derry, with a strong and well provided garrison. A new privy council, *de propaganda fide*, was established, with special instructions to assist the deputy in enforcing the authority of the queen and her laws, and propagating queen Bess’s true religion. Mac Arthy, lord of Desmond, was induced to hold his territory by English tenure; and become a peer of parliament by the title of earl of Clancarthy. This caused the magnanimous O’Nial to observe to some English commissioners; “A precious earl! I keep a lacquay as noble as he. But let him

enjoy his honour; it is not worthy of O'Nial. I have indeed made peace with the queen at her desire; but I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. Ulster was theirs, and shall be mine. With the sword they won it; with the sword I will maintain it."

The hostile views of Elizabeth on O'Nial, notwithstanding her late apparent friendship, was manifested by the strong garrison, stationed in Derry; but the slaughter committed by that garrison on some of O'Nial's men, near the walls of that town, is related in such a manner by the Pale writers, as to excite a suspicion of wilful inaccuracy. "He led his forces to the walls of Derry, and without directly attacking the town, insolently braved the garrison. Randolph, their commander, more spirited than cautious, issued out against a party of his boisterous followers, and repelled them with considerable slaughter, but lost his life in the encounter. This action was not justified by any direct hostilities committed by O'Nial."* What should bring O'Nial, or any of his men, near the walls of Derry, to brave the garrison, when they made no attack, and, most probably, expected none? O'Nial was then at peace with the English, committing no hostilities. The slaughter of his men afforded him a fair occasion of complaint. He called for a conference with the deputy, to explain his grievances; then he must be confident that the deputy must acknowledge this slaughter

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. i. p. 232.

to be a grievance. It was, probably, one of those stratagems, alluded to by captain Lee, in his memorial. " They invited four hundred of this country people, (speaking of the north,) near where your garrison was placed, on pretence of doing your majesty service, and there most dishonorably murdered them." War with the English, which was contrary to O'Nial's interest, while at variance with the northern chieftains struggling against his authority, proves this to have been a perfidious massacre. He had to fight at once, the forces of Elizabeth, Maguire, O'Donel of Donegal, and some other heads of septs; especially O'Donel, the next to O'Nial in power, who was then his bitter enemy. (Lee). Thus were the toils completely drawn round him. None of the expected forces come from Spain or the pope. Desmond, whom he had solicited, joined the queen's forces, and he was at once attacked from all quarters. In several sharp encounters his forces were thinned. Numbers deserted, from the fatigue of forced marches, want, and the severity of continual service. O'Nial, in a few months, lost more than 3500 of his men; when hunted, together with the remainder, from one retreat to another, harassed by famine, without hope or resource, he resolved to cast himself at the deputy's feet, and sue for mercy. In this forlorn situation, he was persuaded to put himself in the protection of the Scots, then encamped at Clan-hu-boy. He arrived there with about fifty horsemen, was received with every appearance of friendship, and shortly after assassinated, with all

his retinue. Piers, an English officer, who had excited the Scots to commit the murder, sent his head to Dublin; for which he was rewarded with a thousand marks.

Sydney immediately marched into Tyrone, to take advantage of the disordered state of that country, and promote such arrangements as would be advantageous to the English interest. In the humbled distracted state of Tyrone, he assumed the power of nominating Tirlough Lynough O'Nial, grandson of Conbaccagh, the son-in-law of Kildare, successor to John. A man of meek and humble disposition, suited the views of the English. He bound himself by indenture, to renounce the claim of sovereignty over Ulster, to be faithful to the crown, to suffer the sons of Matthew to enjoy their demesnes unmolested. To secure these dispositions, favourable to English interest, the son of John O'Nial, an hostage, was kept in close confinement, in the castle of Dublin. The Irish chieftains, blinded by their pride to the last, were well satisfied with exemption from the authority of O'Nial, hugging that devouring anarchy, politically cherished by their enemies, which was to engulph their whole nation and its honors, in one common tomb. With these subtle views, the artful queen concluded a treaty with John O'Nial, conformable to his wishes, encouraging him to resume the sovereignty of Ulster. She employed him as an instrument, to chastize Maguire, and other lords, who openly resisted English encroachments; to humble the Scots, in Ulster,

who were held to be dangerous enemies to the English interest. When he had rendered these important services, pretences were soon found to quarrel with him, and to turn against him a confederacy of those very chieftains, whom his obedience to the queen's orders must have inflamed against him.

The principal settlers were involved in similar confusion. Desmond and Ormond had disputes about their boundaries; and in the Irish manner, chose to decide the contest by arms, instead of litigation. Desmond was defeated, wounded and taken prisoner. Though the earl was prisoner, his family was powerful; and Ormond, prudently declining the chances of war, referred the controversy to the queen. They attended her; she heard the cause, and proposed terms of accommodation to both parties, which were accepted: injunctions to assist the execution of the queen's laws, in the collection of the revenues; in the substitution of the English law for the Brehon. Desmond was referred to the deputy for further instructions, to whom he declared, that, "as to the furtherance of religion in Munster, having no knowledge in learning, and being ignorant of what was to be done in that behalf, he would aid and maintain whatever was appointed by commissioners nominated for the purpose." This is no proof of Desmond's absolute illiteracy. It might have been an evasion of the question, alledging his ignorance of theological learning, similar to the caution of lord Fingal, in avoiding a religious controversy with chancellor Redesdale,

and referring it to the clergy, as better informed in ecclesiastical studies.

The arts, that were employed to forward the changes in religion, have never been sufficiently developed; but must be sought by moral criticism. The pliant Ormond was probably enjoined, to watch the motions of Desmond; and, if he was found averse to the Reformation, and an encourager of seminaries, to renew his complaints against him on the ground of temporal interest, to shun the imputation of religious persecution. Ormond's complaint to the queen, of the partiality of her deputy to his rival, cannot be otherwise understood. For the deputy would undoubtedly adhere to the terms proposed by the queen, and accepted by the litigants, and decide in favour of him who was most ready to abide thereby. In obedience to the queen's orders, Desmond repaired to London, to give an account of his conduct; where he, and his brother, sir John, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, which confirmed in them that aversion to English government, which only ended with their lives.

Poor Ireland still continued to experience all the horrors of complicated anarchy; a prey to the conflicts of opposite parties, wasting it with numerous petty hostilities in different quarters, extortions, rapine and massacres. The old native and English settlers, the old and new adventurers, Scotch freebooters, the discord bred by two opposite systems of law, and the rancour of systems of religion, all produced incessant disturbances. Sir Edward Butler rose in arms against

some of the Geraldines in Munster. James Fitzgerald of Desmond, drew his sword against his kinsman, the baron of Lixnaw. The O'Moores and O'Connors were struggling for the recovery of some of their confiscated properties. Tirlough Lynnough of Tyrone engaged a thousand Scots in his service, while the earl of Clancarthy claimed the sovereignty of south Munster, and attacked some of his neighbours.

We are now come to the epoch, that will soon determine the fate of the antient Irish, still blind to the impending catastrophe, still inflated with family pride, and rushing headlong to destruction by family quarrels. No public authority or national executive, not so much as a provincial government acknowledged, but every clan for itself, amidst intestine divisions amongst each clan, and this anarchy maintained by obstinate warfare, if the descendant of a provincial king attempted to enforce the authority of his predecessors, according to the constitution. Far otherwise was the state of the English. They were not indeed equal in physical force, to the antient inhabitants; neither in numbers, bodily strength, agility, or the use of arms: but they were not, like them, a power destitute of counsel and authority, working its own ruin. They had a legislative and executive, which were obeyed and respected; they had a public force, and revenue to maintain it; and the power of England was convenient, to supply men, money and arms.

The Pale was now become formidable, by its acquisitions of territory; but still more by the

support of England, which could give undivided attention to Irish affairs, as she had no continental wars to apprehend, nor any war with Scotland, as long as Elizabeth remained single, because James was certain of the succession in that case. The queen, then in the eleventh year of her reign, convened a parliament of the English province, partly to devise means of furthering the conquest of Ireland, and securing to the crown, subsidies and duties from present and future acquisitions; perhaps chiefly to propagate her adopted scheme of religion. As a great opposition was expected to some of these measures, no exertion was spared to prepare a majority for the crown, and a vote for the change of religion. To use the words of a protestant historian, “considerable management had been used, and even great irregularities committed, in the elections and returns of the commons. Stanihurst, recorder of Dublin, and Sir Christopher Barnewal, a favourite of the old English race, were proposed by their several partizans for the office of speaker: and the election of Stanihurst, by the influence of the court, served to enrage the party in opposition. Barnewal, who was esteemed for his political knowledge, insisted that the present House of Commons was most illegally constituted, and therefore opposed the admission of any bill; and he was supported by Sir Edmund Butler, who now appeared in his place. In proof of the assertion it was alledged, that several were returned members for towns not incorporated; that several sheriffs and ma-

gistrates of corporations had returned themselves; but above all, that numbers of Englishmen had been elected and returned as burgesses for towns which they had never seen nor known, far from being residents, as the laws direct.

Four days were spent in clamorous altercation; the discontented members declaring with great violence against receiving any bill, or proceeding on any business. The speaker attended the lord deputy and council, to explain their objections to the constitution of the House of Commons. The judges were consulted; and declared that those returned for towns not incorporated, and the magistrates who had returned themselves were incapable of sitting in parliament; but as to the members not resident in the towns for which they were returned, that they were entitled to their seats, and that the penalty of returning them should alight on the respective sheriffs; a decision which still left the government that majority of friends, which so much pains had been taken to acquire; and which of consequence increased the violence of the opposite party; nor did the clamour cease, until the judges came to the Commons House, and there avowed their opinion."* The corruption of the legislature, by false returns or otherwise, is one of the most heinous treasons that can be committed against society; yet this illegitimate proceeding was found necessary to gain a vote for the queen's new religion, as illegitimate as her

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. i. p. 241, 242.

birth.* In the house of lords there was also a strenuous opposition, both to the taxes and to the proposed change in religion.

The inhabitants of the Pale had, as it appears from this instance, as well as from others, somewhat degenerated. For, instead of changing from one religion to another, as their kindred in South Britain did, thrice in three reigns, as the pendulum obeys the impulse communicated to it, they opposed the measure with firm resolution. To what cause is this difference ascribable? Is it to mixture with Milesian blood, to the soil, climate, St. Patrick's blessing and promise, the exemplary conduct, piety and diligence of the clergy, or to all united, I shall not determine. The fact itself is obvious. Every effect must partake something of the nature of its productive and instrumental causes; "no bad tree bringeth

*The Pale parliament, in the 18th of Henry VIII. enacted, that the marriage of king Henry with queen Catherine was unlawful and void; the issue of said marriage (Mary) to be illegitimate; and the crown should descend to the children of his "most dear and entirely beloved wife queen Anne" (Elizabeth;) shortly after, on the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of Henry with Jane Seymour, it passed sentence of attainder on Anne, declared Henry's former marriages null and void, and placed the succession in his heirs by queen Jane. But no sooner had intelligence arrived, of the accession of Mary, than they annulled their former acts, declared Mary legitimate, and the crown to be vested in her and her heirs. With the same servility, they declare Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, to be rightly, lineally and lawfully descended, make all former acts derogatory thereto void, (and if 'twas in their power) consign them to oblivion.

forth good fruit." Now it is evident, that the reformation forced its way upon reluctant Irishmen, by these alarming means, a packed parliament, the terror of a vengeful queen, and the opinion of corrupt judges; and that the degenerate popish parliament of the English province defended the principles of the constitution, and the magna charta obtained by their ancestors, with the same zeal and courage with which they adhered to their religion, while the protestant parliament of England, of the same race, servilely bowed to the haughty commands of a tyrant.

Notwithstanding the staunch attachment of the colony to its own interests, it abated not of its rancorous antipathy to the ancient inhabitants; as appears from the attainder of Shane O'Neil, passed *nem. con.* and their impudent donation of almost all Ulster to the queen; as if he, a sovereign prince, could be denominated or treated as a rebel; as if all the territory were his private property, The fables and absurdities, contained in this act of attainder, deserve to be mentioned, as evidences of the national antipathy rancoring in the minds and hearts of the settlers.

In the preamble to this remarkable act, after stating, that they would be noted to the world for ingrate and unnatural people, did they not uphold and maintain the kingly estate with the rampier of their carcasses and consumption of their goods (lives and fortunes men;) that the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous, rich and well-governed regions, which were pos-

sessed by her majesty by the “ death and final destruction of that caitiffe and miserable reble Shane O’Nellie,” who refused the name of a subject, and took upon him the office of a prince, for whose manifold offences their intent was, to intitle her majesty, &c. to the dominion and territories of Ulster, as a foundation laid (perhaps the great object) for your highness to **PLANT and DISPOSE** the same for **ENCREASING OF YOUR REVENUE, STRENGTHENING OF US, &c.** it then proceeds to state that Henry VIII. had created his father earl of Tyrone, and his son Matthew, baron of Dungannon; that Shane after the decease of his father, usurped and took upon him the name of O’Neyle, with the superiority, &c. of all the lords and captains of Ulster, according to the Irish custome,* in scorne of the English creation: that he made war upon her majesty, took hostages from O’Reily; made O’Doneile of Tirconnel and his family prisoners; built a fort in an island in Tyrone, which he called Foohnegall, i. e. the hate of Englishmen; that he hanged two English spies; and cruelly tortured an English galloglass: then it allows, that he and the queen had made peace; mentions the proposed conference with the lord deputy at

* The Pale legislature knew, that he followed the custom of his house, which always claimed the sovereignty of Ulster. If O’Nial was really and bona fide a subject appearing in arms against his sovereign, there was no necessity to search for other parts of his life for his condemnation, or to patch up the queen’s title, to his private estate, on the fable of king Gurmunde and Belin; the existing laws were sufficient.

Dundalk, but conceals the cause, the massacre of his men at Derry; states his destroying the church of Armagh; his irruptions into Fermanagh, and into the Pale; his defeat; the dispersion of his followers; his intended submission: then follows his assassination, by the Scots, in which, to be sure, the deputy was not concerned. O'Neil, his secretary, and fifty horsemen, having joined the Scots, encamped at Claneboy, entered the tent of the commander, Alexander Oge, "where after a few dissembled gratulatorie words used betwixt them they fell to quaffing and drinking of wine. This Agnes Ileys sonne, all inflamed with malice and desire of revenge for the death of his father and uncle, began to minister quarelling talke to O'Neyle, who took same verie hot, and after some reproachfull words past betwixt them, the said Gillaspikie demaunded of the secretorie whether he had bruted abroad that the ladie his aunt, wife unto James Mac Conill, did offer to come out of Scotland into Ireland, to marrie with O'Neyle, the secretorie affirmed himselfe to be the author of that report, and said withall that if his aunt were queen of Scotland shee might be well contented to match herselfe with O'Neyle; the other with that gave him the lye, and said that the lady his aunt was a woman of that honestie and reputation, as would not take him that was the betrayer and murderer of her worthy husband. O'Neyle giving care to the talke, began to maintayne his secretorie's quarell, and thereupon Gillaspikie withdrew himselfe out of the tent and came

abroade amongst his men, who forthwith raised a fray and fell to killing of O'Neyle's men, and the Scotese as people thiristie of O'Neyle's bloud, for requiting the slaughter of their master and kinsfolke,* assembled together in a throng and thrust into the tent where the said O'Neyle was, and there with their slaughter swords hewed him to pieces, slew his secretorie and all those that were with him, except a verie few which escaped by their horses. Alexander Oge, after his bouchery handling of this cruell tyrant, caused his mangled carcassee to be caried to an old ruinous church neer unto the camp, where for lack of a better shroud he was wrapt in a kerns old shirt, and there miserably interred, a fit end for such a beginning, and a funerall pompe convenient for so great a defacer of God's temples, and withstander of his prince's lawes and regall authoritie. And after being foure dayes in earth, was taken up by William Pierce, and his head sundred from his bodie was brought unto the said lord deputie to Drogheda, the one-and-twentieth day of June, in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred threescore and seven, and from thence carried unto the citie of Dublin, where it was bodied with a stake, and standeth on the top of your majestie's castle of Dublin." Having thus dispatched O'Nial they proceed to state her many titles to Ulster, **FARR BEYOND** (they say) the lynage of the O'Nial's.

* This he did in the service of queen Elizabeth, and we see the envoy, captain Piers, stirred up the Scotch to revenge it on him.

And first the fable “ that at the beginning, afore the comming of Irishmen into the said land, they were dwelling in a province of Spaine, the which is called Biscan, whereof Byon was a member, and the chief citie. And that at the said Irishmen’s comming into Ireland, one king Gurmond, sonne to the noble king Belin, king of Great Britaine, which now is called England, was lord of Bayon, as many of his successours were to the time of king Henry the second, first conquerour of this realm, and therefore the Irishmen should be the king of England his people, and Ireland his land. Another title is, that at the same time that Irishmen came out of Biscay as exiled persons in sixty ships, they met with the same king Gurmond upon the sea, at the yles of Orcades, then comming from Denmark with great victory, their captaines called Heberus and Hermon, went to this king, and him told the cause of their comming out of Biscay, and him prayed with great instance that he would graunt unto them that they might inhabit some land in the west. The king at the last by advise of his councel granted them Ireland to inhabite, and assigned unto them guides for the sea to bring them thither: and therefore they should and ought to be the king of England’s men.” The act continues to assert many titles, after the invasion of Henry, not worthy to be hereinserted; (but what becomes of prescription? The O’Nials were in possession of Ulster upwards of twenty-five centuries;) after which it attaints O’Neil; confiscates not only his, but the lands

of his adherents;* endeavours to extinguish the name, and exempts† the chiefs of Ulster from their rule. “Thus was the name of O’Neal, with the power and dignity of the race, for ever annihilated: and a prince, acknowledged and obeyed as such during his life time, who constantly boasted that he never made peace with Elizabeth, but at her own request, after his death treated with all the indignity due to a rebel. But a princess, who could put to death a queen, who only came to seek an asylum in her country, from the rage of her own factious subjects, may well be excused for a slip of this kind.”‡

The English settlers now began to feel a foretaste of the great law of reaction, retaliating on them the persecutions they heaped on the more ancient inhabitants. While in that scandalous act of attainder of O’Neil, full of falsehoods and contradictions, they vented their spleen against the posterity of Milesius, the government struck them on two tender points, their liberty and religion. Several acts were extorted from them, in spite of all opposition, by a mock representation; the act of supremacy, together with the penalties against recusants; the act, vesting

* This confiscation remained a dead letter till the reign of James I. who confiscated Ulster again and planted it.

† This is an acknowledgement, that the right of sovereignty belonged to the name of O’Nial; why else make it treason to assume it? Why abolish the ceremonies of his creation, his authority, jurisdiction, &c? as it would be treason in a subject to take the title of king.

‡ Halloran, introd. to the study of the history and antiquity of Ireland, p. 260.

in the deputy the power of nominating to sees, under English influence, for ten years, consequently, that of appointing apostles of the new faith; an act for erecting free schools, as seminaries for the same purpose. An act, entitled "an act restoring to the crown the auncient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiasticall and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same," enacted, that all persons in office, civil or ecclesiastical, under pain of forfeiture thereof, should take the oath of supremacy; confiscation of property, for defending the unity of the church, the first punishment; the second, a whole year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprize; the third, high-treason, i. e. one convicted of having undergone the first two punishments for the catholic faith, and of having still continued to defend it by word or writing, to suffer the pains, penalties, and death of a traitor, not as a martyr. The act of uniformity enacted, that any clergyman, refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer, for the first offence, loss of one year's income, and six month's imprisonment; for second offence, deprivation of benefice, and one year's imprisonment; for third offence, imprisonment for life. To despise the Book of Common Prayer, or any thing therein contained; to procure or maintain any person, vicar or minister, in any place, to pray or minister sacraments different therefrom; for first offence, a fine of one hundred marks, if not paid, six months imprisonment; for the second offence, a fine of four hundred marks, if not paid, im-

prisonment for life; for third offence, not only confiscation of property, but imprisonment for life. These are the penalties for saying mass, and for maintaining and succouring a priest. All persons not going to church, and hearing protestant service, fined twelve pence, and subject to ecclesiastical censure; censures however not much dreaded. The protestant clergy and justices of the peace, were empowered to enforce this act; an act, which concludes by empowering the queen to appoint and prescribe other forms and ceremonies, as it may please her highness. Behold a profane woman, clothed with more than pontifical authority, and persecuting catholics with rancorous rage.

These violent acts of usurpation and persecution, were passed in the second year of her reign, under deputy Sussex; and must have been the act of such another packed parliament as that convened in the eleventh. The penalties, inflicted for speaking in favor of the catholic religion, or against her petticoat supremacy in spirituals, against the common-prayer book, were most alarming, as a single false witness might circumvent any man, however guiltless. Besides, might not an enemy, or a professional informer, artfully draw an honest man into conversation on the subject, on which, if he spoke at all, he could scarcely avoid telling his mind.

In the 11th of Elizabeth, and 4th session, the provincial parliament proceed to dispose of Ireland, as if already conquered; yet much remained to be done, to bring it to that state. Divided,

distracted, dismembered, enfeebled, it indisputably was ; yet, if the antient inhabitants could be brought to act in concert, by a sense of their impending destruction, under one leader, they were still too mighty for the settlers, or any force England could spare at that time. The most remarkable act in favour of the new religion passed in the fourth session was, an act, empowering the deputy to present to the dignities of Munster and Connaught, for ten years ; i. e. of appointing protestant pastors to teach catholic flocks ; and we have stated the penalties inflicted for non-attendance on these preachers in an unknown tongue. The act, absolving chieftains from obedience to provincial kings, was in some measure defeated by another act, absolving their inferiors from any duty to them, but making them immediately depend on the crown. The last explained to the chieftains the policy of the first ; and that both were meant to improve on the anarchy of the Milesians, and throw them into irremediable confusion. These acts were as yet on speculation ; nor could they be enforced without the reduction of the whole island, which would and did require a good many years, great effusion of blood, and expenditure of treasure to accomplish. The decrees of the colonial assembly did not hinder the northern Irish to keep possession of their estates, and to fight valiantly, during a long war, in their defence. The abbeys and seminaries still subsisted ; and the three northern bishoprics of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, were still granted by the pope.

While the old settlers thus indulged their hereditary hatred towards the antient Irish, together with the hope of exterminating them, and getting their properties, severe retaliation came upon them, not only by encroachments on their purses and liberties, and persecution of conscience, but by the overbearing insolence of new adventurers, "Those, whom the revival of the English power in Ireland, had tempted into this kingdom, came with the most unfavourable prejudices against the old natives; whom they were interested to represent (both those of the Irish and the old English race,) as dangerous and disaffected. The natives were provoked at the partiality shewn to these insolent adventurers; they were treated like aliens and enemies, (as the annalist of Elizabeth repeatedly observes,) and excluded with contemptuous insolence from every office of trust and honour."*

Sir Edward Butler, having become obnoxious to government, by his strenuous opposition to many of their favourite measures, a grant of some of his lands was made to Sir Peter Carew. His claims were resisted, and he was repelled by force of arms. They both complained to the deputy, commissioners were appointed to hear their cause; Butler alleged, that no justice could be expected from his mortal enemy, and disdained to appear before them. The threats and intrigues of Spain, the insurrection of James Fitz-Maurice, made this defiance appear alarm-

* Ireland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 248.

ing. The claimant of Butler's lands, now commanding Leighlin, was ordered to reduce him, and Carew accepted the commission with alacrity. "He stormed one of his castles and ravaged his lands. At Kilkenny he was informed that a party of the Butlers was collected at some distance from the town. They seem to have assembled implicitly at the command of their leader, as was usual in Ireland, and possibly were not apprised of his delinquency, or of his traiterous designs: for they took their station carelessly and securely, without discovering any intentions of annoying the town. Carew however determined to consider them as rebels; and leading his garrison against them, at one vigorous and unexpected onset put them to flight, and pursued them with terrible execution. Hooker describes his patron, marching with an inconsiderable body, attacking two thousand men, completely armed, and drawn up in military array, killing four hundred of their number, and this without the loss of one man; a circumstance which confutes his account, and shews that the party he attacked neither expected nor were prepared for hostilities: and the author incautiously confesses, that the citizens of Kilkenny were stricken with horror at the carnage, instead of exulting in the defeat of an enemy."*

Killed four hundred without the loss of one man!! This was one of the massacres alluded to in Lee's memorial; "that many of this country

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 250.

people were invited to a conference near her majesty's garrison, where they were inhumanly butchered." This might have been confounded with the massacre of Mullahmaistin, or there might have been two massacres at that boundary of the Pale and Leix.

In addition to our former, may be added the following reasons, that such a massacre did take place, in the reign of Philip and Mary, viz. the spot of the conference, the boundary of the two territories, which supposes that Leix and Ophaly were not as yet subdued. 2dly, The easy and rapid reduction of the two territories; which would not have been the case, if the leaders in war and counsel had not been cut off. 3dly, The actual colonization of the two districts, and the change of their names into that of King and Queen's county; and of their chief towns into Philipstown and Maryborough. 4thly, The no necessity of bringing a conference to the boundaries of the antient Pale, when the boundaries of the enlarged Pale were more suitable to the negociators. 5thly, The improbability, that four hundred unarmed gentlemen would venture through their antient patrimony, now in possession of the enemy, so far as the alleged place of conference. 6thly, Four hundred gentlemen, of lead and rank, would form the sum of such an extent of landed proprietors, before their subjugation. 7thly, Queen Elizabeth bore no such love to her sister and brother-in-law, as to dedicate the conquest and colonization of their territories to their names. 8thly, As in the case of the north,

when the confiscation thereof, under Elizabeth, could not be enforced, there was a fresh act of confiscation issued by James; so if the conquest and colonization had not been completed under Philip and Mary, the act of confiscation would be renewed by Elizabeth, on the final subjugation of the proprietors. As no such act passed, Elizabeth appears to have no claim to the massacre or conquest. She killed a Hessian for herself; had massacres enough of her own. Before the conquest of O'Moore and O'Connor, such a perfidious transaction might appear expedient or necessary, to the unrestrained policy of the invaders; after the conquest, it was superfluous.

In perusing the records of this blood-stained period, the unreflecting are liable to be misled, by the false colourings, forgeries, and misrepresentations of partial historians; nor do Cambden, Hooker, or Cox, throw fair light on the subject. We are told of the rebellions of Desmond, Butler and Lixnaw, but they do not inform us of the oppressions that provoked them. Whoever peruses the penalties* decreed on the exercise of the catholic religion, and on nonconformity to Elizabeth's new creed and ritual; the inflexible tyranny with which she and her officers inflicted them; the attack on the privileges of peers and commons; the rewards, held out from confiscated lands, for officers; the contempt and hatred of these new comers towards the old settlers, as papists and Irish, retaliating on them, what they

* See Appendix.

had done to the aboriginal inhabitants, will see abundant cause of insurrection. Infinitely short of these, were the provocations or apprehensions, that made English protestants rise against a popish king.

James Fitz-Maurice invested Kilkenny; which unable to take, he ravaged the country. He treated with some of the Irish chieftains; dispatched messengers to Rome and Spain, solliciting aid against the heretical, tyrannical persecutress of the faith. Fitz-Maurice soon found himself deserted by all those chieftains, who professed to espouse the cause. O'Brien fled at the first commencement of hostilities into France, where, by the mediation of Norris, the English ambassador, he obtained terms. Mac Carthy submitted. Tirlough Lynough, a feeble prince, partly a creature of English government, made some movements, took into his pay one thousand Scotch, and seemed to threaten the borders of the Pale. An accidental wound spread confusion through his camp; where all was bustle, canvassing for a successor to the chieftainry. The Scotch, receiving neither pay or plunder, dispersed; and the old chieftain was obliged to submit. Fitz-Maurice was obliged to fly before the queen's forces, to secret haunts, while the deputy proceeded through south and west Munster, terrifying the disaffected, receiving submission and auxiliaries from many of the most considerable in rank and fortune.

Sir John Perrot was appointed president of Munster, to carry on the war against Desmond.

He pursued the rebels vigorously, storming their castles, and chasing them from their haunts, without respite, until Fitz-Maurice, with some of his adherents, worn out with fatigue, toil and terror, were compelled to throw themselves at his feet. The inferior leaders in the insurrection were instantly executed, while Desmond was reserved for the queen's disposal. Thence he proceeded to subjugate the rest of Munster, by all the means of terror. The success of the queen's arms allowed Sydney to return to England, leaving the government in the hands of his brother Sir William Fitz-William.

Speculations now began to be formed in England, for obtaining estates in Ireland; and planting them with Englishmen. Sir Thomas Smyth, secretary to the queen, conceived the design of providing for his natural son, by a grant of Irish lands. A peninsula, called Ardes, in the east part of Ulster, from its situation easily defended, was assigned for the colony, which was accordingly conveyed thither; but the leader, Smyth, being slain by one of the proprietors, an O'Nial, the project was abandoned. The earl of Essex formed the plan of a more powerful and extensive colony. On the report of some commotions in Clanhuboy, he offered his services for reducing that district, and planting it with English settlers. It was settled, that he should possess a moiety of the plantation; that one thousand two hundred forces should be maintained, and fortifications raised, at the joint expence of the queen and earl. Four hundred

acres of land for every horseman, and two hundred for every footman, at two pence per acre, invited volunteers for the expedition; and the plantation was to be continued until two thousand English families were settled in it. Essex mortgaged his estate to the queen for ten thousand pounds; the lords Dacre and Rich, Sir Henry Knowles, and his four brothers, three sons of lord Norris, and other Englishmen of distinction, accompanied him. The favorite, Leicester, (for virgin Elizabeth, like virgin Catherine II. of Russia, had a succession of favorites,) secretly thwarted the newly-created earl, in conjunction with deputy Fitz-William. The expedition was too long delayed; the queen's soldiers ill-chosen and ineffective; their provisions tardily supplied and unsound. When the earl landed with his troops, the northern Irish were apprized and prepared for him. Brian Mac Phelim O'Nial, Hugh, son to the earl of Dunganon, and Tirlough Lynough, united against him, and harassed his forces by perpetual skirmishes. His noble associates quickly repented of their engagements, in an enterprize so unpromising; and under one pretence or another, withdrew one by one to their native country. Essex pathetically represented his situation to the queen, when his enemies found new pretences of detaining him in Ireland.

Representations were sent over from Ireland, stating the country to be every where in commotion. The remnant of the O'Moores were turbulent. Brian Mac Murchad took arms, and

defeated the Wexfordians. The sons of Clanrickard were in arms. The earl of Desmond, and his brother found means to escape to their territory, where they were received with exultation by their followers, breathing vengeance for the severities they had endured. To encrease the alarm, letters from Rome had been intercepted, exhorting the Irish to hold out against the queen's government; with an assurance of a supply of money and troops, and absolution to themselves and posterity to the third generation. These causes of alarm, whether real, feigned or aggravated, persuaded the queen to command the stay of Essex in Ireland, for assisting the deputy against her enemies. 'Tis likely also,

Brian Mac Murchad was easily persuaded to lay down his arms, by a simple act of justice. The sons of Clanrickard were reduced and pardoned; their insurrection having been compelled by the tyranny of president Fitton; who was, on their complaints being found true, dismissed from the presidency of Connaught. Desmond, vigorously pursued by Essex and Kildare, was obliged to renew his submission and allegiance. Essex now returned to the prosecution of his schemes in Ulster; where he attempted to execute his project of plantation a l'Anglois, untinged by the least infusion of Irish degeneracy. "On the conclusion of a peace he invited Bryan O'Neil of Clanhuboy, with a great number of his relations, to an entertainment, where they lived together in great harmony, making good cheer for three days and nights; when, on a

sudden, O'Neal was surprised with an arrest, together with his brother and wife, by the earl's order. His friends were put to the sword before his face; nor were the women and children spared, he was himself, with his brother and wife, sent to Dublin, where they were cut in quarters." The annalist observes, that "this increased the disaffection, and produced the detestation of all the Irish: for this chieftain of Clanhuby, was the senior of his family, and as he had been universally esteemed, he was now as universally regretted."* It seems, however, the perfidious butchery of his guests availed him nought; for the turbulence and perfidiousness of the Irish, "and the insidious practices of Leicester and his partizans, involved him in a series of perplexities. When he had been wearied into a resignation of his authority, he was commanded to resume it: when he had resumed it, and for a while proceeded with success, he was again ordered to resign it. When he had at length obtained permission to return to England, he was again remanded into Ireland, with the insignificant title of earl marshal of this country. Here vexation and disappointment soon put an end to his life, which involved Leicester in the suspicion of having caused this unhappy nobleman to be poisoned; a suspicion which he himself encreased by hastily marrying the countess of Essex."† Strange language! to call the defence of liberty, religion and property, against barba-

* Annals of Dunagall, M. S.

† Leland, Vol. II. Book VI. c. ii. p. 258.

rous, perfidious, inhuman invaders of all these most valuable blessings of life, perfidy and turbulence ! But we must make some allowance for the splenetic humours of an English or Anglo-Irish writer, treating of mere native Irish, and their affairs.

Sir William Fitz-William, weary of the public hatred he had incurred, and of the complicated difficulties he involved himself in, desired his recal. He was replaced by Sir Henry Sydney, whose reluctance to accept the office was overcome by the communication of extensive powers ; and the promise of an annual remittance of twenty thousand pounds, in aid of the ordinary revenues of Ireland. On his landing in 1570, a plague, raging in the Pale, prevented his approach to the capital ; and the turbulence of the Scotch settlers in the north, who had made hostile attempts on the garrison of Carrigfergus, determined him to march to Ulster. He marched through Ulster and Connaught, at the head of six hundred men, without the least molestation ; composing petty broils, and receiving assurances of amity towards the English government. The earl of Clanrickard's sons alone, presumed to break out into fresh extravagances after his departure. On his returning quickly, they fled to the woods ; their castles were taken, and their father, suspected of favouring their rebellion, was committed to close custody. For the good government of the south, he prevailed on the queen to appoint Sir Edward Drury, president of Munster, in the room of Perrot, returned to England. Like his pre-

decessor, he held his courts regularly, administered justice impartially, enforced a strict observance of English manners, and a dutiful submission to English law. So Leland.

The county of Kerry, made palatine for the Desmond family by Edward III., was now the only refuge for fugitives in Munster. Thither Drury resolved to extend his jurisdiction, regardless of antient patents. Desmond, finding the president obstinate in his purpose, reserved himself for an appeal to the deputy, receiving Drury in the mean time with all honor and submission, inviting him to his house in Tralce. "The invitation was accepted; when on the arrival of Drury with a train of a hundred and twenty men in arms, a body of seven hundred followers of Desmond, tall, active, and vigorous, appeared at some distance, and advanced upon him. The president, unacquainted with the customs of this district, and filled with the suspicions and jealous prejudices of an English stranger, at once concluded that he had been betrayed, and was to be surrounded and cut to pieces. He encouraged his followers, to prevent this formidable enemy, and to charge them without waiting to be attacked. The first onset at once dispersed the Desmonians; who, without attempting the least hostility, fled with the utmost astonishment and precipitation: and the countess of Desmond was left to explain this extraordinary incident. She assured the president that these men neither intended nor expected hostilities; that their flight was not the effect of

cowardice, but amazement and confusion at being treated as enemies, when they had assembled peaceably to do him honour; that they had been collected by her lord merely to entertain him with hunting, in which the men of Kerry were remarkably expert and vigorous. Drury affected to be satisfied with this explanation; and proceeded to execute the laws within the liberties of the earl of Desmond, without controul or opposition.”*

The English interest being now established in Munster and Connaught, the deputy bethought himself of a scheme to recommend himself to the favor of his English masters. The heavy charge of maintaining the English power in Ireland, instead of deriving any emolument therefrom, was a subject of constant complaint in England; nor could any service be performed more acceptable to them, than the alleviation of the burden. For the maintenance of the royal garrison, and the governor's household, certain assessments were laid on the English districts, settled by the consent of the principal inhabitants of each. Sydney designed to change the occasional subsidy into permanent revenue, by substituting a composition instead of the assessment, and exacting it from all the subjects. His court encouraged him to pursue his plan. He first began, by proclamation, to dissolve those liberties which had ever claimed an exemption from the antient charge of purveyance; or to curtail the privi-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book VI. c. ii. p. 262.

leges of those whose legality could not be impeached; and then proceeded to a general imposition of the new tax, by mere authority of council, and by virtue of the queen's prerogative. A general and violent discontent was the immediate consequence. Those, whose liberties were invaded; those who cheerfully contributed to the assessment in its former mode; the secretly dissatisfied, and the loyal, were provoked at a tax, so unconstitutional and oppressive, and united in a spirited remonstrance to the deputy and council. Sydney, after a deliberation of some days, replied, that, as to the liberties dissolved, they appeared to be invalid or expired; as to the burden of the tax, her majesty was contented, that it should not exceed five months for every plough land; as to its authority, it was imposed by the queen's prerogative. So novel, and so repugnant to every principle of law and justice, did this doctrine of raising money by prerogative appear, to the subjects of Ireland; so confident were the remonstrants in the validity of their plea, that they humbly besought the deputy's permission to repair to the court of England, and there lay their cause before the queen. Sydney coldly replied, that he would neither sanction, nor yet restrain their appeal.

“Opposition, in a cause so popular, gained daily accessions of strength, and was animated by the public applause: the principal lords through all parts of the realm refused obedience to the edict of council, and enjoined their tenants and dependents by no means to pay the assess-

ment. The inhabitants of the Pale assembled, deliberated, and at length resolved to entrust their cause to three agents, eminent for their knowledge of the laws, and zealous opposers of the present tax. They were sent into England with letters to the queen and to the English council, signed by the lords Baltinglass, Delvin, Hoath, Trimbleston, Bellew, Nangle, some of the families of Plunket and Nugent, with other distinguished inhabitants of the counties of Meath and Dublin, in the names of all the subjects of the English Pale. They complained of the grievance they sustained by the tax, and that they had been denied redress by the lord deputy; they urged the illegality and oppressive burden of the tax, and the various abuses committed in the exaction of it.”* But this genuine daughter of Henry resolved on maintaining prerogative. The Irish agents were committed to the Fleet, as contumacious opposers of the royal authority. The queen’s letters to Sir Sydney and the Irish council, reprimanded them for not having instantly committed and punished these refractory subjects, who durst deny the legality of the composition; commanding, that all, who superscribed the present application to the throne, should be summoned before them; and if they should persist in their opposition, should be committed to close imprisonment; that all her servants and counsellors, learned in the law, who had neglected to maintain her prerogative,

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 263.

should be removed from their offices. All these severities proved insufficient to operate on the lords and gentlemen of the Pale. " They appeared before the council, and there, peremptorily adhering to their former declarations, and denying the legality of any tax not regularly established in parliament, were committed to close durance in the castle of Dublin. Their agents in England on a second examination appeared equally determined; and therefore were removed from the Fleet to the Tower; which implied that their offence was considered as of a treasonable nature. The whole body of Irish subjects were alarmed and confounded at this rigour, which they imputed to the practices of Sydney, and whom of consequence they loaded with the most virulent invectives. Their clamours were so violent, as even to startle the arbitrary queen and her obsequious counsellors. They dreaded the consequence of a general discontent in a country which harboured so many secret enemies to government, and therefore closed their imperious denunciations of vengeance by accepting an equivocal submission from the Irish agents, who acknowledged that the manner of their application had been undutiful, but disavowed all intention of impeaching the queen's just prerogative. They gave security to render themselves before the lord deputy, and were remitted to Ireland. Here they repeated their submission, and were dismissed: some of the confined lords and gentlemen regained their liberty by a like submission. Nor were the more

spirited and obstinate broken by any further severity. Sydney was instructed to bring this violent and dangerous dispute to some speedy accommodation:* a composition for purveyance was by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, settled for seven years; and the malecontents were discharged. All the rage of indignation and resentment fell on the lord deputy. He was accused of wantonly alienating the affections of the Irish subjects; of ruling without temper, policy, or discretion; of lavishing the revenue; of discouraging and despising the well-affected; of carelessly or corruptly pardoning the most notorious rebels and offenders. Nor was Sydney insensible to the sting of popular odium. He grew weary of a government, in which every act of administration was strictly scrutinized, and severely interpreted; and made pressing instances to the queen, that she would be pleased to recal him."†

History is the best refutation of those ignorant bigots, who assert, without authority or reason, that papists are unfit for freedom. The spirited defence of their constitutional rights, and opposition to arbitrary government, made at sundry times, as well as the present, has been at no time equalled by the protestant Pale that succeeded it.

The conclusion of this dispute is only to be

* This appears from a letter written by the English council to the lords justices of Ireland, dated April 30, 1584.

† Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 265.

explained by the apprehension of foreign enemies. The assistance, given by Elizabeth to the revolted Netherlands, naturally pointed out Ireland to Philip, as a proper scene for retaliation. At Rome, every fugitive, who could suggest any scheme of annoying the persecutress of the catholic faith, was favourably received. Of this sort was an English adventurer, Thomas Stukely, whose enterprising genius had raised him to some notice in Ireland, and even gained him the attention of deputy Sydney. He arrived at Rome, the center of conspiracy against Elizabeth, was well received by the Irish ecclesiastics, and introduced to the pope, as a distinguished friend to the catholic cause. With pope Pius V. his project did not succeed, but his successor, Gregory XIII. listened more attentively to his plans, artfully hinting the facility with which his nephew, Jacomo Boncompagno, might be established king of Ireland. The ambitious old man received the overture with delight, practised with Spain, amused Philip with the hope of burning the English fleet, by the address and valor of Stukely, and of expelling Elizabeth from all her dominions, by first beginning with the invasion of Ireland. Eight hundred Italians were raised for this expedition, commanded by Stukely, in the pay of Philip. Another Irish exile meditated a descent on his country. Fitz-Maurice, after his liberation from prison, subsequent to his reduction by Perrot, retired to the continent, thirsting for revenge. His solicitations at the court of France, after two years

expectations and disappointment, proving fruitless, he next applied to Spain, where he was received with more attention. " Philip sent him to the pope; Gregory was readily prevailed on by Saunders the famous ecclesiastic, and Allen, an Irish priest, to favour his design of an invasion. A bull was drawn up addressed to the prelates, princes, nobles, and people of Ireland, exhorting them to assist Fitz-Maurice for the recovery of their liberty, and the defence of the holy church; and promising to all his adherents the same spiritual indulgences granted to those who fought against the Turks: a banner was solemnly consecrated and delivered to this champion of the faith: and as Saunders and Allen both consented to attend Fitz-Maurice into Ireland, the former was invested with the dignity of legate. The conspirators thus strengthened by the authority and benediction of the holy father, and furnished with some money, were sent to king Philip, who was to supply the forces necessary for their enterprize."*

Elizabeth, informed of these designs, prepared forces for the Irish service, by sea and by land. Her ships were stationed to guard the Irish coast, and Sydney had orders to quell by lenity and conciliation every remains of commotion in Ireland. Stukely embarked at Civita Vecchia, and arrived at the mouth of the Tagus, when Don Sebastian was invited to Africa by Mahomet, son of Abdalla, king of Fez. On explain-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 268.

ing his design, the king pressed him first to join in his African expedition; promising, on his return to attend him into Ireland. The king of Spain, having discovered the pontiff's intentions in favour of his nephew, readily consented. Stukely, with his Italians, followed the standard of Portugal, and fell with Sebastian. The death of king Sebastian diverted the Spaniard from his design against Elizabeth to the invasion of Portugal.

Though Philip renounced the design of conquering the British islands, he was still inclined to annoy Elizabeth by insurrections. Fitz-Maurice therefore, on his return to Spain, though he could not obtain an efficient force, was not entirely unnoticed. He obtained a troop of about fourscore Spaniards; to whom, uniting some fugitive English and Irish, he embarked his little force in three ships, and landed in Kerry, at a bay called Smerwick. Saunders and Allen hallowed the place, and assured the invaders of success in the glorious cause of the church. Their transports, cut off by a ship of war, that lay in the harbour of Kinsale, left them destitute of relief or retreat. On their first summons, Sir John and Sir James, brothers to the earl of Desmond, joined them with their followers. The earl himself, acting for the present on the reserve, made a shew of loyalty, by mustering his forces, and summoning the earl of Clancarthy to his assistance; who, impatient of his tergiversation, retired in disgust. Fitz-Maurice could not suppress his vexation at so great a disappoint-

ment; rightly judging that the temporizing half measures of the earl would ruin the enterprize, and the family of Desmond in its consequences. He even hinted a suspicion, that Sir John Desmond was capable of betraying his associates, to purchase his own safety. John, stung with this reproach, resolved to efface all suspicion, by a decided act of hostility against the government.

Henry Davels, an officer in the English service, intimate with the Geraldines of south Munster, was sent to reconnoitre the position and strength of the invaders, and to sound the earl of Desmond, and his kindred associates, as to the part they meant to espouse. On his return to the deputy with all the necessary information as to the dispositions and force of the enemy, and the probable disaffection of the Geraldines, Sir John, judging it for the benefit of the cause to deprive government of this mass of intelligence, pursued him with a chosen band, and overtook him at Tralee. There they massacred him and his companions, as one escaping might reveal their situation. Leland works up this massacre into a tragic scene, with such pathetic circumstances as he borrowed from his own imagination; yet such has been the fate of spies in all countries, as soon as they were discovered in their proper character. The foreigners, meanwhile, were impatient to see the vast concourse of discontented Irish, of whose junction they were assured. Fitz-Maurice, no less chagrined, persuaded them to maintain their station, with

promise of powerful support, while he professed a pilgrimage to the holy cross in Tipperary, in consequence of a vow he had made in Spain; under cover of which, he concealed his design of enticing the discontented in Connaught and Ulster to unite with him. His first essay was in the country of the De Burghos, where he seized some carriage horses necessary for his train. Sir William de Burgho, head of the neighbouring sept, reclaimed them. In a scuffle that ensued, Fitz-Maurice, and one of the sons of Mac William, fell by each other's swords. Of such consequence the death of Fitz-Maurice appeared to the queen, that she wrote a letter of acknowledgement to de Burgho, and soon afterwards created him a peer. Sir William Drury marched with the forces of government to meet the insurgents, and from Kilmallock summoned the lords and gentlemen of Munster to join him with their followers. They readily obeyed; Even Desmond, with a well appointed company of horse and foot, attended his standard. Yet such were the suspicions entertained of him, or so greedy were the recent adventurers for his immense property, and so desirous, at all hazards, to involve him in rebellion, that he was committed to custody. After he was liberated, on promise of loyalty and fidelity, this severity so wrought on his fears, that he retired from the camp; and though he still professed his attachment to the crown, and his son was an hostage for his good conduct, he declined attending the deputy. Hitherto Desmond had given no proofs

of a rebellious disposition. His declining the task of making war on his brothers, such of his kindred, and their followers, as took up arms in defence of their country and religion, might rest on other motives. The cause was popular, and he might be deserted by his vassals; an instance of which we shall see in the young branch of this family, tutored in Bess's religion, and sent to Ireland; who, on discovery of the same, was treated with the utmost scorn and abhorrence. The grievances of which he complained, might be of such a nature as to cool his loyalty and attachment to a persecuting queen. If the earl of Desmond meditated war, and was really implicated in this insurrection, he was one of the weakest of men. He had made no provisions or preparations for the hazardous conflict. He had not armed or trained his followers; nor put his castles in a state of siege. He had not procured ammunition or ordinance for the service; nor secured any firm alliance or partizans. Had he really embarked early in the enterprize, his foreign and domestic correspondence could hardly have eluded the vigilance of Bess's emissaries, and his consciousness of this would have induced him to espouse the cause immediately, with all his resources. As for papers, found on a dead man, by people thirsting for the dividends of immense property, they must appear to every considerate person very suspicious evidence. As for the cause of this local insurrection; if the revolution of 1689 was justifiable, the Irish insurrections against Elizabeth were much more

so. The one was suspected of a design to restore the catholic religion, without persecuting the protestant: the other openly and furiously persecuted the catholic, the national and established religion of Ireland, which she endeavoured to hide under the mask of punishment for state crimes. She at once invaded their civil and religious liberties; and if ever resistance be lawful, which none but the slavish abettors of passive obedience will deny, it was against such atrocious tyranny.

After the death of Fitz-Maurice, the foreigners had no other resource, but to submit to the guidance of Sir John Desmond. They abandoned their station at Smerwick; and in order to evade this rencounter of superior forces, were distributed in different quarters in Kerry. The insurgents now held on the defensive; and nine weeks were spent to no purpose, endeavouring to come up with Sir John; who hovered about the royal army, and kept them in continual alarm, without suffering them to attack him. A party of two hundred, who attempted to surprise one of his detachments, was cut to pieces on their return. Such petty advantages revived the hopes of the insurgents, and encreased their numbers. Drury, on the other hand, had his losses seasonably repaired, by a reinforcement of six hundred men from England, while Perrot was stationed on the coast, with ships of war, to cut off all assistance from the rebels. The deputy, sick of fatigue, retired to Wexford in a languishing state, committing the army to Sir

Nicholas Malby. Hearing that Sir John Desmond lay encamped within a few miles of Limerick, Malby marched to attack him. In a plain, adjoining to an old abbey, called Monaster Neva, he found the forces of Sir John in array, prepared to give battle; and their attack was so vigorous, and so obstinately maintained, that the fortune of the day seemed a long time doubtful. The good fortune of the English at length prevailed. Desmond's forces were routed, and pursued with great slaughter.

After this victory, the earl of Desmond sent a gratulatory epistle to the English general, which was received as a dissimulation of his rebellious disposition, and he was ordered to surrender and renew his promise of fealty. But, mindful of the insulting severities with which he was treated, when he joined the English army in the beginning of the campaign, he refused to put himself in the power of any of the queen's officers. Hereupon Malby removed to Rathkeale, a town belonging to the earl, either to terrify him into absolute submission, or what is more probable, to goad him to resistance, in the expectation of sharing a dividend of his vast estate. Desmond was provoked, by this unwarrantable attack on his territory, to make a night attack on the English camp. Malby thereupon was preparing to reduce his castles, when the intelligence of Drury's death put an end to his authority; so, distributing his forces into garrisons, he retired to his government of Connaught.

While the Desmonians exulted in this suspension of hostilities, and were annoying the English garrisons, the council chose Sir William Pelham provisional deputy, who proceeded without delay to renew the war in Munster. There he was powerfully reinforced, and sent the earl of Ormond to the earl of Desmond, commanding him to surrender, and acquainting him with the terms on which his submission would be accepted. He must surrender Dr. Saunders, and the other strangers harboured in the country; one of his castles, either Askeaton or Carrick-a-Foyle, must be delivered to the queen, as a pledge of his future conduct; and submit to the judgment of her majesty and council of England, or to that of the deputy and Irish council; and meanwhile give assistance in the present war, against his brethren, and all other traitors. His answer was, a complaint of injuries. He was thereupon proclaimed a traitor, if within twenty days he did not submit. The earl's territory was purposely made the seat of war, and exposed to the ravages of a necessitous, licentious, and blood-thirsty soldiery. In revenge, Desmond and his brother appeared before the town of Youghal, which they took, and cut off a detachment sent by Ormond for its succour. Elated by this success, the Geraldines declare themselves the champions of the catholic faith, in alliance with the holy see, and the king of Spain, inviting the faithful to join in defence of their hearths and altars; in defence of their lives, liberties and properties; in defence of what

should be dearer than all earthly considerations, their holy religion, their hope of a happy immortality, to resist a persecution more cruel and perfidious than any recorded in the annals of heathen persecution. This invitation had little effect, on a nation incurably rent by family quarrels, local claims, and national antipathies. They felt the force of the appeal; and, though they shrunk at present from the call of nature's rights, they all successively, and therefore unsuccessfully, had recourse to arms, in defence of their rights. Saunders's letters to de Burgho were delivered to Sir Nicholas Malby, and served to discover the views and hopes of the insurgents. In the Pale their applications were more favourably received. Several of the English, as well as the old Irish race, were goaded by persecutions to declare openly for the national faith.

During this time, Desmond, who had been wholly unprepared for war, saw his vast patrimony wasted with fire and sword; the unarmed defenceless population mowed down with indiscriminate slaughter; such as escaped the sword, a prey to the still more horrible doom of famine, himself hunted, like an abject outlaw, from one retreat to another, unable to meet the enemy in the field, and confined to nightly excursions. Several of his vassals, hearing that admiral Winter was on the coast, and had commission to execute martial law, fled to him for protections, which they extorted from the earl, by the piteous representation of their calamities.

“ Which the soldiers,” saith Hooker with a shocking indifference, “ did very much mislike, “ the same, to be somewhat prejudicial to her “ majesty’s service, because they persuaded “ themselves, that if they had followed the course “ which they began, they should either have taken “ or slain them all.” Such was the temper of this man, who could express regret at a little mercy shewn to wretches who scarcely knew any duty but that of implicit obedience to their lords! when at the time that their lives were spared, they were frequently bereft of all means of support; and when their cattle had been seized, he assures us, that they were seen following the army with their wives and children, and begging that all might be rescued from their miseries by the sword, rather than thus condemned to waste by famine.”*

From these circumstances it is evident, either that Desmond was an idiot, or was forced into hostilities unprepared, and in spite of himself. That his brethren, aided by many of his followers, revolted, makes no positive proof of his consent to an undertaking so popular. We have seen, that lord Thomas Fitzgerald revolted, in spite of the remonstrances of his uncles; and that the earl of Ormond’s brothers drew his followers into a revolt, which he quelled, more by his personal influence over his brethren, and the weight of his arguments, than by his authority, as head of the Butlers.

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 278.

The preparations for defence, being confined to the parts of the county of Kerry where his brother's influence chiefly prevailed, and the defenceless state of his own immediate domain, render his participation in the plot of insurrection very improbable. His greatest crime consisted in his attachment to the catholic faith, his support of catholic seminaries and catholic clergymen, and his princely domain, which would reward adventuring converts to the new gospel. Nothing like war occurs in this butchery of a defenceless people, except the sieges of a few forts, defended by small garrisons. The castle of Carrick-a-Foyle was defended by fifty Irish and nineteen Spaniards, commanded by an Italian officer, named Julio. After a brave resistance it was taken, the garrison was put to the sword, except a few, among whom was the commanding officer, reserved to be hanged, in 1580. Most probably they were hung in sight of one of Desmond's forts; for the little garrisons of the other castles, terrified by these barbarities, and seeing that the laws of civilized warfare were not to be observed toward them; that neither treaty nor capitulation afforded security, abandoned their posts. In this abject situation, Desmond, his countess, with a few faithful followers, lived in constant terror and distress. Sir James, one of his brothers, was surprised and executed. As usual with the unfortunate, he and his brother John, came to mutual reproaches. The countess in vain fell upon her knees, and petitioned with tears, that her husband should

be received to mercy. His force, as a rebel, was now too inconsiderable, and his possessions to be forfeited were of too princely an extent, for the queen's ministers to admit of pardon or submission. Even his offer of surrender to admiral Winter, on condition of being conveyed prisoner to England, there to supplicate the royal mercy, at the foot of the throne, was rejected. In their now desponding situation, a gleam of hope seemed to draw on the southern insurgents. The justice was suddenly recalled from the south, by the arrival of Arthur, lord Grey, his successor; leaving the Munster army, of about three thousand, to the command of Bouchier, earl of Bath.

Grey, who was instructed, among other particulars, to shorten the Irish wars by a vigorous prosecution, hearing of an encampment of insurgents at Gleandalough, formed by O'Byrne and lord Baltinglass, grew impatient to signalize his zeal. Fraught with contempt of the Irish, like the rest of his countrymen, inexperienced in their mode of warfare, he peremptorily commanded all the officers to collect their companies, and drive these rebels from their retreats. "They were to enter a steep and marshy valley, perplexed with rocks, and winding irregularly through hills thickly wooded. As they advanced, they found themselves more and more encumbered; and either sunk into the yielding soil, so as to be utterly incapable of action, or were obliged to clamber over rocks which disordered their march. In the midst of confusion and distress, a sudden

volley from the woods was poured in upon them, without any appearance of an enemy; and repeated with terrible execution. Soldiers and officers fell, without any fair opportunity of signaling their valour. Audley, Moore, Cosby, and Sir Peter Carew, all distinguished officers, were slain in this rash adventure. George Carew, the younger brother, was restrained from following his companions by his uncle Wingfield, master of the Ordnance, and thus reserved for nobler service. Lord Grey, who had waited the event upon a neighbouring eminence, returned, with the remains of his forces, to the seat of government, covered with confusion and dishonour.”* Sir Robert Walpole, in our own memory, paid dearly for a similar precipitation and contempt of an Irish enemy. This check was succeeded by an alarm from the south. Seven hundred Spaniards and Italians had made good their landing at Smerwick. They brought arms and ammunition for five thousand men, and a large sum of money, which they were ordered to deliver to Desmond, his brother John, and Dr. Saunders.

The earl of Ormond, now commanding in Munster, on the first alarm of the descent, marched to oppose the invaders; who at his approach, sought shelter in a neighbouring wood; but, on learning that his force was not as great as they first imagined, their commander, with about 300 of his men, returned to their origi-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. ii. p. 280.

nal stations, whence a successful sortie forced Ormond to retreat to Rathkeale, and await the arrival of the deputy Grey, who led 800 men from Dublin, which united to the 3000 left by Pelham, in Munster, formed a force very superior to the invaders, and what was of no less moment, admiral Winter resumed his station off the coast, to co-operate with the deputy. The fort was thus invested by sea and land, and the garrison summoned to surrender, to declare who they were, for what purpose sent, and why presume to fortify themselves in the queen's dominions. They answered that they were sent by the pope and the king of Spain, to extirpate heresy, and to reduce the land to the obedience of king Philip, who was vested by the holy father with the sovereignty of Ireland. This answer was seconded by a vigorous sortie, in which they were repulsed. The very next night, Winter landed the artillery from his ships, and cutting through a bank, which lay between the shore and the coast, drew up his cannon, and completed his battery by the dawn of day, while Grey made the like preparations on the landside. The fort was now again summoned, but the foreigners, unacquainted with their danger, or the nature of their enemy, boldly replied, that they would maintain their posts, and endeavour to extend their acquisitions. In fine, the garrison, say the Pale writers, fatally surrendered at discretion; and after surrendering their arms, a company of English was sent into the fort, who killed them all in cold blood, except some reserved to be

hanged from the battlements, in terror to their Irish allies, now coming within sight. Fatal indeed such a cowardly surrender was, if proved true. By the opposite party it was represented as a perfidious and an inhuman violation of a solemn treaty, whereby Grey had engaged by oath to permit the foreigners to depart unmolested, with all the honors of war. This is the more probable account, for we read of no practicable breach as yet for an assault, no lodgment, nor attempt to take it by storm. The besieged expected, and the besiegers dreaded, the speedy arrival of an Irish force, perhaps succours from Spain, to raise the siege. The law of honor obliged the garrison to hold out as long as possible; policy dictated to the besiegers, to obtain a speedy surrender of the fort on any terms; an advantage, which promises, treaties and oaths would not be spared to acquire. The murderers furnish some proofs against themselves. First, an Italian, the commander, determined to capitulate, contrary to the opinion of his officers. Now if the officers opposed capitulation, considering the fort as yet tenable, how much more would they oppose a cowardly surrender at discretion, not justified by any cogent necessity. Secondly, If the number was too formidable to be made prisoners, and the Irish were approaching in a body of one thousand five hundred men, how much more formidable must they not appear armed, and in possession of the fort, when their Irish allies came in view; especially as the haughty

Englishman had been taught, in his signal defeat by O'Byrne, at Glendalough, no longer to despise an Irish force? His fears, no doubt, prompted the threatening language he held to the garrison, for none threaten so hard as cowards; their Irish allies were said to be cut off; no succours from Spain; the coasts guarded by English fleets; if taken by assault, no quarters to be given. Splendid promises gained over the commander-in-chief and a few others, honourable terms promised to all, for the surrender so eagerly panted for by Grey. With whatever pretences or professions they endeavoured to cloak their hellish deed, it "could not efface the odiousness of this action; on the continent it was received with horror."* That the deputy Grey was a monster fitted for so foul a treason, we have the best authority, that of Elizabeth's counsel and agents, "Repeated complaints were made of the inhuman rigor practiced by this deputy and his officers; the queen was assured, that he tyrannized with such barbarity, that little was left in Ireland for her majesty to reign over, but ashes and dead carcasses."† To which she replied, in the strain of crocodile pity, "Alas! I fear it will be said of me, as Bato said to Tiberius, You, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to shepherds but to wolves."

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 283.

† Ib. p. 287.

The invasion being thus disposed of, and the affairs of Munster quieted for the present, Zouch was appointed governor of Kerry, Sir Walter Raleigh commandant of Cork, and lord Grey returned to Leinster, to oppose the progress of lord Baltinglass and his allies, daily becoming more formidable. Tutored, however, by his first campaign at Glendalough, he declined the dangerous honor of encountering O'Byrn in his glens or mountains; but, leaving that task to other commanders, occupied himself in detecting a fabricated conspiracy, pretended to be formed in the seat of government, by the principal inhabitants of the Pale. That the earl of Kildare had engaged to seize on the castle of Dublin; and that others, both of the English and Irish, were joined in the confederacy; that it was discovered by the wife of one of the associates, prompted by jealousy to open his letters. Camden took up the tale, stating, "that the principal families of English blood in Leinster, partly from affection to the Romish religion and its ministers, who were sore persecuted; partly out of hatred to the new-come English," who gave them like measure as they gave unto the aboriginals, excluding them, like mere Irish, from every office of government and magistracy," had "conspired to seize on the deputy and the castle by surprize, where all provisions necessary for war were deposited, and to put every Englishman in Ireland to the sword." This last circumstance robs the tale of any degree of credibility. Hooker, a cotemporary writer, resident and employed in Ireland, and no

way partial to the old English, takes no notice of this formidable conspiracy; but slightly mentions a design on the deputy's person. Lord Grey was a true pupil of the prevailing system of policy and religion in the court of London; and, seeing the great advantages, both for power and wealth, accruing to his masters from the fabrication of plots, he resolved to copy their example. Rumours were circulated; and he procured alarming information to be sent to him. Several were seized, and some were executed; of whom the most distinguished was Nugent, baron of the Exchequer, a man of singular good life and reputation, who persevered in asserting his innocence, though he had assurance of pardon if he would confess his guilt and disclose the plot. The earl of Kildare and lord Delvin were on suspicion committed to the custody of Wingfield, master of the ordinance. Lord Henry, the earl's son, took refuge among his fosterers in O'Faly, who declared they would protect him against the malice of his enemies, and were ready to rise in arms. After repeated efforts to prevail upon them to surrender him, they at length agreed to resign him to the earl of Ormond. What a contrast, this noble generosity towards a fugitive of an implacable hostile race of exterminators, and the murderous banquets and murderous negotiations of the latter. Together with his father and lord Delvin, he was sent into England, where they were all honourably acquitted. Grey was justly represented as a man of blood, who dishonoured his nation and sovereign among

foreigners, and alienated the hearts of all the Irish, by repeated barbarities.

The English colonists began to receive like measure as they measured to the antient Irish. New adventurers from the same stock, with a new religion, eyed them with the same hatred and contempt, as they did the Milesians, and with a similar longing for their property and blood. "The province of Munster was governed with rigour and severity by the officers stationed in the several districts, who were reinforced by troops sent at different times from England. The distinguished families of the old English race, who still adhered to the popish religion, were naturally suspected of favouring the rebels. They declined furnishing their quotas to the queen's service; and yet, were seen in arms; for self-defence, as they pretended. And it was the interest of the English officers to represent their conduct in the severest light. If once declared rebels, their lands and property lay at the mercy of their pursuers. Orders were dispatched from Dublin to seize the castle of lord Barry, whose practices had been most obnoxious; but this lord, in the rage of indignation, set fire to his house, rather than abandon it to the rapine of the queen's soldiers. Roche, another suspected lord, was surprised and seized by Raleigh, and had the miserable satisfaction of approving his innocence and being dismissed."*

After driving the gentry, both of English and

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. ii. p. 286.

Irish descent, to the extreme of discontent, by arbitrary exaction, and excessive penalties on the score of religion, the troops in Munster were reduced to a small number, to tempt, as it were, their feelings. The baron of Lixnaw, in revenge for the oppressions he had endured from the queen's officers, seized the occasion, and drove out the garrisons that occupied his castles. Soon after, he applied to the earl of Ormond for pardon and protection; the more readily granted, as he made it appear that he was driven to extremities by intolerable oppressions. The queen was so well convinced that such complaints were frequently well founded, that a pardon was offered to such rebels as would accept it. Unfortunate Desmond was excepted from this general pardon, though still entreating for mercy. Hunted from one wretched retreat to another, frequently in danger of being taken; disguised among his wretched followers, lurking with them in bogs; at length, caught alone, in a miserable hut, his head was cut off and sent to Ormond, thence to the queen, who caused it to be impaled on London-bridge. Thus was a family extinguished, which had amassed, from the ruins of the divided Irish, a princely fortune, before the extinction of the antient inhabitants, laid down as a maxim by their relative, Gerald Barry, took place.

The settlers in general were now receiving some prefatory information, of which abundance afterwards, how far the extermination of the antient Irish, or the confiscation of their properties, "strengthen us;" as the Pale parliament,

in its act of attainder against Shane O'Neil, uttered, in the folly of uncalculating selfishness.

Now that the south was pacified, that is, reduced to a wilderness, presenting an hideous scene of famine and desolation, *cum solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*; a fair opportunity offered, for the pretended civilization of one half of the island, if any scheme of liberal policy was in contemplation. That odious jealousy of this country, which has always disgraced English counsels, prevailed among the counsellors of Elizabeth, and reconciled them to the distractions and miseries of Ireland. "Should we exert ourselves," said they, "in reducing this country to civility, it must soon acquire power, consequence and riches. The inhabitants will be thus alienated from England. They will cast themselves into the arms of some foreign power, or perhaps erect themselves into an independent and separate state. Let us rather connive at (of course foment) their disorders, for a weak and disordered people never can attempt to detach themselves from the crown of England."* A nobleman of rank in the present government held similar language to me at Ratisbon, as we conversed on Irish affairs. Unfortunately this abominable policy remains not confined to theory, but is and has been systematically persevered in. If weakness and disorder be their infallible recipe for preserving the connexion, like the bleeding and warm water of Doctor Sangrado; if their interest and ambition

* Letters of Sir H. Sidney and Sir John Perrot.

conspire, to remove wealth, concord and prosperity from our reach, and hold us divided, in chains, poverty and rags, good Lord deliver us ! Yet, for what other purpose these annual commemorations of civil wars, fabricated plots, and partly exaggerated, in part misrepresented outrages. Why those party badges of religious and political factions ? Why one faction armed and countenanced ; the other, the majority of the nation, disarmed, discountenanced ? Why foment the hostilities of these factions, until it rose to civil war ; when the ministry, by adopting one, made the other appear rebellious ?

My eyes have been so fatigued, and my feelings so disgusted, by the tiresome affectation of superior civility, and the arrogant claim of higher social improvements, on which English and Pale writers incessantly ring the change, that I determined to proceed to an immediate enquiry into the foundation of such fulsome self-adulation. As to the fine arts, they had as yet no existence in England. In music, confessedly the most civilizing of the fine arts, and the most indubitable test of civilization, the Irish, by their own confession, not only exceeded them, and all the west of Europe, but exceeded them incomparably. The language of Ireland was copious and elegant, *imprimis* ; most eminently, according to the testimony of the great Usher of English race ; while the language of England was uncouth and barren. The one language abounded with learned treatises on astronomy, physic, law, divinity, history, elegant compositions in prose

and verse, of which valuable fragments have survived the Gothic persecution of the first and second race of Danes. The other language scarce can shew a single tract worth perusal, until the end of the present reign. Architecture could not flourish among the Milesians, as their institutions, rendering tenure of lands fluctuating, to prevent its accumulation to a few hands, encouraged not the erection of gorgeous palaces; neither had it hitherto made any advances in the selfish island. "The greatest part of our building in the cities and good towns of England consisteth only of timber, cast over with thick clay to keep out the wind. Certes, this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in queen Mary's days to wonder; but chiefly when they saw that large diet was used in many of their so homely cottages, inso-much that one of no small reputation amongst them, said, after this manner: these English, quoth he, have their houses made of sticks and dirt, but they fare commonly so well as the king. Whereby it appeareth, that he liked better of our good fare in such coarse cabins, than of their own thin diet in their princely habitations and palaces. The clay with which our houses are commonly impannelled is either white, red, or blue."*

Ireland, from the establishment of the Milesians, if not before it, possessed agriculture and manufactures; of which numerous proofs remain, in domestic and foreign records, some of

* Harrison, Book II. Chap. 12.

which have been published by Lynch, and by Dr. Murray, in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Goëttin-gen; and in Ireland's Mirror, the Anthologia and Collectanea; beside numerous incontestible evidences, found on the furrowed brows of now neglected mountains, in the bottom of bogs, in quarries and mines formerly worked; in gold and silver ornaments and vases, dug up yearly by the peasantry, in such numbers and variety, that no other country whatever has produced so great a host of silent, subterraneous depositaries of antient events. The unbounded hospitality with which the Island of Saints entertained myriads of the English youth, furnishing them with food, raiment, books, and instruction, gratuitously, attested by Bede and Alfred, whose testimony extorted this confession from Lord Lyttleton, "an honourable testimony for the bountiful generosity of this antient and learned people." Similar hospitality, exercised towards the youth of other nations, and strangers of every description, corroborates the eulogy of Donatus, bishop of Fesulæ, in Italy, composed in Latin, on this sacred island, in the seventh century; "*Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis et auri.*"* Without agriculture and manufactures, a nation, never much addicted to foreign commerce, which, like the Chinese, she left mostly in the hands of strangers, could not display such unequalled munificence as foreigners vouch for. The singu-

* An island rich in produce, cloth, gems and gold.

larity of their fashions; the Brehon laws, regulating the number of colours to be in the garments of each cast; the tributes, payable to the monarch and provincial kings, in gold, silver, and the manufactures of the country, mantles, swords, utensils, ships, chariots, &c. prove manufactures of their own. Until the league in France, and the tyranny of Philip II. in the Netherlands, drove some manufacturers to England, they exported the raw materials, and imported manufactured goods. This explains the vote of an English parliament, that Irish cattle was a nuisance, dead or alive; as exporters of raw materials, they disliked a competition of the same kind, in their home market.

Further tests of civilization would consist, in religion, social virtues, morality. In these exalted characteristics, England had no improvement to impart to her western sister. Not in religion: since, with a scandalous, latitudinarian indifference, she thrice in three reigns changed her creed, at the command of lustful or bigotted tyrants, and has still her faith to seek. Not in the second: for, by confession, the hospitality and charity of the Irish, amidst distress and poverty, stands yet unrivalled; so that the law, which dares not entrust the poor of England to the christian charity, or humane compassion of their countrymen, glutted with the wealth and commerce of the world, lest they should starve or hang, confides them safely to the bounty and mercy of an oppressed, impoverished people. In what state the third characteristic, morality,

stood, in the present reign, we are not to judge from the present state of England, whose flourishing commerce, fisheries and manufactures, furnish abundance of employment for all hands; and whose taxation renders that employment indispensable to the lower orders, even in old age and infancy; whose paupers are imprisoned in every parish, and fed at the expence of the public, by poor rates; but we must take our estimate from cotemporary English writers. Harrison says, book ii. chapter 11. that “ in the reign of Henry VIII. there were hanged seventy-two thousand thieves and rogues (besides other malefactors);” * this makes about two thousand a year. “ A judicious paper, which is preserved by Strype, † and which was writ by an eminent justice of peace of Somersetshire, in the year 1596, near the end of the queen’s (Elizabeth) reign, when the authority of that princess may be supposed to be fully corroborated by time, and her maxims of government improved by long practice, contains an account of the disorders which then prevailed in the county of Somerset. The author says, that forty persons had been there executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other felonies; thirty-five burned in the hand, thirty-seven whipped, one hundred and eighty-three discharged: that those who were discharged were most wicked and desperate persons, who never could come to any good, because they would not work, and none would take them into

* Harrison’s Description of Britain.

† Annals, Vol. IV. p. 290.

service: that notwithstanding this great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were not brought to a trial; the greater number escaped censure, either from the superior cunning of the felons, the remissness of the magistrates, or the foolish lenity of the people; that the rapines, committed by the infinite number of wicked, wandering, idle people, were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and obliged them to a perpetual watch over their sheep-folds, their pastures, their woods, and their corn-fields: that the other counties of England were in no better condition than Somersetshire; and many of them even in a worse: that there were at least three or four hundred able bodied vagabonds in every county, who lived by theft and rapine; and who sometimes met in troops to the number of sixty and committed spoil on the inhabitants: that if all the felons of this kind were assembled, they would be able, if reduced to a good subjection, to give the greatest enemy her majesty has a strong battle: and that the magistrates themselves were intimidated from executing the laws upon them; and there were examples of justices of peace, who, after giving sentence against rogues, had interposed to stop the execution of their own sentence, on account of the danger which hung over them from the confederates of these felons.”*

The number of malefactors, executed in the reign of Henry VIII. for theft and robbery

* Hume, Vol. V. App. III.

alone, was truly prodigious; taken from a population short of a million and a half, according to the computations quoted in Hume's appendix. From such a sample, one would picture to his mind a people, not only uncivilized, but utterly disorganized, divested of religious and moral principles. It is very probable, that Henry's schism, and suppression of abbeys and monasteries, contributed much to augment this host of malefactors, in two ways; by diminishing restraint, and increasing temptation to guilt. First, to gain popularity to the suppression, no pains were spared to decry monks and friars, and depict them to the populace, as monsters of lust and luxury; and with some silly apes of a vile superstition, fit objects of ridicule. Turned out loose on the world, with whose affairs and fashions they were unacquainted, their awkwardness gave opportunities enough for libertines to join the fashionable laugh, and point them to the finger of scorn. From sacred persons to sacred things, the transition is easy and short; and contempt for the one leaves no respect for the other. Now, during the great power and wealth of the secular clergy, the regulars attracted the devotion of the multitude; and, as far as the court succeeded to make them odious or contemptible, so far the bulk of the people became irreligious. Besides, great numbers were deprived of their ordinary means of subsistence by the suppression. Every abbey must be considered as the center and support of a village, whose inhabitants were diversely employed and

maintained by its inmates. Some as farmers, gardeners, cowherds, &c. some as menial servants. The monks, being constant residents, the rental of the abbey-lands was always consumed on the spot, circulating in the vicinity. After the suppression, their estates fell generally, either by sale or gift, to noblemen or capitalists, residing in London, or other cities, becoming either sheepwalks or pleasure grounds, and the cottagers were ruined. Supposing five hundred religious houses, including monks, friars, nuns, and the like, no extravagant computation, and allow ten families to subsist by each, at five souls to each family, the number beggared would amount to twenty-five thousand souls; out of which, the number, that could possibly be amenable to law, for the forementioned crimes, would not exceed ten or twelve thousand, a number far short of seventy-two; not to reckon, that the calamity would not be so general as not to admit of many exceptions. Some of the abbey-lands were probably continued in tillage, affording bread and employment to the original cottagers; some might find employment elsewhere.

In order to account for the prodigious host of miscreants, with which England abounded, in the long period of the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, the cause must be traced a little farther than the calamity brought on numbers by the suppression of religious houses. To explain such general epidemic depravity in a whole nation, as amounts to a moral revolution, sweeping away, like a torrent, the imbibed religious sen-

timents, and impressed religious usages, whose union forms the pivot on which moral principles rest, we must seek for some general and adequate cause of such revolution. Such a cause can only be found in the measures of government, shaking and overturning the settled system of religion. The catholic religion was the national established religion of England before these times. By its hoary antiquity, consistency, generality, and solemnity of its ceremonies and pomp of worship, it commanded the veneration of the people, accustomed to believe and practise what they were taught, without scruple or enquiry. The foundation of public morals rested quietly on habits and tradition. But, when government employed numberless agents, to upset this tranquil order of things. When the press teemed with scurrilous invectives against ceremonies and rites; some of which are highly useful, and most of them, at worse, very harmless. When the authority of a servile parliament was obtained, to abolish and persecute the national religion. When the pulpit, where the healing voice of charity should alone be heard, was converted to drum ecclesiastic, resounding with lampoons, furious and scandalous, against the scarlet whore, her idolatries, and impostures. When the magistrate crammed the jails, with readers and hearers of mass. When the support of priests was made treason; the bulk of the people was, by the various arts of persecution, violence and seduction, penalties and rewards, ridiculed or cajoled, persuaded, bul-

lied or bribed out of their antient religion, when very few of them were instructed or persuaded to reverence a new system. To decry and hunt down one system, by fraud and by force, was a much easier task, than to establish in a whole people, reverence and affection for a novel system, as yet only broached, not settled, and that by men and means ill calculated to produce those effects. Persecution and seduction gained proselytes; but they were such as fear and interest make, hypocrites. The new evangelists, as they are described by cotemporary writers of their own sect, ignorant, immoral, and scandalously licentious, were only fitted to gain proselytes to irreligion; better adapted to decry fasts, confessions, penances, celibacy, and other popish austerities, than to invite, by preaching or example, to the observance of the evangelical virtues. The necessary consequence, of these means of perfidy and cruelty, to root out of the people all reverence and respect for the religion they had learned, and the inability of operating a general conversion to as yet an unsettled system, accompanied with the same reverential awe the former commanded, was hypocrisy, irreligion, immorality. We have in our days, witnessed similar effects, from similar causes, in France. The excesses of the French populace, under the regime of infidelity, will never be forgotton; and had not the coalition called forth the population of France, and given their unbridled licentiousness another direction, ambulatory guillotines would find as much employment there, as the growers

of hemp did in England, in the innovating reigns of Henry and Bess. Add to this stupendous mass of executed malefactors, stupendous indeed, when compared with the small population of England, the far greater number, who escaped detection, or were spared, by a mistaken lenity of the people; or not committed by magistrates, for fear of their vengeful associates; or discharged for want of prosecution, arising, partly from terror, partly from lenity; besides the number of receivers and circulators of theft and rapine, and the malefactors of every species omitted in this enumeration. Such universal depravation of a whole people, can only be ascribed to the violent, precipitate, persecuting reform, carried on; and teaches governments and people, the danger, the folly of resorting to precipitation and violence, for the overthrow of any settled order of things. You may call that order, tyranny, superstition, idolatry, or any other scolding epithet flung by party rage. Before you attack that order, look to the woeful effects of disorder; but, above all, before you attack the fixed principles, and settled habits, which govern the conduct and morals of the community, to most of whom implicit obedience is the polar star, and habit the compass of action. If, by persecution or seduction, by declamation, ridicule, or any other means, these affections and habits are rooted out of their minds, and they are delivered over to the management of fanatical enthusiasts, spiritual empirics, putting scripture texts in the crucible, for the discovery of wild visionary innovations, the multitude will become

an easy prey to such vain declaimers, while they turn the objects of their former veneration to ridicule; when they hold forth fasts, penances, and every sort of mortification, as intolerable tyranny. It may be easy, when enforced by power, encouraged by the example of the great and learned, and when the revolution is set forward by the executive and heads of a nation, not forcibly intruded by a hostile nation, to eradicate principles and habits, resting on traditionary acquiescence and implicit faith, by ridiculing or persecuting ceremonies and observances attached to them: but it is not easy to substitute any of equal force in their place; impossible to do so as quickly as the exigency of a precipitate revolution in religion would require. Few are instantaneously converted from one religion to another, like St. Paul; but, in all ordinary cases, time, instruction, example and persuasion, are essential to a solid and entire conversion, even of an individual, much more so for the conversion of an entire nation, even to the most perfect system of religion, sanctified by hoary antiquity, unity and universality. To effect that by a furious persecution, imprisonments, fines, torture and executions, or with bribes, favours and promotions, towards an immature foetus of a female pontiff, not yet licked into form by herself, or the good bishops of her confirmation and consecration, would be a miracle of miracles. Hypocrites without number she made; fanatics she encouraged and multiplied; the bulk of the people, terrified into hypocrisy, deprived of their original

pastors and religion, no way enticed, or indeed instructed by the new, except in the horrors of popery, sunk into indifference and ignorance of all religion; a disposition common enough among the lower orders of the English to this day, who, except in the article of scandal against popery, are left in the most deplorable ignorance of the christian faith. A saying common enough among them, 'I knows not what religion is, but I hates the pope.' The decay of religion and morality are mighty evils to a state; they are not the only ones, prepared by the furious persecution of Bess for her successors. The experience of every age shews, the dangerous folly of warring against settled habits and opinions; the mad tyranny of persecuting them, if they be at all compatible with social order, with peace and industry; if they promote loyalty in the subject, and mitigate authority in the prince. The antient principles were found by long experience promotive of all these good ends. If abuses there were, as nobody will deny, they could have been discreetly and gradually removed, without shaking the foundation of religion and morality, of the altar and the throne, by an unnecessary change of the orthodox system, an unskilful, ruinous cobling of creeds and sacraments. Now, as falsehood, injustice and tyranny, betray themselves by their discordant features, Bess's measures convicted her of tyrannic inconsistency, and improvident impolicy. She persecuted papists for adhering to antiquity, and resisting innovation; she persecuted puritans, for embracing innovation and

exploding antiquity. Popish recusants were persecuted as traitors, for refusing conformity to her own innovations; puritan malignants she persecuted for improving on her innovations; as if her private opinion were to be an infallible standard of orthodoxy. “Udal, a puritanical clergyman, published a book, called *A Demonstration of Discipline*, in which he inveighed against the government of bishops; and though he had carefully endeavoured to conceal his name, he was thrown into prison upon suspicion, and brought to trial for this offence. It was pretended, that the bishops were part of the queen’s political body; and to speak against them, was really to attack her, and was therefore felony by the statute. This was not the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the fact, whether Udal had writ the book, or not, without examining his intention, or the import of the words. In order to prove the fact, the crown lawyers did not produce a single witness to the court; they only read the testimony of two persons absent, one of whom said, that Udal had told him he was the author; another, that a friend of Udal’s had said so. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence; which, they said, was never to be permitted against the queen. And they tendered him an oath, by which he was required to depose, that he was not author of this book; and his refusal to give that testimony was employed as the strongest proof of his guilt. It is almost needless to add, that, notwith-

standing these multiplied iniquities, a verdict of death was given by the jury against Udal: for as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape.* He died in prison before the execution of his sentence.

“ The case of Penry was, if possible, still harder. This man was a zealous puritan, or rather a Brownist; and he had written against the hierarchy several tracts, such as *Martin Marprelate*, *Theses Martinianæ*, and other compositions, full of low scurrility and petulant satire. After concealing himself for some years, he was seized; and as the statute against seditious words required, that the criminal should be tried within a year after committing the offence, he could not be indicted for his printed books. He was therefore tried for some papers found in his pocket, as if he had thereby scattered sedition.† It was also imputed to him, by the lord keeper, Puckering, that in some of these papers, “ he had only acknowledged her majesty’s royal power to establish laws, ecclesiastical and civil; but had avoided the usual terms of making, enacting, decreeing, and ordaining laws: which imply,” says the lord keeper, “ a most absolute authority.”‡ Penry for these offences was condemned and executed....

“ A severe law was also enacted against Jesuits and popish priests: that they should de-

* “ State trials, vol. i. p. 144. Strype, vol. iv. p. 21. Life of Whitgift, p. 343.

† “ Strype’s Life of Whitgift, book iv. chap. 11. Neal, vol. i. p. 564.

‡ “ Strype, vol. iv. p. 177.

part the kingdom within forty days; that those who should remain beyond that time, or should afterwards return, should be guilty of treason; that those who harboured or relieved them should be guilty of felony; that those who were educated in seminaries, if they returned not in six months after notice given, and submitted not themselves to the queen, before a bishop or two justices, should be guilty of treason: and that if any, so submitting themselves, should, within ten years, approach the queen's court, or come within ten miles of it, their submission should be void.* By this law, the exercise of the catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was, in many instances, connived at, was totally suppressed. In the subsequent part of the queen's reign, the law was sometimes executed, by the capital punishment of priests; and though the partizans of that princess asserted, that they were punished for their treason, not their religion, the apology must only be understood in this sense, that the law was enacted on account of the treasonable views and attempts of the sect, not that every individual, who suffered the penalty of the law, was convicted of treason.† The catholics, therefore, might now with justice complain of a violent persecution; which, we may safely affirm, in spite of the rigid and bigotted maxims of that

* “ 27 Eliz. cap. 1.

† “ Some even of those who defend the queen's measures, allow that in ten years fifty priests were executed, and fifty-five banished, Camden, p. 649.

age, not to be the best method of converting them, or of reconciling them to the established government and religion."* For their treason, not their religion! Yes, truly, for their religion was made treason. Papist and traitor were made synonymous terms. Yet, strange to tell, those traitors fought her battles by sea and land, and she was more than once on the point of marrying one of them. No matter. She first thought her honour and interest concerned in the overthrow of the catholic church, and she gradually adopted its destruction, by all means, fair and foul, as a leading article of her faith and politics; a domineering passion, that swallowed up all other considerations. Under cover of feigned popish plots, she really plotted against them; and by one stratagem or another, successively cut off most of the catholic nobility and gentry of rank and fortune. At the close of a long and prosperous reign, she left the catholics a weak party, and their enemies predominant in England. Did she foresee, that she paved the way for the overthrow of her new created church and of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic on its ruins? Could she see, that contempt for ecclesiastical authority was not very apt to inspire reverence to the civil; and that people, who were taught to despise antiquity and authority, when in competition with their own fancies; who, with bible in hand, condemned popes, councils and bishops, as ministers of antichrist, would

* Hume, Hist. of England, Vol. V. c. xlii.

soon discover, that the civil power, when in opposition to their interpretation of scripture, was one of the horns of the beast; and find authority in the bible, “with the high praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute judgment on the heathen, and judgments upon the people, to bind their kings with chains and their rulers with fetters of iron?”* as Hugh Peters sung his *Io Pean*, in the king’s chapel at St. James’s, when Charles I. was a prisoner in the hands of the rebels.

Hitherto we have seen, that England had no notable improvements, in arts or manufactures, to impart to the Irish: that, if they had, by the confession of their own statesmen and writers, they would rather withhold than communicate any thing useful to a nation, whose poverty and distractions they considered as the best guarantees for its obedience; and that Ireland, in the most useful, and some of the most civilizing arts, was entitled to the precedence. The shocking immorality and profligacy of the lower orders; the no less revolting perfidy and cruelty of the higher, in the intercourse of hospitality and pacification, which civilized and most barbarous nations guard with scrupulous honor. The religious confusions, distractions, and delirious fanaticism, that convulsed that country, shedding torrents of blood; first in the tyrannic overthrow of the antient religion, afterwards in the sanguinary conflict of the triumphant innovators for

* Psalm clix.

power and riches, were not boons to be wished for; but, to use the word of chancellor Fitzgibbon, "pestilent banes," to be deprecated. Let us now see what blessings they had in store, for this unhappy country, from the sanctuary of the constitution, the guardian of civil and religious liberty. If a servile parliament, met solely to impose taxes, and register the decrees of an arbitrary monarch, was a desirable constitution, the English could have shared this blessing with us.

"One of the most antient and most established instruments of power was the court of Star-chamber, which possessed an unlimited discretionary authority of fining, imprisoning, and inflicting corporal punishment, and whose jurisdiction extended to all sorts of offences, contempts, and disorders, that lay not within reach of the common law. The members of this court consisted of the privy council and the judges; men, who all of them enjoyed their offices during pleasure: and when the prince himself was present, he was the sole judge, and all the others could only interpose with their advice. There needed but this one court, in any government, to put an end to all regular, legal, and exact plans of liberty. For who durst set himself in opposition to the crown and ministry, or aspire to the character of being a patron of freedom, while exposed to so arbitrary a jurisdiction? I much question, whether any of the absolute monarchies in Europe contain, at present, so illegal and despotic a tribunal.

"The court of High Commission was another

jurisdiction still more terrible; both because the crime of heresy, of which it took cognizance, was more undefinable than any civil offence, and because its methods of inquisition, and of administering oaths, were more contrary to all the most simple ideas of justice and equity. The fines and imprisonments imposed by this court were frequent: the deprivations and suspensions of the clergy for non-conformity were also numerous, and comprehended at one time the third of all the ecclesiastics of England.* The queen, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, said expressly, that she was resolved, “ That no man should be suffered to decline, either on the left or on the right hand, from the drawn line limited by authority, and by her laws and injunctions.”†

But Martial Law went beyond even these two courts, in a prompt and arbitrary and violent method of decision. Whenever there was any insurrection or public disorder, the crown employed martial law; and it was, during that time, exercised not only over the soldiers, but over the whole people: any one might be punished as a rebel, or an aider and abettor of rebellion, whom the provost-martial, or lieutenant of a county, or their deputies, pleased to suspect. Lord Bacon says, that the trial at common law, granted to the earl of Essex and his fellow conspirators, was a favour: for that the case would have borne and required the severity of martial law. We have seen instances of its being em-

* Neal, Vol. I. p. 479.

† Murden, p. 183.

ployed by queen Mary in defence of orthodoxy. There remains a letter of queen Elizabeth's to the earl of Sussex, after the suppression of the northern rebellion, in which she reproves him sharply, because she had not heard of his having executed any criminals by martial law;* though it is probable, that near eight hundred persons suffered, one way or other, on account of that slight insurrection. But the kings of England did not always limit the exercise of this law to the times of civil war and disorder. In 1552, when there was no rebellion nor insurrection, king Edward granted a commission of martial law; and empowered the commissioners to execute it, as should be thought by their discretion most necessary.† Queen Elizabeth too was not sparing in the use of this law. In 1573, one Peter Burchet, a puritan, being persuaded that it was meritorious to kill such as opposed the truth of the gospel, ran into the streets, and wounded Hawkins, the famous sea-captain, whom he took for Hatton, the queen's favourite. The queen was so incensed, that she ordered him to be punished instantly by martial law; but upon the remonstrance of some prudent counsellors, who told her, that this law was usually confined to turbulent times, she recalled her order, and delivered over Burchet to the common law.‡ But she continued not always

* MS. of lord Royston's from the paper office.

† Strype's Eccles. Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 373. 458, 9.

‡ Camden, p. 446. Strype, Vol. II. p. 288.

so reserved in exerting this authority. There remains a proclamation of hers, in which she orders martial law to be used against all such as import bulls, or even forbidden books and pamphlets from abroad;* and prohibits the questioning of the lieutenants or their deputies, for their arbitrary punishment of such offenders, any law or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. We have another act of her's still more extraordinary. The streets of London were much infested with idle vagabonds and riotous persons: the lord mayor had endeavoured to repress this disorder: the star-chamber had exerted its authority, and inflicted punishment on these rioters: but the queen, finding those remedies ineffectual, revived martial law, and gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commission of provost-marshal: "granting him authority, and commanding him, upon signification given by the justices of the peace in London, or the neighbouring counties, of such offenders, worthy to be speedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the same persons, and in the presence of the said justices, according to justice of martial law, to execute them upon the gallows or gibbet openly, or near to such place where the said rebellious and incorrigible offenders shall be found to have committed the said great offences."† I suppose it will be difficult to produce an instance of such an act of authority in any place nearer than Muscovy.

* Strype, Vol. III. p. 570.

† Rymer, Tom. XVI. p. 279.

“ The star-chamber, and high commission, and court-martial, though arbitrary jurisdictions, yet had still some pretence of a trial, at least of a sentence ; but there was a grievous punishment very familiarly inflicted in that age, without any other authority than the warrant of a secretary of state, or of the privy council ;* and that was, Imprisonment, in any jail, and during any time that the ministers should think proper. In suspicious times, all the jails were full of prisoners of state ; and these unhappy victims of public jealousy were sometimes thrown into dungeons, and loaded with irons, and treated in the most cruel manner, without their being able to obtain any remedy from law.

“ This practice was an indirect way of employing torture : but the rack itself, though not admitted in the ordinary execution of justice,† was frequently used, upon any suspicion, without other authority than a warrant from the secretary or the privy council. Even the council in the marches of Wales was empowered, by their very commission, to make use of torture, whenever they thought proper.‡ There cannot be a stronger proof how lightly the rack was employed, than the following story, told by lord Bacon. We shall give it in his own words. “ The queen was mightily incensed against Haywarde, on account of a book he dedicated to lord Essex, being a

* In 1588, the lord mayor committed several citizens to prison, because they refused to pay the loan demanded of them. Murden, p. 632.

† Harrison, Book II. c. 11.

‡ Haynes, p. 196. See farther la Boderie, vol. i. p. 211,

story of the first year of Henry IV. thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the people's heads boldness and faction:§ She said, she had an opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me, if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within the case of treason: whereto I answered, for treason, sure I found none; but for felony, very many: and when her majesty very hastily asked me, wherein? I told her, the author had committed very apparent theft: for he had taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his text. And another time, when the queen could not be persuaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but it had some more mischievous author, and said with great indignation that she would have him racked to produce his author; I replied, nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style: let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles to judge whether he were the author or no."* Thus, had it not been for Bacon's humanity, or rather his wit, this author, a man of letters, had been put to the rack, for a most innocent performance. His real offence was, his dedicating a book to that munificent patron of

§ To our apprehension, Haywarde's book seems rather to have a contrary tendency. For he has there preserved the famous speech of the bishop of Carlisle, which contains, in the most express terms, the doctrine of passive obedience. But queen Elizabeth was very difficult to please on this head.

* Cabbala. p. 81.

the learned, the earl of Essex, at a time when this nobleman lay under disgrace with her majesty.

“ The queen’s menace, of trying and punishing Haywarde for treason, could easily have been executed, let his book have been ever so innocent. While so many terrors hung over the people, no jury durst have acquitted a man whom the court was resolved to have condemned. The practice also, of not confronting witnesses with the prisoner, gave the crown lawyers all imaginable advantage against him. And, indeed, there scarcely occurs an instance, during all these reigns, that the sovereign, or the ministers, were ever disappointed in the issue of a prosecution. Timid juries, and judges who held their offices during pleasure, never failed to second all the views of the court.

“ The government of England during that age, however different in other particulars, bore, in this respect, some resemblance to that of Turkey at present: the sovereign possessed every power, except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect the monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade: an invention so pernicious, that, had she gone on, during a tract of years, at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have con-

tained at present as little industry as Morocco, on the coast of Barbary.

“ Purveyance was a method of taxation, unequal, arbitrary, and oppressive. The whole kingdom felt sensibly the burthen of this imposition: and it was regarded as a great privilege conferred on Oxford and Cambridge, to prohibit the purveyors from taking any commodities within five miles of these universities. The queen victualled her navy by means of this prerogative, during the first years of her government.*

“ Embargoes on merchandize was another engine of royal power, by which the English princes were able to extort money from the people. Elizabeth, before her coronation, issued an order to the custom-house, prohibiting the sale of all crimson silks, which should be imported, till the court was first provided.† She expected, no doubt, a good penny-worth from the merchants, while they lay under this restraint.

“ The parliament pretended to the right of enacting laws, as well as of granting subsidies; but this privilege was, during that age, still more insignificant than the other. Queen Elizabeth expressly prohibited them from meddling with state matters or ecclesiastical causes; and she openly sent the members to prison, who dared to transgress her imperial edict in these particulars. There passed few sessions of parliament, during her reign, where there occur not instances of this arbitrary conduct.

* Camden, p. 388.

† Strype, Vol. I. p. 27.

“ The queen’s prohibition of the Prophesyings shews still the unlimited extent of her prerogative. Two or three people could not meet together, in order to read the scriptures, and confer about religion, though in ever so orthodox a manner, without her permission.”*

At this juncture three provinces of Ireland may fairly be considered under Elizabeth’s yoke. The south, much depopulated, and the vast tracts of land, confiscated from Desmond and his followers, left room for the favourite scheme of colonizing and civilizing Ireland from the abundance of English felons, for whose transportation neither America nor Botany-bay were as yet projected. A commission of survey was to be appointed, a parliament to be assembled for passing acts of attainder, schemes to be devised for lessening the annual expence of Ireland, provoking burden ! and encreasing the revenue. The government was, on these accounts, committed to Sir John Perrot, a man revered in Ireland for his justice ; one who had studied its interests, and whose policy was liberal. He found the kingdom generally tranquil ; the last insurgent of note, lord Baltinglas, fled to Spain ; and he published a general amnesty, to all who should submit and swear allegiance. He sent the son of the earl of Desmond to the queen, to be educated agreeably to her principles, with a view of qualifying him for the propagation of the new-invented faith.

* Hume, Hist. of England, Appendix III.

To induce the original Irish, and the so called degenerate English, to renounce all ideas of independence, reject Irish institutions, and quietly submit their necks to the yoke, were the grand objects at present, an. 1584. For this purpose Perrot visited, at the head of his army, the different provinces, beginning with Connaught. That province was divided into six counties, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Sheriffs were appointed for each of them, and Sir Richard Bingham made president of the whole. Hence he proceeded to the south; but, on his arrival at Limerick, he received intelligence, that one thousand Scots had landed in Ulster, and, in conjunction with their countrymen already settled there, threatened some disturbances. He quickly marched to the north, where his appearance had a sudden and powerful effect. The new arrived Scots fled to their ships, and left their brethren of Ulster to make their peace. The Irish chieftains waited on Perrot, with professions of esteem and loyalty to their engagements.

After presenting some fruitless projects to the English ministry, for strengthening the power of the English government in Ireland, even by consent of the remaining chieftains, by the grant of any reasonable terms, Perrot convened an Irish parliament, the most independent and respectable that ever met in Ireland since the convention of Temora. The representatives, deputed from the Milesians, were: the chiefs of Tirconall and Tirone, particularly Torlogh, Luinagh, O'Neill,

and Hugh the son of Firdarach O'Neill, last baron of Dungannon, who attended under the title of earl of Tirone; O'Donall (Hugh the son of Magnus) Maguire, chief of Fermanagh, (Cuchonnact the son of Cuchonnact) O'Dogharty, chief of Inisoen, (Shane og the son of Shane) O'Boyle, (Torlogh son of Neill) O'Gallagher, John the son of Tuathal. The chieftains of Orgial, (Ros the son of Arthur Mac Mahon, O'Cahane (Rory the son of Magnus), chieftain of Oreacht, Conn O'Neill (the son of Null og) chief of Clanna-boy, Magennis, chief of Iveagh (Hugh the son of Donall og), O'Rorke, chief of the western Breffny (Brian na Murtha, the son of Brian Ballach), O'Reily, chief of the eastern Breffny (Shane Roc, the son of Hugh Conallach), together with his uncle Edmond, in contention with each other about the right of governing their country. The O'Farralls of Annally, viz. O'Farral Can (William son of Donal), and O'Farrall boy (Fachtna son of Brian). The Clan-Mury chiefs of Connaught, viz. Hugh O'Connor (the son of Dermond O'Connord), Teig og O'Connor Roe, Donall O'Connor Sligoe. Brian Mac Dermott, representative for May-lurg (the plains of Bayle), the chieftain of that district being disabled by great age from personally appearing; O'Berne, chief of Tirbrun on Shannon (Carbrey the son of Teige), O'Kelly of Hy-Manly (Teige son of William), O'Madden of Siol Anmead (Donall son of Shane). The earl of Claurickard (the son of Richard), the two sons of O'Shagnussy (John and Der-

mond.) Murcha-na-dua O'Flaherty, for the country of Ler-Conaght. From Thomond, Donogh (the son of Conor), earl of Thomond, and Sir Turlogh O'Brien, elected knight of parliament for the county of Clare; also Turlogh the son of Teige O'Brien and Macnamara (Shane), representative of the western district of Clan culim, and Boethius Mac Egan returned one of the knights of parliament for the county of Tipperary. Ros the son of O'Lochlin, of Burren; the son also of O'Brien of Ara (Murtagh, the bishop of Killaloe), O'Carrol of Ely (Calvagh), Mac Caghlin (Shane), the son of Arthur, O'Ducie of Coille na managh (Philip son of Othus), Mac Brian O'Guanach (Murtogh), the chieftain of Carigogonnel (Brian Duff O'Brian), O'Mulrian (Conor na meinge), chieftain of Uathney O'Mulrian. Also a number of chiefs from South Mury, Mac Carthy Mor (Donall), Mac Carthy Cairbreach (Owen son of Donall), with his nephews by two brothers, Donall and Fingin. Two of the Mac Carthy chiefs also, who were in contention about the estate of Alla. O'Sullivan of Bera (Owen son of Dermot), O'Sullivan Mor (Owen son of Donall), O'Mahony of Fun iara-rach (Conor), O'Driscoll Mor (Fingin), Mac Gilla Patric of Ossory (Fingin), Macgeochagan, chief of Kenel Fiacha (Conla), O'Mulloy (Connall), chief of Fera-kall. Fiach Mac Hugh O'Burn, representative for the Glyn of Malura, (county of Wicklow,) which he possessed. Few of the Cavenaghs, O'Burns, O'Tools, O'Duns, or the O'Dempseys, attended this parliament.

After mentioning only a few of their names, Leland adds, "such slight circumstances serve to mark the progress of reformation!" Already the reader may have seen a glimpse of English manners, a conformity to which is called reformation! I wonder how any man of common understanding would commit himself to the public with such a silly sentence. What becomes of the eulogy bestowed on Perrot, his knowledge of the interests of this country, acquired by long study, his liberal and benevolent policy? He thought the assembling the antient proprietors and the settlers, in one parliament, to be the first step towards forming them into one people, not a slight but a weighty and glorious circumstance; in which opinion every man of untainted judgment must agree.

During his administration, by pursuing a liberal policy, and proposing equitable terms to the residue of Irish chieftains, he left evident demonstrations, that such a national incorporation could be effected, uniting the two races into one people, obeying one government, agreeably to one constitution and system of laws, without fighting a blow. But it would not suit the inhuman policy of those, who wished to keep the Irish divided and poor, to ensure their obedience; nor of those blood-thirsty vultures, who sought the confiscation of a kingdom, by exterminating a nation, always renowned for hospitality, generosity, long for sanctity and learning, the eminent benefactress of England and of Europe; nor the queen, whose unquenchable fury against the catholic faith

required the extirpation thereof out of the land. What if the Milesians were exterminated by war, inflicted famine, base coin, murderous banquets and negotiations, sham plots, she could colonize their lands, and ease her kingdom of the numberless ungovernable felons with which it was infested.

The independent spirit, displayed by this assembly, exhibits a striking contrast to the fawning servility of English parliaments during this and the preceding reigns. The bill for suspending Poyning's law was thrown out; that for renewing the ordinary tax of thirteen shillings and four pence on every plow land, met the same fate. They refused to vest the queen with the lands of attainted persons, or to declare those guilty of treason who detained any of her castles; so that two acts only were passed, during a short session, in which every measure of government experienced strong opposition, the attainder of lord Baltinglas and his adherents, and the restoration of a person, whose ancestor had been attainted in the reign of Harry the Eighth.

Perrot's administration was successful and liberal. He treated the antient natives as fellow-creatures of the same flesh and blood, virtues and vices, as other human beings; not with the rancorous antipathy, perfidy, and flagrant injustice, with which they were harassed and persecuted, by most of his predecessors. His attention to prevent oppression and abuses in the lower departments of office, raised him an host of enemies. All of English birth, the proselytes to the

new religion, and many of the degenerate Irish, swordsmen of desperate fortunes, whose name and alliances could draw followers after them; all, eager for a participation of church plunder, and of confiscated estates, were hostile to the man and measures, that promised a tranquil settlement of the kingdom. Complaints against him were sent to the queen, from various quarters; and, from a letter she sent him by secretary Fenton, perceiving the queen's prepossessions against him, he earnestly entreated to be recalled.

Perrot's candid method of dealing with the old Irish, procured every good effect he hoped for. The chieftains of the north agreed to maintain eleven hundred men for the queen, at their own charge, provided they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and be liberated from the oppressions and ravages of sheriffs' garrisons. In Connaught a free composition was settled, in lieu of assessments, and the English law received. The confiscation of the vast landed property, held by Desmond and his adherents, allowed the queen to indulge her favourite scheme of colonizing Ireland. "Letters were written to every county in England, to encourage younger brothers to become undertakers in Ireland. Estates were offered in fee at a small acreable rent of three pence, and in some places two pence, to commence at the end of three years, and for three years more, half only of the stipulated rent was to be paid. Seven years were allowed to complete their plantation. The undertaker for twelve thousand acres was bound to plant eighty-six

families on his estate; those who engaged for lesser seigniories, were to provide a proportionable number. NONE OF THE NATIVE IRISH WERE TO BE ADMITTED AMONG THEIR TENANTRY; and, among other advantages, they were assured, that sufficient garrisons should be stationed on their frontiers; and commissioners appointed to decide their controversies. Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Norris, Sir Warham Saintleger, Sir George Bourchiér, and a number of other gentlemen of power and distinction, received grants of different portions. But the greater their rank and consequence, the more were they emboldened to neglect the terms of their grant. Instead of completing their stipulated numbers of tenantry, the same persons were admitted tenants to different undertakers, and, in the same seigniority sometimes served at once as freeholder, as leaseholder, as copyholder, to fill up the necessary number of each denomination. Leases and conveyances were made to many of the Irishry. In some places the lands were abandoned to the old possessors, in others the undertakers unjustly encroached on the estates of the innocent and loyal inhabitants: not residing themselves, they entrusted the settlement and support of their respective colonies, to agents ignorant, negligent and corrupt. No effectual provisions were made for defence either by themselves or by the queen. Such instances of misconduct were severely felt, and contributed to the subsequent disorders of the kingdom.”*

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 301.

However wise Perrot's system of settling the affairs of Ireland might have been, his intentions were frustrated, and any benefits that might be expected from English law and equitable regulations were entirely defeated, by the iniquity of those who were to superintend the execution of the one, and administer the other. Bingham, president of Connaught, ruled people little accustomed to severe rule, with a rod of iron and a harpie claw. "The sheriffs and other officers of justice followed the example of the lord president, and acted not only with rigour, but imperiousness. They entered the several counties, attended with large bodies of armed men, pillaging the inhabitants, whom they affected to despise, terrifying them with their military train, and rendering the execution of law odious and oppressive; so as to confirm their aversion from a system accepted with reluctance. One of the De Burghos, called Thomas Roah, was summoned to the session of judges, held in the county of Mayo, and refused to attend. Bingham ordered him to be seized; he resisted, and was killed; two of his adherents were taken and executed."* A petty insurrection was the unavoidable consequence of these enormous cruelties, which only served to aggravate the miseries of the oppressed. One of the leaders, Richard, brother to Sir Thomas Roah, soon surrendered, but was ordered by Bingham to instant execution. In the suppression of this insurrection, the president was powerfully assisted by some Irish

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 302.

clans, and those called degenerate English. Of the extent of military execution, plunder and confiscation, I have seen no correct detail; but it need not be doubted, that such a tyrant as Bingham would not let slip so fine an opportunity of sating his thirst for Irish blood, and his coffers with their spoil. Many escaped death, by inlisting in the army destined for the Low Countries, in support of the revolted faithful of the new gospel; some escaped to Spain.

Now three of the provinces being comfortably reclaimed, reformed and civilized, by the queen's ministers and forces, in conjunction with their Irish auxiliaries, the benefits of which to the province of Munster Spencer thus sketched. "Notwithstanding that the same was a most rich, and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle.—Yet, ere one year and a half, they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would rue the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynns, they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat the dead carrions, happy were they could find them, yea, and one another soon after: insomuch, as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and, if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able to continue there withal; that, in short space, there was none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and

beast.”* The other provinces had no Spencer to record the favours conferred on them by their reclaimers. It was now high time to turn their attention to the north, the only part of Ireland continuing unreclaimed, exulting in the untouched population, agriculture, manufactures and religion of that province. Monasteries and seminaries of learning were still protected there. The catholic religion maintained its ground, consequently, dainty morsels of church plunder might be looked for, and plenty of confiscations, already decreed by the provincial parliament, in the second year of Elizabeth. Had it not been predetermined to extend to the north the same discipline exercised in the south, this act would not have passed, or stood unrepealed. How could it be expected, that the extermination of the antient race, and the colonization of the land by English adventurers, projected, and in part executed by popish England, should be relinquished by their protestant successors? That the dominion of the crown of England would be submitted to by the northern lords, and preserved by equitable and moderate administration, is acknowledged by Leland, and by Lee.† It was practically proved by deputy Perrot. But then the odious stipulations, of not being compelled to renounce religion, and submit to the plunder and outrages of sheriffs, carrying along with them a posse of robbers and prostitutes, offending the pious, and corrupting the youth, by their scan-

* Spencer's State of Ireland, p. 158.

† See Memoir, in Appendix.

dalous profaneness and open immoralities. "A great part of the unquietness of O'Donnel's country (Tirconnel) came by Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam placing one Willis there to be sheriff, who had with him three hundred of the very rascals and scum of that kingdom, which did rob and spoil that people, ravish their wives and daughters, and made havoc of all; which bred such a discontent, as that the whole country was up in arms against them, so as if the earl of Tyrone had not rescued and delivered him and them out of the country, they had been all put to the sword."* Lest Fermanagh should be jealous of the graces bestowed on O'Donnel's country, it was favoured with a similar visitation. The chieftain of Fermanagh, Maguire, alledged, "that he had given three hundred cows, to free his country from a sheriff, during the lord deputy's government; and that, notwithstanding, one captain Willis was made sheriff of Fermanagh, having, for his guard, one hundred men; and leading about some hundreds of women and boys, all living upon the spoil of the country: upon which, taking his advantage, Maguire set upon them, and drove them into a church, where he would have put them all to the sword, if the earl of Tyrone had not interposed his authority, and made composition for their lives, upon condition that they should all leave the country. Upon this occasion, the lord deputy Fitzwilliams sent the queen's forces, commanded by the earl of Tyrone and the English marshall of Newry, into

* Lee's Memorial to queen Elizabeth.

Fermanagh, won Maguire's castle of Enniskillen, and proclaimed him a traitor. The Irish avow, that his lordship let fall some speeches against the earl of Tyrone himself, calling him a traitor also, (notwithstanding his late services,) which speeches coming to that earl's hearing, he ever after said, were the first causes that moved him to misdoubt his safety, and to stand upon his defence; now first combining himself with O'Donnel, and the other lords of the north, to defend their honours, estates and liberties."*

"In the northern province, which had but just now professed to accept the English polity, the execution of the laws was rendered detestable and intolerable, by the queen's officers. Sheriffs purchased their places; acted, as in Connaught, with insolence and oppression; spoiled the old inhabitants, and obliged them to recur to their native chieftains for protection. As the state had no forces in Ulster, nothing but the mutual suspicion and disunion of the Irish prevented a sudden and violent insurrection."† What else was looked for, but such an event, as might lead to church plunder and confiscations? Wherefore send profligate miscreants, with the queen's commission, to pillage, rob, ravish, to destroy morals and religion, but the hope, that resistance to a tyranny, at once so shameful and detestable, so intolerable and base, would furnish a pretence for extermination and plunder? Will any man be surprised, that the De Burghos of Connaught

* Curry's Hist. Rev. c. v. and Morrison's Hist. of Ireland.

† Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 305.

refused to admit such nefarious pests of society, for which noncompliance they were prosecuted with fire and sword? or that O'Donnel refused them entrance into Tyrconnel, whose noncompliance the state, unable by force, revenged by fraud. "A merchant of Dublin was instructed to lade a ship with Spanish wines, and to sail up by Donnegall, into the country of O'Donnel, to expose his wines to sale, to shew an extraordinary courtesy and bounty to the natives, to invite and feast them in his ship: and if the old chieftain or his son should be prevailed on to come on board, to entertain them liberally; and when intoxicated, to secure them under hatches, and to convey them to Dublin. The pretended Spanish merchant executed his commission accurately and successfully. The rude inhabitants crowded to purchase his wines, and to partake of his liberality. The eldest son of O'Donnel, and two companions, accepted his invitation to carouse on board of his ship: and when they awaked from their debauch, they found themselves prisoners. They were deposited in the castle of Dublin."* Their treatment therein is thus described by Lee. "His manner of usage was most dishonorable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God or man. For he (O'Donnel) being young, and being taken by this stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him, as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor."†

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 310.

† Lee's Memorial.

This act of swindling closed the administration of Perrot, who, in spite of his utmost efforts to serve the crown of England, and strengthen the English interest in Ireland, was mortified by the queen, denied the necessary support for his government, traduced by the incessant malice of his enemies, and insulted by his inferiors at the council-board. He earnestly petitioned Elizabeth to recal him from the burden of government, rendered intolerable by the perverseness of her English subjects in Ireland, whose enmity he had provoked beyond all possibility of reconciliation, by restraining their oppressions of the antient natives.

The extermination of antient race, and of antient religion, was not to be effected by equity, moderation, or impartial government. These seem to have been principal objects with the queen, her council, and adventurers, both arrived, and speculating on a venture to Ireland. 'Tis notorious, that the overthrow of the catholic religion was the darling object of Elizabeth, chief object of her ambition; for the attainment of which, she spared no pains or expence; in the pursuit of which, she disregarded effusion of blood as puddle water, and trampled every feeling of humanity, every principle of morality, every law, human and divine, that could thwart her headlong career. Sensible of her unappeasable fury against the mother church, Lee, in his Memoir, endeavours to apologize for O'Neil's catholicity. " It will be represented to your majesty, that he and his lady are papists, and

foster seminaries. 'Tis true he is affected this way, but not half so bitter as the greatest men of the Pale. He will go with the state, and remain to hear sermon and service, while they, as soon as they leave the deputy at the door, run off like wild cats."

A successor was appointed to Perrot, Sir William Fitz-William, of a character suitable to the temper and hopes of all, who wished to wade through blood and ruin to wealth and honor, and who wished at any price to extinguish antient race and religion; when, as Leland owns, "an interval of tranquillity had diffused plenty and prosperity through the country; the provinces of Connaught and Munster governed with vigour, by Richard Bingham and Sir Thomas Norris, deputy to his brother John: when the discontents of Ulster had not yet broken out into any violence, and might easily have been stifled, by a moderate and equitable conduct." But neither the new deputy nor his employers were of a temper to relish the tranquillity and prosperity of a popish nation, whose disunion and poverty were considered as the best pledges of their obedience. Many feats of English civilization had already been atchieved, by the gallant soldiers of that humane, liberal and honorable people, on the persons, goods, religion and rights, of this poor anathematized nation, without discovering symptoms of commotion among the northerns, the only province as yet not sufficiently civilized. Such were the assassinations of ecclesiastics for religion: "Glaby O'Boyle, abbot of Boyle of

the diocese of Elphin, and Owen O'Mulkeren, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Trinity in that diocese, hanged and quartered by lord Gray, in 1580; John Stephens, priest, for that he said mass to Teague M'Hugh, was hanged and quartered by the lord Burroughs, in 1597; Thady O'Boyle, guardian of the monastery of Donegal, was slain by the English in his own monastery; six friars were slain in the monastery of Mognihigan; John O'Calyhor and Bryan O'Trevor, of the order of St. Bernard, were slain in their own monastery, de Santa Maria, in Ulster; as also Felimy O'Hara, a lay brother; so was Eneas Penny, parish priest of Killagh, slain at the altar in his parish church there; Cahall M'Goran, Rory O'Donnellan, Peter O'Quillan, Patrick O'Kenna, George Power, vicar-general of the diocese of Ossory, Andrew Stretch of Limerick, Bryan O'Murihirtagh, vicar-general of the diocese of Clonfert, Doroghow O'Molowny of Thomond, John Kelly of Louth, Ste. Patrick of Annaly, John Pillis, friar, Rory M'Henlea, Tirrilagh M'Inisky, a lay brother. All those that came after Eneas Penny, together with Walter Fernan, priest, died in the castle of Dublin, either through hard usage and restraint, or the violence of torture."* Murderous banquets; of which some are recorded: as that of Brien Roe O'Brien, murdered by De Clare, at a feast to which he invited him for that purpose. The intended assassination of O'Kavenagh, defeated by his extraordinary valour and good for-

* Theatre of Catholic and Protestant Religion, p. 582.

tune. The murder of O'Neil of Clan-hu-boy, and his retinue, by the earl of Essex, at a feast, to which he invited him. The perfidious invitations to negotiate for peace, with the intent of massacring the negociators; as that of the O'Moores at Mullahmaisteen, of the Butlers at Kilkenny, of the O'Neils at Derry, and a long *et cetera*. Under cover of negotiation, and cessation of hostilities, the first invaders perfidiously took Dublin by surprize, trusting to the law of nations, that no hostilities would commence until sufficient notice that the negotiation had failed. The same perfidy was practised on the Italians, who accompanied Fitzmorris to Ireland, which is thus detailed in the Irish annals. "An. 1580, in the war of the Fitzgeralds, an Italian fleet, belonging to the pope, landed its men, in the month of September, on the coast of Kerry, in an island called Oilean an Oir, which the Fitzgeralds had fortified in the former year. The intention of this expedition was to assist the Fitzgeralds, much distressed through their attempts to support the catholic religion in Ireland. On the news of this landing, the lord deputy, Gray, ordered Thomas, earl of Ormond, to head an army, and lead it towards the island, where the Italians were fortifying themselves. The earl delayed not. He marched into Kerry, where an army of the Fitzgeralds were preparing to oppose him; an engagement ensued, and Ormond had at last the way left open to him, till he arrived in sight of the island, and took a view of the entrenchments which were thrown up by the Italians.

He concluded, that it was too desperate an undertaking to attack them within their lines; he retired, and waited for the lord deputy, who was on his march to join him. On their joining, it was concluded, that they should not encamp close to the island, but approach it at the head of a few, to reconnoitre the works of the enemy, and to decoy them into an interview. Some chiefs of the Italians came out to confer with the deputy and the earl; and, after some debates, the Italians were offered good conditions. While these terms were entering into, the lord deputy's troops passed over into the island, and massacred, to a man, the whole body of seven hundred Italians, who had landed there. The deputy, after this sad exploit, seized upon a great quantity of gold, and other effects of the invaders."* Reformation of religion, by the sacrilegious plunder and desolation of churches, and by the substitution of men, ignorant and profligate, for a zealous and learned ministry, murdered or expelled, is attested by Leland and Sydney. "The prejudices conceived against the Reformation, by the Irish natives more especially, were still further encreased, by the conduct of those who were commissioned to remove the objects and instruments of popular superstition. Under pretence of obeying the orders of state, they seized all the most valuable furniture of the churches, which they exposed to sale without decency or reserve. The Irish annalists pathetically describe the garrison of Athlone

* Irish Annals, MS.

issuing forth, with a barbarous and heathen fury, and pillaging the famous church of Clonmacnoise, tearing away the most inoffensive ornaments, books, bells, plate, windows, furniture of every kind, so as to leave the shrine of their favourite saint, Kieran, a hideous monument of sacrilege. Nor do such complaints appear to have been entirely groundless," Leland adds, "for we find that Sir James Crofts, the successor of Saintleger, who had been remanded into England, was particularly instructed to prevent the sale of bells and other church-furniture."* Sir Henry Sydney thus describes the desolation of religion, in his letter to queen Elizabeth. "May it please your most excellent majestie, I have in fower severall discourssies, addressed vnto the lordes of your highnes most honourable councell, certified them howe I founde this your highness realme, at myne arryval into the same; and what I have seene, and vnderstand by my travell theise last sixe monethes, in whiche I have passid thorough eche province, and have bene almost in eche countye thereof: the whiche I would not sende to your most excellent majestie, immediatlye to be reade by the same; least they should have seamed to tedious, partelye thorough the quantitie of the matter, but chieflye thorough the bad delyvery thereof, by my pen; not doubtinge but your majestie is by this tyme advertized of the materiall pointes contained in them.

"And nowe, most deare mistres, and most

* Leland, Vol. II. Book III. c. viii. p. 196.

honored sovereigne, I solye addresse to you, as to the onely sovereigne salve geuer, to this your sore and sicke realme; the lamentable estate of the most noble and principall lym thereof, the church I meane, as fowle, deformed, and as cruellye crushed, as any other parte thereof; by your onely gracious and relygious order to be cured, or at least amended: I would not have beleved, had I not, for a great parte, viewed the same, thoroughout the whole realme, and was advertized of the perticuler estate of eche church, in the bishoppricke of Meithe (being the best inhabited countrie of all this realme) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishopp of the same, Mr. Hugh Bradye, a godlye minister for the gospell, and a good servaunt to your highnes, who went from church to church hym selfe, and found, that there are within his dioces 224 parishe churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sondrie possessions, nowe of your highnes, and all leased out for yeares, or in fee farme, to severall farmors, and great gayne reaped out of them above the rent, which your majestie receivethe; no parson, or vicar, resident vpon any of them, and a verye simple, or soarye curat, for the most parte, appointed to serve them; amonge which number of curatts, onelye eightene were found able to speake Englishe; the rest Irishe preists, or rather Irishe roges, havinge verye little Lattin, lesse learninge, or cyvilitie: all theise lyve upon the bare alterages (as they tearme them) which God knoweth are verye small, and were wont to lyve upon the

gayne of masses, dirges, shryvings, and soch lyke tromperye, goodlye abolished by your majestie: no one howse standinge for any of them to dwell in. In maney places, the very walles of the churches doune; very few chauncells covered, wyndowes and dores ruyned, or spoyled: there are 52 other parishe churches in the same dioces, who have vicars induced vpon them, better served and mayntained then the other, yet but badlye. There are 52 parishe churches more, residue of the first number of 224, which pertain to dyvers perticuler lordes, and these though in better estate than the rest commonlye are, yet farre from well. If this be the estate of the churche, in the best peopled dyoces, and best governed countrie, of this your realme (as in troth it is:) easye it is for your majestye to conjecture, in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet bene planted, and contynued amonge theime; yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this youre countrie becommen, as it hath bene preached publikelye before me, that the sacrament of baptisme is not vsed amonge them, and trewlye I beleve it: if I should write vnto your majestie, what spoyle hath bene, and is of the archbisshoppricks, whereof there are fower, and of bisshoppricks, whereof there are above thirtie, partelye by the prelatts theim selves, partelye by the potentates, their noysome neighbors, I should make too longe a lybell of this my lettre; but your majestie may beleve it, that vpon the face of the earthe, where Christ is professed,

there is not a churche in so myserable a case: the miserye of whiche consistethe in theise three particulars, the ruynes of the verye temples theim selves; the want of good mynisters to serve in theim, when they shall be reedified; competent lyvinge for the ministers, beinge well chosen. For the first, let it lyke your most gracious majestie to write earnestlye to me, and to whom els, it may best please you, to examyne in whome the fault is, that the churches are so ruynous; if it be founde in the countrie or fermors, to compell them speedilye to goe about the amendement of them; if the fawlt, for the churches of your highnes inheritaunce, be not in the fermors, nor they bound to repaier them (and the most ruyned of them are soche as are of your possession) it may lyke you, to graunt warraunt that some porcion may yerelye, of the revenue of everye parsonadge, be bestowed on the churche of the same.

“ For the second and third; which is, that good ministers mought be founde to occupie the places, and they made able to lyve in them; in choyce of which ministers, for the remote places, where the Englishe tounge is not vnderstood, it is most necessarie that soche be chosen as can speake Irishe, for whiche searche would be made first, and speedilye, in your owne vniversities; and any founde there well affected in religion, and well conditioned beside, they would be sent hether animated by your majestie; yea, though it were somewhat to your highnes chardge; and on perrill of my liffe, you shall fynde it returned

with gayne, before three yeres be expired: if there be no soch there, or not inough (for I wish tene or twelve at the least) to be sent, who might be placed in offices of dignitie in the church, in remote places of this realme then I do wishe, (but this most humblye vnder your highnes correction,) that you would write to the regent of Scotlande, where, as I learne, there are maney of the reformed church, that are of this language, that he would prefer to your highnes so maney as shall seme good to you to demaunde, of honest, zelous, and learned men, and that could speake this language; and though for a while your majestie were at some chardge, it were well bestowed, for, in shorte tyme, their own preferments would be able to suffice them; and in the mean tyme, thowsands would be gayned to Christ, that now are lost, or left at the woorst: and for the ministerie of the churches of the English pale of your owne inheritaunce, be contented, most vertuous quene, that some convenient porcion for a minister may be allowed to hym, out of the farmor's rents; it will not be moch losse to you, in your revenue, but gayne otherwise inestimable, and yet the decay of your rent but for a while, for, the yeares once expired of the leases alreadye graunted, there is no doubt, but that to be graunted to the church will be recovered with encrease.

“ I wishe, and most humblye beseache your majestie, that there may be three or fower, grave, learned, and venerable parsonagies of the clergie there, be sent hether, who in short space, being

here, would censiblye perceive the enormities of this overthrowne church, and easelye prescribe orders, for the repaier and vpholdinge of the same, whiche I hope God would confirme; and I fynde no difficultie, but that your officer here might execute the same; cawse the bisshoppes of that your realme, to vndertake this apostleshipp, and that upon their owne chardgies: They be riche enoughe, and if either they be thankfull to your majestie, for your immence bountye donne to them, or zealous to jncrease the christian flocke, they will not refuse this honourable and religious travell; and I will vndertake their guydinge and gardinge honorablye, and safelye from place to place: the great desier that I have, to have soche from thence, is, for that I hope to fynde them, not onely grave in judgement but voyd of affection.

I most humblye beseache your majestie to accept theise my rude letters, as figures of a zealous mynde for reformation of this your church and countrie; wherein me thinketh I woorke waywardlye, when the latter is preferred before the former. When I had thus come to an ende of this my evill scribld lettre, and beheld the illegiable lynes, and ragged lettres of myne owne staggering hand, I was ashamed to suffer the same to be sent to your majestie, but made by man to write it out agayne; for whiche I most humblye crave pardon, as for the rest of this my tedious petition. And thus, from the bottome of my harte, wissching to your majestie the longe continuance of your most prosperous and godlye

reigne over vs, your most happie subjectes: as a most faythfull and obedient servaunt, I recommend myself, and service, to your most excellent majestie. From your highnes castell of Dublin, this xxviiiith of April, 1576, your majesties faythfull, humble and obediaunt servaunt, H. Sydney.

Fitz-William having assumed the reins of government, with at least a tacit permission, to seize every opportunity of rewarding his pretended services at the expence of the Irish, soon found one to his taste. Several ships, belonging to the Spanish armada, had been driven to the coast of Ireland, where the Spaniards were hospitably entertained, as kinsmen. The strangers, it may be presumed, gave presents to their kind hosts, which were magnified by report into treasures. The bare rumour of these imaginary riches fired the cupidity of the deputy, who forthwith issued a commission for search, claiming what could be got, in the name of the queen. The commissioners for searching having failed in their inquest for hidden gold, Fitz-William, like the fox in the proverb, determined to seek in person the secreted love, and make trial of the powers of his olfactory nerves, in detecting by scent the produce of Potosi. Away he marched, at the head of an armed force, to the great expence of the state, and annoyance to the country; where all the exertions avidity could devise, and tyranny execute, having proved ineffectual, he resolved to wreak his disappointment on the hap-

less natives. Irish cows could not be so commodiously concealed as Spanish doubloons; why should not the former recompense the loss of the latter? That he might not return empty-handed, without performing any act of prowess worthy of his expensive expedition, he seized on Sir Owen Mac Toole, father-in-law to the earl of Tyrone, and Sir John O'Dogherty, gentlemen of rank, property, and known attachment to English government, and confined them in durance vile in the castle of Dublin. In vain they pleaded their services, and Mac Toole shew his patent for a pension of two hundred a-year (near two thousand of our present currency,) as tests of their loyalty; one was not released from bondage, till on the point of death, and O'Dogherty was obliged to purchase his enlargement by a considerable bribe of Irish cows.

This unworthy treatment of men, respected both by the English and Irish parties, drew on the barbarous deputy merited and general abhorrence. All the Irish lords, however, reputed, or in fact well affected to the English government, began to tremble for their own safety. Many began to repent of their submissions, and those who held aloof could now boast their superior prudence, which taught them to put no confidence in English faith, and to consider a watchful defensive the only safeguard against the ruthless oppression of a faithless and natural enemy.

This shameless violation of all law and public faith, by the government, and all its officers,

down to the sheriff, who, with his posse of strumpets and robbers, laid waste the country, outraging the feelings of a religious people, by openly violating the chastity of their wives and daughters, seasoning the atrocity of tyranny with the still more galling sauce of contempt, were sufficient to rouse a more lethargic, a less warlike people than the Milesians; but they were divided, three-fourths of the country lay prostrate, and the English power in Ireland had waxed formidable, through its own dissensions, and had the power of England ready at hand to support it. After the dispersion and defeat of the Spanish armada, Spain was no longer dreaded in England, and was looked to from Ireland with less sanguine hopes. Now Elizabeth's council, like the rest of their countrymen, entertaining a mean opinion of the Irish, judged the conquest of the remaining fourth of Ireland an easy task, having the other three fourths in their hands. The sentence of extermination, pronounced against the Milesians by their popish predecessors, facilitated and aided by their alliance with the see of Rome, it was now resolved should be put in execution, in despite of the Holy Father, and to gratify the hot zeal of the queen, for the extinction of the catholic faith, to which the antient Irish adhered with an obstinacy that rendered them detestable to her.

Because the experiments hitherto tried, on the patience of the suffering Irish, of vigor beyond law, of vigor contrary to all law, had not succeeded to rouse to war, more deeds of lawless

violence, sanctified by indemnity, must be employed, to exasperate the ulcerated feelings of discontent into the alarm and terror of despair. When submission afforded no security for life or property, and would be treated as cowardice; while the hazards of war, not more perilous, would at least rescue their honor from that imputation, perhaps free them for ever from a horrid yoke. These were the feelings, and the reasonings of the parties, concerned in this unequal contest, when the sanguinary rapacious wolf, Fitz-William, accelerated the pending catastrophe. “ And, as if the secret fire of disaffection were not sufficiently kindled in the northern province, Fitz-William by his intemperate conduct seemed to court every occasion of enflaming it. Mac-Mahon, chieftain of the district called Monaghan, had surrendered his country held by tainistry to the queen, and received a re-grant thereof, under the broad seal of England, to him and his heirs male, and in default of such heirs, to his brother Hugh. As he died without issue, this brother petitioned to be admitted to his inheritance. He is said to have promised a considerable bribe in order to facilitate his suit; and to his failure of payment it was imputed, that he was for some days imprisoned, on his arrival at Dublin. Fitz-William, however, was prevailed upon to promise that he would settle him in peaceable possession of his inheritance, and for this purpose that he meant to go in person into Monaghan. But scarcely had he arrived thither, when he eagerly received a new accusa-

tion against Hugh, that two years before, he had entered hostilely into a neighbouring district, to recover some rent due to him, by force of arms. In the unreformed parts of Ireland, such actions were common and unnoticed; but the English law declared them treasonable. The unhappy Mac-Mahon, for an offence committed before the law which declared it capital had been established in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury said to be formed of private soldiers, and executed in two days; to the utter consternation of his countrymen. His estate was distributed to Sir Henry Bagnal and other adventurers, together with four of the old Irish sept.”*

Why the northern Irish hitherto bore their aggravated wrongs, with a patience unusual to their race and country, besides the fore-mentioned, we must look to the policy of Hugh O’Neil, earl of Tyrone, as one who principally held back the north from any dangerous explosion. “Among the northern lords, Hugh, son to the late Matthew baron of Dungannon, had acquired considerable weight and consequence by the favours he had received from government. Though his person was not striking, he yet possessed a vigour of constitution fitted for all the severities of a military life. Less respected in his sept on account of the illegitimacy of his descent, he entered early into the service of English government, and in the rebellion of Desmond was distinguished by his industry, ac-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. p. 316.

tivity, and valour: by an English education, and a constant intercourse with the state, he added the polish of English manners to a temper naturally insinuating and subtile: but this refinement he could easily disguise among his own people, and assume all the port, and accommodate himself to all the barbarous manners of an O'Nial. In the parliament held by Sir John Perrot, he petitioned, that by virtue of the royal grant to his grandfather earl Conn, to his father and his heirs, he might be admitted to the place and title of earl of Tirowen, as well as to the inheritance annexed to this earldom. The title was readily granted; but for the inheritance, which by the attainder of John O'Nial was vested in the crown, he was referred to the queen's pleasure. He addressed himself to the deputy, and so far prevailed by his insinuating manners, and particularly by promising, that if restored to his estate, a large rent should be secured to the crown, that Perrot sent him into England with warm letters of recommendation, that he might prefer his petition to the queen. All his powers of obsequiousness and flattery were employed to captivate Elizabeth. She deigned to interrogate him on the state of Ireland. With an appearance of the most ingenuous zeal, he lamented the unnatural reluctance of his countrymen to order and civility, and their barbarous prepossessions in favour of their antient manners; artfully pleaded the necessity of strengthening their attachment to English government; and, affecting a particular solicitude for the

welfare of his own district, implored her majesty to take effectual measures for suppressing the name of O'Nial, as the first step necessary for introducing the inestimable blessings of English laws and manners into the northern province. This artifice so wrought upon the queen, that by letters patent under the great seal of England, she granted him both the earldom and the inheritance annexed to it, without any reservation of rent. It was only provided, that the bounds of Tirowen should be marked out explicitly: that two hundred and forty acres should be reserved adjoining to the river called Blackwater, for the use of a fort there to be erected: that the new earl should challenge no authority over the neighbouring lords: that the sons of John and Tirlaugh O'Nial should have sufficient provisions allotted to them: and that Tirlaugh should be continued Irish chieftain of Tirowen, with a right of superiority over Mac-Guire and O'Cahan, two subordinate lords (or Uriaghts as they are called) of his neighbourhood."*

As a man of ability, he saw the delicacy of his situation, and the difficult part he had to act. Owing his elevation to the policy of the court of England, aware of the downfall of Shane O'Neil, and of almost all the chiefs, who had latterly opposed that power; sensible, that the same anarchy, which overwhelmed Shane, by a combination of northern chiefs joining the standard of his enemy, he saw it his interest to culti-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. pp. 306, 307, 308.

vate and purchase the friendship of that power, upon any tolerable terms; any that would not entirely sink him in the estimation of his countrymen, and deprive him of the lead to which he aspired; an event that would deprive him of the favor of a court, which meant only to employ his abilities and influence instrumental to its own designs. He had two incompatible interests to manage. That of the northern Irish, who daily experienced such violent aggressions from government, as seemed to announce a settled plan for their total extirpation; and that of the exterminating power, which, though it chose to employ him, gave him abundant proof, that it did not trust him, and meant to devour him, perhaps last. In all his trials, and he had severe ones, he acted with great judgment, and cool steady resolution, confounding his enemies, and bringing home conviction to the queen, her council, and her generals, by facts and arguments, which they were unable to withstand. What a callous-minded wretch a Pale writer must be. All that persuasion, by which he triumphed over his adversaries and judges,—and what judges? the most subtle able knaves of their day, and partial too, must be the effect of subtlety and dissimulation!!! What simpletons he had to delude with subtleties, in Bacon, Cecil, Walsingham; in Perrot, Norris, Russel, Essex, all cotemporaries, interested in the detection of falsehood, and possessed of all human means for its discovery. If he could convince all these men, without truth and justice on his side,

he must have been more eloquent than all orators. In fact, he strove to keep the peace of the north, as long as it could be kept, without sacrificing his religion, and the interests of the north-erns; which would cause a general alienation of all hearts from him, and degrade him to a vile satellite of tyranny, despised even by those whom he served.

O'Neil's great services, and his perseverance in the queen's service, as long as it was in any degree supportable; his eagerness to continue in the same, and fence against the scourge of war, are clearly set forth by a confidential agent of the queen, commissioned to send her a true statement of this country, who says, that "it is not O'Donnell, Maguire, Brian Oge Macmahon, nor Brian Oge O'Rourke, nor any of those four who must be dealt withal, for they are all traitors and villains, and most obstinate against your majesty; but the foundation must be laid upon the earl of Tyrone, to draw him by any reasonable conditions unto your majesty, that you may have conference with him, and as he is made by your majesty a great man there, so may he be also a special good member in that commonwealth, to redress and remedy many great disorders, which no doubt he would faithfully do, if he might be trusted, for what maketh a man honest but trust.

"And whereas some affirm, that he standeth upon a pardon for himself and his followers, I think not so, for he and they hold themselves in less safety thereby, than they were before, because

they have seen pardons serve (in their conceit) rather for traps to catch others in, than for true and just remission and acceptance into the free benefit of subjects, which maketh him fear the like practice towards himself....

“ And where there was a credible report made, that the earl of Tyrone came into the now lord deputy, without pardon or protection, I assure myself, your majesty shall find he came in upon the credit of your state, although in policy he might be willed to give out otherwise, and no doubt, but such as have often mistaken his actions, and intents, would make an open demand of him, how? and he perhaps answer them, without protection; and upon this his answer, they might be very importunate with the lord deputy and the council, that he might be detained for great matters of treason, wherewith they had to charge him, which demand of theirs being refused, it is not unlike but they would either write to your majesty, or to their friends here, to inform your majesty how provident they were to have him safe kept, and yet their cares and offers were neglected.

“ Let those devices of theirs take effect, or otherwise, to have him cut off, your majesty's whole kingdom there would moan it most pitifully; for there was never man bred in those parts, who hath done your majesty greater service than he, with often loss of his blood upon notable enemies of your majesty's; yea, more often than all the other nobles of Ireland. And what quietness your majesty had these many years

past in the northern parts of that kingdom, its neither your forces there placed, (which have been but small,) nor their great service who commanded them, but only the honest disposition and carriage of the earl, hath made them obedient in those parts to your majesty. And what pity it is that a man of his worth and worthiness shall be thus dealt withal by his adversaries, (who are men who have had great places of commandment) and neither they, nor their friends for them, are able to set down they ever did your majesty one good day's service, I humbly leave to your majesty.

“ If he were so bad as they would fain enforce (as many as know him and the strength of his country, will witness thus much with me) he might very easily cut off many of your majesty's forces which are laid in garrison in small troops, in divers parts bordering upon his country; yea, and overrun all your English pale, to the utter ruin thereof; yea, and camp as long as he should please him even under the walls of Dublin, for any strength your majesty yet hath in that kingdom to remove him.

“ These things being considered, and how unwilling he is (upon my knowledge) to be otherwise toward your majesty than he ought, let him (if it so please your highness) be somewhat hearkened unto, and recovered (if it may be) to come in unto your majesty to impart his own griefs, which no doubt he will do, if he will like his security. And then, I am persuaded, he will simply acknowledge to your majesty how

far he hath offended you; and besides (notwithstanding his protection) he will, if it so stand with your majesty's pleasure, offer himself to the marshal (who hath been the chiefest instrument against him) to prove with his sword that he hath most wrongfully accused him. And because it is no conquest for him to overthrow a man ever held in the world to be of most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary to come armed against him naked, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge.

“ I am bold to say thus much for the earl, because I know his valour, and am persuaded he will perform it; and what I have spoken of him, over and above this, these reasons have led me to it.

“ Being often his bedfellow, he hath divers times bemoaned himself, with tears in his eyes, saying, if he knew any way in the world to behave himself (otherwise than he hath done) to procure your majesty's assured good opinion of him, he would not spare (if it pleased you to command him) to offer himself to serve your highness in any part of the world against your enemies, though he were sure to lose his life.

“ And as he hath in private thus bemoaned himself unto me, so are there many eye-witnesses here in your highness's court, who have seen him do no less openly; which tears have neither proceeded from dissimulation, nor of a childish disposition, (for all who know him will acquit him thereof,) but of meer zeal unto your high-

ness, and grief and fear to lose your favour, whom he desireth with life, and all he hath, most dutifully and loyally to serve....

“ Your majesty, since you were queen, never had so great cause to bethink you of the service of that place [the north] as now you have. Your highness shall not get so great honour in cutting off him, and thousands of those bare people that follow him, as you shall to win him and them, to be good and loyal subjects, and to live and serve your highness, for good offices. As the case now standeth with the earl, he hath small encouragements to be otherwise than now he is.

“ For where it was your majesty’s pleasure he should have great encouragement given him, by thanks for his last good service against Maguire, it was held from him, and instead of that, they devised all means and policies to aggravate matters against him to your majesty, which is credibly made known unto him; and more, that upon what security soever he should come in, your majesty’s pleasure is to have him detained.”*

To him government was obliged to look, for the support of its authority in the northern province, which their enormities rendered every day more detestable, for restraining discontents, which they were multiplying by unlimited spoliations, insults, and perfidious murders. ’Tis not wonderful, that a brave man, endowed with uncommon vigour of mind and body, should shed tears, at the awful prospect of ruin impend-

* Lee’s Memorial to queen Elizabeth.

ing over the remains of a once flourishing nation, the means of averting which were so doubtful. The way of submission, and cultivating the countenance of Elizabeth, he pursued zealously and frankly, for many years; serving in her majesty's armies, at his own heavy charge, exposed to all the hardships and perils of a military life. Yet all that time he experienced little thanks or rewards for his services. Experience taught him, that popery was a state crime, against which Elizabeth was inexorable; and, that his fostering seminaries, i. e. permitting or patronizing schools for the education of youth in the catholic religion, and especially for holy orders, effaced all the merits of his loyalty with a queen at internecine war with pope and popery. Conscious of the secret practices of his enemies against him, at the court of England, and shunning the violent outrages of the deputy, whom he might easily have crushed, he determined to repair to London, and lay a statement of his own case, and the grievances of his neighbouring territories, before the queen and the privy council, to whom he justified his own conduct. Leland says, " he had departed without licence from the deputy, and was therefore at first restrained of his liberty; but such was the well-dissembled zeal of his submission and humility, that the offence was soon pardoned, and the earl admitted before the privy council, to give such assurance of his future loyalty as should be demanded. He agreed to find sureties for his good behaviour, with the addition of hostages to be delivered to the Irish

deputy, and to be exchanged once in three months. The principal articles which he was thus bound to perform were, to continue loyal and peaceable; to renounce all Irish sovereignty and Irish customs; and to promote the establishment of English laws and manners in his district; to give no aid to the queen's enemies; to hold no correspondence with foreign traitors; to maintain no monks or friars; not to meddle with spiritual livings; to levy no forces without licence of the state; to keep his troop of fifty horse in the queen's pay complete; and to be ever ready on a general hosting to attend the royal standard; to supply the garrison of Blackwater with provisions at a reasonable price; to impose no exactions but by commission from the state; and to execute no criminals but by licence of martial law. The articles which restrained him in the exercise of Irish sovereignty, were, at his representations of the equity and necessity of it, ordered to be imposed on the chieftains of his neighbourhood also. He readily and cheerfully acquiesced in every requisition; and the earl of Ormond and Sir Christopher Hatton became sureties for his performance.

“ Scarcely had this accommodation been concluded, when the sons of John O’Nial, who envied and dreaded the rising power of Tirone, made a bold attempt to effect his ruin. Hugh, a bastard son of John, surnamed Ne-Gavelocke, or the Fettered, from the circumstance of his being born in the captivity of his mother, was commissioned to repair to the court of England,

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and there to accuse the earl of several articles of treason, particularly of having entered into secret negotiations with Spain, by means of those Spaniards who had been shipwrecked on his coast. Tirone affected to treat this accusation with contempt; he imputed it to the enmity which his countrymen had conceived against him from his attachment to the queen; and observed, that he who had advised the total suppression of the name of O'Nial never could be forgiven by that haughty sept. Thus converting this charge into a proof of his merits, he so wrought upon the council, that the accuser was neglected, and the earl permitted to return to Ireland. His promises and assurances of fulfilling his engagements were renewed to the lord deputy; but when pressed to execute his indentures in due form, he artfully replied, that all his neighbouring lords stood equally engaged with him, and that when they were ready to appear before the state, and enter into the necessary securities, he should be found equally prepared; but to execute his indentures singly, while they continued free, were only to expose his country to their lawless depredations; and to deprive himself of all power of defence."*

Why Leland should stile his contempt of an accusation, ascribed by himself, a few lines before, to the envy of John O'Nial's sons, dreading his rising power? 'Tis of a piece with the affectation, and false colouring, that infect his

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iii. p. 315.

whole history, which by blending truth and fiction, discolouring the compound with false daubing, exhibit a caricature, not a true picture of the times. His confidence in his own integrity, and his punctuality to his engagements, must have been well assured, before he would throw himself into the power of those, who were prodigal of Irish blood; never scrupling any means of shedding it; or venture to a place where every Irishman could view a memento of his fate, on beholding the heads of Desmond, O'Rourke, &c. impaled on London-bridge. What is the *artful* reply? Merely, a very true and just one. Leland must have considered the public, for which he wrote, a pack of foolish unreflecting ideots; or he would not venture to amuse them with his artful, affected misapplication of terms. Talking of the escape of O'Donnel, chieftain of Tyrconnel, Tyrone's son-in-law, from a treacherous captivity and bondage in Dublin castle, he says, "however this may be, the hostages effected their escape, and some proceeded directly, and without any difficulty, to their own country. Hugh O'Donnel, and Arthur, a youth of the family of O'Nial, being hotly pursued, fled for immediate shelter to some of the Irish septs in the neighbourhood of the capital; and gained a miserable retreat in the dreary season of the year; where their friends, terrified by the queen's troops, left them for some days, to struggle with the miseries of cold and hunger; and when they at length ventured to their relief, found the young O'Nial expiring with famine, and Hugh O'Don-

nel deprived of his limbs, by the severity of cold, lamenting over his companion. He was harboured, attended, and restored. He regained his country with an implacable detestation of the English power, sharpened by the recollection of his sufferings; and was soon after invested with the Irish chieftainry of Tirconnel, on the resignation of his father; so as to be thus enabled to give a freer course to his resentment.”*

A hostage is a person delivered to a conqueror, as a guarantee for the fulfilment of a treaty, not to be chained in a loathsome dungeon, but treated honorably. Never before did I see the term applied to a kidnapped child. Behold Leland's kidnapped hostage; from his own account of the faithless capture of young O'Donnel, by the artifice of deputy Perrot, in page 479. Lee, with the conscience of a true-born Englishman, allows the kidnapping of Irish children, especially those of great lords, to be good and commendable; but condemns the inhuman treatment of kidnapped O'Donnel; for he says, “When there hath been a stratagem used for the taking into your majesty's hands a young * youth, the heir of a great country, by whose taking his whole country would have been held in obedience, the practice whereof was most good and commendable; yet (after the obtaining of him) his manner of usage was most dishonourable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. p. 316.

† The earl of Tyrconnel.

nor man.”* As it fared with the man-mountain in the kingdom of Liliput, fresh accusations against Tyrone. He was married to Bagnal’s sister; he seduced her affections; his daughter was married to O’Donnel; he strengthened himself by an alliance; he put his accuser, Hugh na Ngabhloe, to death, an act of sovereignty. “ But Tirone who still found it necessary to dissemble, declared that his alliance with O’Donnel was intended merely to keep him firm to his allegiance, that the outrages which Tirlaugh had suffered were the consequences of his own lawless violence; that far from seducing the sister of Sir Henry Bagnal, she had freely consented to become his consort, and that he was equally at liberty to accept her, as he had been regularly divorced from his former wife. He accused his brother-in-law of usurping an authority in Ulster, inconsistent with his just rights, but at the same time artfully requested the lord’s of her majesty’s council to prevail on Bagnal to be reconciled to him, that they might live as kinsmen and neighbours, and concur amicably in the service of government. To give these professions a greater air of sincerity, he admitted his country to be formed into a shire, and divided into baronies after the English model. The northern province, which harboured the most pestilent disaffection, now seemed reduced and pacified; and government found leisure to attend to no other districts of the island. A composition for purveyance was esta-

* Lee’s Memorial.

blished in Munster for three years; and the queen, flattered by finding every province of Ireland at length consenting to contribute in this manner, to the augmentation of her revenue.”*

Dissemble.—A man of sound ability, endowed with such policy as the Doctor imputes to Hugh O’Nial, might cordially and seriously wish for peace with English power, almost on any terms; considering the relative situation of both parties. Weakness and disunion on one side; power, wealth, and concord, on the other. Prudence would direct him to dissemble his resentments, to justify his conduct, and seek to ward off the insidious manœuvres of the sanguinary wolves, who thirsted for Irish blood and plunder, by every conciliatory resource of submission and accommodation. *Artfully.*—To request the interference of an umpire, towards a reconciliation with a brother-in-law, would appear a very innocent, nay, a humane and christian artifice. The northern province, which harboured the most *pestilent disaffection*.—Yes, in common with the rest of Ireland, it harboured the pestiferous monsters, whose excessive cruelties, treasons, and perfidies, wanton and brutal lust, would excite commotion and civil war in the most peaceable and best established kingdom in the world. Did England bear the thousandth part of such outrages, when it rose against Charles I. and James II. Did Switzerland, when it rose against Austria? Did America, an English colony? The insults

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. iii. pp. 318, 319.

offered her, compared to the accumulated wrongs, and inhuman oppressions, heaped on the Irish, during upwards of four centuries, would weigh but as a barley-corn against the globe. Why did they not resist sooner, and more efficaciously? Because if they were disaffected to their common tyrants, they were still more disaffected to each other. Their pride, that hereditary malady, which sticks to their degraded posterity, even in rags; their mutual jealousies, and vindictive spirit of perpetuating old family quarrels, kept them asunder. In the stile of the English court and law, they are emphatically called, the Irish enemy. In their own language, they deserve that title still better; for they proved the most mortal enemies to each other, who gloried and delighted in cutting each other down; as it shall appear in this last war ever undertaken in defence of national independence and liberty of conscience. They were not Englishmen, but the hands and arms of Irishmen, who cut down the Irish. The English, unable to sustain the severities of Irish warfare, were dropping like rotten sheep; but Irish catholics were found in abundance, to repair these losses, and bear the brunt and havoc. The Irish were not only vindictive, but very corruptible. Many chieftains and leaders were bought with English gold. David Hume relates, that Elizabeth expended six hundred thousand pounds in six months on the Irish war; an enormous sum in those days, whether we consider the relative value of currency, or the comparative resources of England at these different periods.

The queen was so exhausted by these sacrifices, that she sold the crown jewels and royal demesnes; one leading step to the overthrow of the monarchy, and her new church, under her successors. The Irish bards were not neglected in the distribution. These possessed considerable influence on the public mind, somewhat like the orators at Athens. As Philip had always one or other of these in pay, so Bess hired bards to revive old rivalries. Among these venal revivers of almost forgotten animosities, Teag mac Daire holds a distinguished rank. Taking up an old poem of Torna Eiges, in which the pre:eminence of the north over the south is expressly affirmed, he undertook its refutation. The northern bards, unaware of the plot, gave into the bait, and espoused the political maxims of Torna Eiges. The controversy continued some years, and contributed, as far as bardic influence reached, to rekindle and inflame the animosities of the north and south. Which of the bards wrote best or worst; which maintained the right or wrong position, was matter of great indifference to the instigators of this poetic warfare. It was enough, that it served the English interest.

All Ireland being pretty well civilized by depopulating devastations, Mr. Leland introduces the foundation of Trinity College, as an interlude between the tragical scenes, that covered this country with ruins, bathed the soil with the best blood of its inhabitants, converting it, literally, into an Haceldama, field of blood, a catacomb of mangled carcases. A source of civility and

refinement indeed ! After destroying all the seminaries of learning in the kingdom, and prohibiting men, by penalties of fine, imprisonment, torture and death, to be taught the only religion they would be taught ; deprived of instruction in their own native language, the only tongue understood by the great majority, and, consequently, the only one through which they receive civility and refinement, the institution of a single school, and that partial, for the exclusive benefit of a sect, leaves no great room to a nation for boasting of civilization and refinement. The foundation of a learned seminary must be allowed useful ; but many circumstances obscure the lustre of this establishment. We see no traces of royal munificence, nurturing its infancy, unless a sheet of parchment, with a seal appended to it. If, from the immense plunder of churches and monasteries, a scrap of one, called Allhallows, erected by the adulterous harbinger of his country's destroyers, was granted by the citizens of Dublin for this purpose, it will not seem a violent effort of liberality. The popish English settlers far exceeded this measure of retribution ; for, after destroying two or three monasteries, possessed by natives, as a recompence to God and religion, and " to strengthen us," they gave one to monks of English birth or blood. Were that seminary destined for the improvement of the nation, it might be boasted as a source of civility. Alas, it was far from that just and human policy. It was erected for the narrow purposes of a sect, to propagate that religious innovation, aptly

stiled by lord Clare, the "pestilent bane" of Ireland. The great mass of the natives were still reduced to languish in ignorance at home, or seek education abroad. A more enlightened policy has happily since prevailed, and rendered this university, what every similar institution should be, a national benefit.

Melodious lyre of Innisfail, strike mournful notes. The heroes, who delighted in thy festive notes, and cherished thy muse, are hastening to the last act of the fatal tragedy, which closes with their utter overthrow, saddened by calamities unequalled, by desolation and ruin seldom inflicted by human beings; never, before or since, by people professing christianity on their fellow christians. A nation, patriarchal, in its recorded antiquity, in its constitution, laws, manners and customs, is on the point of extermination; or, if a remnant is to survive slaughter and famine, 'tis only to irretrievable degradation. The monuments of their genius, in poetry, music, physic and philosophy, are devoted to perish. Their language, one of the most elegant, certainly the most copious and interesting in the world, is to be suppressed, by worse than Gothic barbarians. The religion, taught by St. Patrick, and professed, when he taught, by the whole christian world, is to be persecuted, its professors are to endure every sort of punishment, in their persons, properties, and posterity; in their rights, as men and citizens, for ages. The party scribblers, who have laboured to disfigure the transactions of these days, with the coloured

gas of fiction and deception, partly prejudice, partly voluntary misrepresentation, have called the resistance of the northerns, rebellions. Yes: if unsuccessful war be rebellion. Washington, defeated, would hang as a rebel. Is resistance never lawful? Are we to admit passive obedience, and non-resistance, as a sacred maxim? If so, the reformation stands convicted from its birth; as it consisted in opposition to the established authorities. The reformers would every where be condemned, on the same principle; for they conspired the downfall of church and state, wherever they could venture on the experiment. If resistance to lawless tyranny be ever justifiable, the northern Irish cannot be impeached of rashness or unwarrantable resistance. First, they were not subjects, in the whole latitude of that word; but were governed by their own laws, and by the legitimate, recognized authority of their native princes, acknowledging, merely, such feudal obedience to the crown of England, as their progenitors paid to their own monarchs; with whom, to wage war, was not rebellion in an Irish chieftain; or as the electors and princes of Germany did homage to the emperor, against whom they might make war, without being denominated or treated as rebels. Were they even subjects, in every sense of the word, the tyranny exercised over them was so cruel, perfidious, and worse than inhuman; carried on with such audacity of insult, such contemptuous insolence, such revolting defiance of all law, human and divine, with such undisguised views of extermi-

nation and extinction of religion, as sanctified resistance by every sanction that God conferred on man, as a rational, moral and religious being, member of a civilized and religious society, whose government should be ruled by the eternal principles of moral justice, charity and beneficence. A government, which studied not the happiness, but the destruction of the people, which protected neither persons, nor property, but violated both with persevering constancy, not caring to hide its intention of rooting out its antient inhabitants; a government of professed murderers, plunderers, bible-mad, persecuting demoniacs, deserved neither respect or obedience, but the vengeance of God and man, which it grievously and hourly provoked. Allowed, that these frantic fanatics made no improvement in tyranny, treachery or cruelty, that were not practised by their popish predecessors, some of whose atrocities they did not even equal. But, besides that recrimination is no justification, the English papists of birth and blood, persecuted not protestants, but papists, as Irishmen; and as such they smarted, under the crushing destructive yoke of insolent taskmasters; who, in all the transmutations of their faith and policy, in the phrenzy of revolution, religious innovation, rebellion, or in the calm security of peaceful settlement, wealth and dominion, had not abated the hatred they bore to the unfortunate slaves who tilled this fair island for their emolument.

What law was not violated? Protection and

obedience are reciprocal. The law of England neither protected an Irishman's life, nor avenged his death. This is attested by Sir John Temple, who, in his *History of the Irish Rebellion*, p. 7, states, "Those that were adventurers in the first conquests (of Ireland), and such other of the English nation as came over afterwards, took possession, by virtue of former grants, of the whole kingdom, drove the Irish, in a manner, out of all the habitable parts of it, and settled themselves in all the plains and fertile places of the country, especially in the chief towns, ports, and sea-coasts. It was no capital offence to kill any of the rest of the (non-enfranchised) Irish; the law did neither protect their life, nor revenge their death." "It was not till the 12th of James I. ann. 1614, that the Irish were considered as subjects; for then an act was made in the Irish parliament, declaring, that the natives of Irish blood were in several statutes and records called Irish enemies, and accordingly abridged of the benefit of the laws, but that being then taken into his majesty's gracious protection under one law, as dutiful subjects—those laws of distinction and difference were wholly abrogated."* Public faith broken, is attested by Lee, in his *Memorial to queen Elizabeth*, for he says, that "the Irish, who have once offended, live they never so honestly afterwards, if they grow into wealth, are sure to be cut off by one indirect means or other." Of

* *Borlase Reduct. of Ireland*, p. 188.

this he gives the following melancholy instance. “ In one of her majesty’s civil shires, there lived an Irishman peaceably and quietly as a good subject, many years together, whereby he grew into great wealth ; which his landlord thirsting after, and desirous to remove him from his land, entered into practice with the sheriff of the shire to dispatch this simple man, and divide his goods between them. Whereupon they sent one of his own servants for him, and he coming with him, they presently took his man and hanged him, and keeping the master prisoner, they went immediately to his dwelling, and shared his substance, which was of great value, between them, turning his wife and many children to begging. After they had kept him (the master) fast for a season with the sheriff, they carried him to the castle of Dublin, where he lay by the space of two or three terms, and he having no matter objected against him, whereupon to be tried by law, they by their credit and countenance (being both English gentlemen, and he, who was the landlord, the chiefest man in the shire) informed the lord deputy so hardly of him, as that, without indictment or trial, they executed him ; to the great scandal of her majesty’s state, and the impeachment of her laws. Yet this, and the like exemplary justice (adds he) is ministered to your majesty’s poor subjects there.”* The massacres of Mullah-maisteen, Derry, Kilkenny, Dublin, Waterford, &c. the perfidious engage-

* Lee’s Memorial.

ment of the public faith procured the opportunity, and its unprincipled breach accomplished the murder of unsuspecting loyalty. In fact, the principle invariably acted on was, that no faith was to be kept with the Irish. Like the Mahometans towards the Christians; no peace with the Irish enemy, only a cessation of arms, to wait a more favourable juncture for forwarding the plan of extermination. Was private faith more respected? Witness the murderous invitations to bloody banquets... O'Brien, Kavanagh, O'Neil, Fitzgerald's, by the deputy, thence to England, the tower, the scaffold, the spike. The breach of faith towards the Irish was so common, that mistrust of Englishmen, whether by birth or blood, except those who degenerated from the common perfidy, to more honourable native principles, passed into a proverb, *Na dean comamle fear Gall, &c.* Form no partnership with an alien; if you do, woe be to you, always on the watch to deceive; behold alien partnership with you.

No greater or more flagrant violation of public and private faith has been recorded, than those practised under pretence of introducing English law and civilization among the Irish. English law was to be introduced by miscreants, whom every law would sentence to the gallows; robbers, thieves, prostitutes, vagabonds equally profligate and impious; and they were diligent in the practice of their several professions, to procure the love and attachment of the natives to novel institutions, by plundering, murdering, ravishing

females, pillaging the sacred utensils from churches and altars, worthy missionaries of a propaganda of immorality and impiety. These able contrivers of evil rightly judged, that profligacy of manners, and general corruption, would be accompanied by a decay of religion, and facilitate access to strange doctrines; hence their endeavours to spread the pestilent infection among the natives; or excessive tyranny, steeled against every principle of conscience or remorse, of right and wrong; devoid of the fear of God, as of all human feelings; copper-sheath fronted against every impression of shame or decency; of the public opinion of the present or future generations, that would let loose on the public, and licence a nefarious gang of freebooters, for whom the jail or the gallows would be too mild a destination, to put them to live on free quarters, and take, as the reward of their crimes, the plunder of an unhappy people, whose religion and morality were shocked and scandalized, at scenes of debauchery, cruelty, and unutterable abominations, exhibited by these fiends to their astonished senses, such as they never witnessed, nor could conceive possible.

If human nature revolted, as it necessarily must, if any resistance was made, to this odious, base, filthy prostitution of ruffian tyranny, run mad with the fumes boiling furiously from Beelzebub's hottest cauldron, inflaming their greedy thirst for blood, plunder, and the diffusion of impiety and profligacy, traitors proclaimed, confiscations, massacres, &c. &c. Wherever these

detestable locusts appeared, terror and dismay seized the inhabitants; tumults and insurrection unavoidably followed, and drew in their train military execution. Hence, Maguire, being asked by the deputy, if he would admit a sheriff into his country, replied, yes; but tell me his errand, that, if any of my people kill him, I may levy it on the country. Sensible, that the worse than brutal excesses, perpetrated by these ministers of rapine, and impudent abandoned vice, would provoke retaliation. Dreading the evils of such a visitation, he compounded with the deputy for a precarious respite, paying him three hundred cows, on condition of not sending a sheriff into his country, during the remainder of his deputyship; which might not be a year, perhaps not a month. But exemption from so dreadful a calamity for a year, even for a month, was considered a blessing worth the purchase. Fitzwilliam took the cows, but, with the usual good faith of Englishmen in their dealings with the Irish, he sent the notorious captain Willis, with his gang of licenced felons and freebooters, to prey on Fermanagh; and astonish the affrighted inhabitants, with the strange and woeful experience of their lewd excesses, and diabolical practices. The misfortunes, foreboded by Maguire, come to pass. The cries and resentment of the victims reached his ears. He was eye-witness of the infamies and scandals, committed. He obeyed his nature, heard the cry of suffering humanity, rose on the ruffians, cooped them up in a church, where an indignant outraged people would have

executed summary and merited justice; if the miscreants had not been saved by the interposition of Tyrone, on condition of departing out of the country. Maguire was proclaimed a traitor. The queen's forces were marched against him; who, in conjunction with Tyrone's forces, defeated him and his allies, and took his castle of Enniskillen. In this action Tyrone was wounded in the thigh; and, instead of thanks, he was given to understand, that he too was mentioned in the catalogue of traitors; on which he separated from the English army, and visited no longer the deputy or general, alledging apprehensions of treachery, which appear to have been well grounded.—See pp. 449, 500, 501, 502.

Hugh O'Neil, long dissatisfied with the treatment he experienced from the Irish government, unable to rely on the promises of the British cabinet, whose wily politics seemed influenced by caprice, alternately declaring for and against him, but at bottom determined to use him as an instrument for their designs on the remnant of the antient race and religion, could see neither honor or safety in the terms, on which he served her majesty hitherto. He saw, that the avidity of adventurers, who preyed on three provinces, was not yet sated, but coveted a fourth; and, that in quest of plunder there could be no dearth of new comers. The danger now approached his own door. M'Mahon had fallen by English perfidy, and Orgial became their booty. He had himself aided them in the reduction of Maguire, and Fermanagh fell into their hands, with its prin-

cipal fort, Enniskillen. Who was next to be assailed, but O'Donnel or himself? A similar pretext, of declaring them traitors, as served against Maguire, was always at hand. Some scoundrel, like Willis, Conel, Fuller, &c. might be sent, with an infamous crew of vagabonds and strumpets, to civilize Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and resistance, treason. What the Milesians endured, whithersoever English power extended, spoke strong warning of his own fate. Religion, too, was in danger of perishing in the wreck; a matter of no secondary moment to any man, much less to a wise statesman. What perils awaited the catholic faith were visible, from the persecution it was crushed with in England.* Some English general affirmed, that Tyrone had no more religion than his horse; but, besides that the relation of an enemy is not incautiously admissible, his toleration, or even courtesy to the new faith, argued no indifference to his own, but the liberality of a mind enlightened beyond his age. The preservation of the catholic church, in its rights and immunities, within the limits of his jurisdiction; his encouragement of seminaries, afford no proof of indifference. Policy might have prompted some affectation of zeal on declaring himself a champion of the faith, but to attribute the whole of his religious conduct to that inferior consideration, is not equitable.

After maturely weighing the extreme peril of the enterprize, Tyrone resolved to pass the

* See ut supra, p. 454, 455.

Rubicon, and raise the sword against a tyranny, at once terrible, base, odious and perfidious. The power of the English had grown colossal in distracted Ireland. Three fourths of the land yielded resources, in men and means, to his enemies, supported by the money, sea and land forces of England. To balance these odds, he could barely expect the co-operation of a few partizans; such as Tyrrell, Feadh mac Hugh, O'Byrne, Pierce Lacey, to make diversions in other parts, while the north must sustain the main brunt of war. Succours were promised by Spain, wishing to avenge the assistance given by Elizabeth to the revolted Netherlands, and to the Hugonots, against the catholic League of France, in alliance. But effectual assistance could not soon be expected, from a power, slow in council, tardy in execution, involved in the civil wars of France, and in war with the Netherlands and England.

Beside these motives for a prudent hesitation in declaring his intention, considerations of a domestic nature occurred, to postpone his manifestation of hostile designs. Sensible of the slender tie that bound the obedience of the chieftains to a provincial king, and how easily they might be detached, by the revival of antient animosities, or by the weighty argument of an English subsidy, it was sound policy to await, until oppression, added to insult, had forced them to commit themselves with English power so deeply, as to look to no private accommodation with it.

Fitzwilliam, after provoking discontent and insurrection in so many places, by every species

of cruelty, that avarice, tyranny and religious persecution could contrive, like a coward, as he was, dreading the commotions he had excited, petitioned to be recalled from a scene of conflagration, after kindling the wisp, loaded with the spoils and curses of a plagued people.* Why so odious and oppressive a tyrant was so long continued as deputy, to scourge and flay the suffering Irish, was best known to his employers, sufficiently informed of his criminal and dishonourable conduct to the natives. The counsels of those, who wished for insurrection and confiscations, emboldened by a national and deceitful contempt for the power of the northerns, prevailed; and the anti-catholic zeal of the queen flattered her with the hope of speedily extinguishing the catholic faith in Ireland, by the conquest of the north, the only part of Ireland that could seriously oppose its suppression. What must have been their astonishment and disappointment, at the first military essays of O'Donnel, and the energy displayed by the northerns, in the course of this seven year's war; during which they were often victorious, over the utmost exertion of English power, aided by half Ireland; and often seemed on the point of chasing English power from the land.

On the arrival of the new deputy, Sir John Russel, O'Neil appeared at the Irish court, and gave satisfactory reasons for keeping aloof, during the latter part of Fitzwilliam's deputyship.

* See Lee's Memorial.—Appendix.

Satisfactory it seems they proved, to the Anglo-Irish council, who, in spite of the malicious accusations of his mortal enemy, Bagnal, rejected the advice of breaking the public faith, pledged to him, by detaining him prisoner. Reasons, which satisfied cotemporaries and enemies, possessed of every means of information, confronted with the accusations of a neighbouring, powerful and mortal enemy, ought, one would suppose, content a modern writer of history, if not warped from candour and truth, by party prejudice. Even had Tyrone so long cloaked real disaffection to English government, under the mask of loyalty; and sought to train and arm his followers, under pretence of serving the queen, he would only have imitated the successful policy of prince Maurice of Saxony, in the service of Charles V. in his war against the protestants of Germany. If dissimulation be commendable, to protect the religion and independence of German protestants, against the encroachments of their feudal sovereign, why must it be wicked and detestable, in the service of Irish catholics, against the more violent assaults of a power not less limited. None but one infected with the false logic of party prejudice, would make any distinction between two cases, perfectly similar, without any the least shade of difference, except solely in the issue; one being crowned by success, the other disgraced by defeat.

I cannot proceed further, without some animadversions on the indecent and impudent libel, published by David Hume, in the fifth volume

of his history of England, on the inhabitants of this country. Was it for Hottentots or Englishmen, he vented this volley of scurrilous abuse, teeming with ignorance, nauseating with vulgarity of invective, disgusting by the rancour of impotent malignity? His account is either true or false. If the first, the English have been the most barbarous of invaders; for it shall be proved, that Ireland was highly civilized before their arrival. If the latter, 'tis a signed death-warrant of their moral character. If every account of Ireland, published for English readers, is sure of procuring reputation and profit to the author, just in proportion as it violates truth, for libellous defamation, and shocking caricatures of men and manners, what an abominable race, to harbour misanthropy, such infernal hatred, towards a people, whose population and soil are such great sources of their opulence and power. To this worrying backbiter, as a hound of the same kennel, may be applied my former stricture on his fellow calumniator. Every English dabbler in literature, since Gerald Barry, thinks himself authorized, by the destruction of our records, to publish fictions, however incredible, concerning the *terra australis incognita* of our history. Their historians are gravely employed to publish historical lies against this country. Not a paltry compilation can be published, under the title of gazetteer, geography, magazine, but must mangle and disfigure the name and character of Ireland. But people are not to be credited to our disadvantage, who demonstrated their abhorrence of

truth, and their enmity to historical monuments, in diligently robbing us of our records and manuscripts of every kind; as far as their utmost power and influence could reach, using their best endeavours to destroy all remembrance of past events, that they might be at liberty to publish their own malicious forgeries, without fear of detection. The monuments of Irish genius are scattered to the wind; the records and memorials of our fame dispersed or destroyed; the memory of the illustrious dead, and the character of the living, are equally insulted; we are stript bare, and then reproached with our poverty; we have been deprived of education, and then reproached with our ignorance; our colleges, that abounded with learning, and learned men, who enlightened Europe, our seminaries of physic, poetry, music, &c. were suppressed, and their scientific labours destroyed or carried off, and we are insultingly told, that our ancestors were barbarians; we have been deprived of our manufactures, and the means of employing and feeding our people, and they are reproached with laziness! Like a wreck drifted by the storm to a barbarous inhospitable shore, our spoils are become the prey of the robber and the thief. One set runs away with our saints, another snatches our doctors, and learned men; many are the filchers of our music, which like base plagiarists, they publish in their own names, witness Hooker's *Voice of Love*, and *Along*, &c. Our poets and heroes cannot escape them, and a puny Caledonian attempted to run away with our mighty Fion and his grandson Ossian; but the

wight proved too feeble for the load; stung at the disappointment, the cunning Scotchman made wooden figures of the hero, painted and dressed them out from his own fancy, and called them, as well he might, highlanders. Then they attacked the credit of our annals and history. In opposition to the current of antiquity, they denied the arrival of the Spaniards into Ireland, and the emigration of the Scots from Ireland to Caledonia, where they at length obtained the sovereignty, and gave the country its present name, in the teeth of their own uniform tradition, and of the testimonies of their oldest historians. Our literary champions, Ward, Lynch, David Batheus, Colgan, Usher, O'Flaherty, O'Halloran, and Chas. O'Connor, general Vallancey, have sallied forth like the Argonauts, to recover the golden prize, and assert its just titles to Ogygia Atlantica. Injuries sit lighter on men of spirit than insults, and justly too. Reputation is dearer than wealth; still more to a nation, or an extensive description of persons, than to an individual. Immortal by nature, they must reap the good or ill annexed to reputation individually, and collectively it is a concern of the first magnitude; and, next to the criminality of deserving a bad character, is the turpitude of abandoning fair fame the prey of foul calumny and falsehood. Further, character never goes alone; it is the natural outguard and bulwark of every man's safety and comfortable existence: if it is surrendered, the enemy will not stop there, but push his attacks against other vital parts, with the

more advantage, as the protecting shield of Reputation is gone.

The virulent chapter on the Irish, Wilkes's favourite number, begins with a bull. "Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed, that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. Good heavens, what confusion of ideas! how many blunders in one short period. If English dominion had been ESTABLISHED, how could English authority continue little more than nominal? If the authority was nominal, the dominion too must be nominal, since real dominion, without real authority, is unintelligible. Either both are real, or both nominal. "Though," beginning the sentence, holds out a reason, "the Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the EXTERIOR MARKS of obeisance to a power, which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot, to retain them in their duty, they relapsed into their former state of independence!" More confusion of ideas. That the Irish might have been prudently polite, in complimenting and bowing to their august visitor, Henry II. is not improbable; but the coy abstemiousness of the English monarch, in the use of irresistible power, is so truly admirable, so unlike himself, and all who sat on his throne before and after, that, with irresistible power he could, and no doubt would have wrested substantial pledges of their future obedience. He could have forced hostages from them, establish

a revenue, and a standing army, to be maintained and recruited in the country, to ensure their obeisance. Yet, with all these efficacious means in his hands, he contents himself with mere exterior marks; bid them take care of themselves; departs with his unopposable force, and leaves them just as they were. Here was *nolo regnare*, I will not reign, in sincerity. "Too weak to introduce order and obedience among a rude people." Consequently, no such power as could not be resisted. "And though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form, from the internal combination or policy of the Irish." What form of civil government they could bestow, he has himself, in this very volume, accurately delineated, such as exists now no where in Europe, except in Turkey. The latter part is pretty true; for the English colony formed one of the obstacles to the restoration of the Irish monarchy and constitution. Had Mr. Hume taken the pains to procure better information, he would have learned, that the English did not, until the reign of queen Elizabeth, conquer Ireland. That they got their establishment here, by the grant of Mac Murchad, whom they assisted in the recovery of his kingdom of Leinster. That the settlers, in Munster and Connaught, obtained tracts of land from the native princes, through fortunate interferences in the civil broils, occasioned by contested elections to the chieftainry, alliances, and other means, specified in the beginning of this work. That the power of

England extended not beyond the Pale, which was ever tributary to the kings of Leinster, until the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. "But the English carried farther their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilized customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and every where marked them out as aliens and enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests, from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardor of their revenge to their yet untamed barbarity they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous." Until the reign we are now treating of, the Irish had no occasion to skulk in marshes and forests, except as a temporary expedient, to answer war manœuvres; since they held possession of more than nine-tenths of the soil, until the reign of Elizabeth. I might have said nineteen-twentieths; because the settlers out of the Pale were become Irish, nature and interest baffling barbarous laws. "As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory." Why not the source of military glory? Ireland was far more valuable and populous than Scotland, yet the kings of England

did not disdain to attempt its conquest. The conquest of Wales also, a poor principality, was thought to contribute something to their fame. The English cabinet was too wise to attempt at once the conquest of the whole island; judging it better to proceed with patience in the task of gradually reducing the petty princes one after another, perpetuating anarchy, fomenting divisions, and causing the Irish to hew each other to pieces. He might have learned, from a close intimacy with Irish affairs, that, instead of being able to conquer all Ireland, a contest of forty years with one Irish chief, during which the greatest English army that ever landed in Ireland, before or since, was foiled, ended in a treaty that confounded English pride, being compelled to pay tribute for tolerating the colony in Ireland. Even so late as the latter period of Elizabeth, when three-fourths of Ireland might be considered as subdued, at least enfeebled, it was considered politic to hide from the declining Milesians the intention of imposing English government on them. Essex, in his letter to queen Elizabeth, says, “ if your majesty will have a strong party in the Irish nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till the strength of the Irish be so broken, that they shall see no safety but in your majestie’s protection.” From this general’s statement it is evident, that no hope was entertained of conquering them by fair war, but by perfidy and inhuman warfare. “ By all this imprudent conduct of England,

the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition, into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk, before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome." What a strange confusion of ideas and words! The natives of its dependent state were then independent, if they were as the north and west of Europe were before the Roman conquest. How could the natives of British dependency be independent? When was the north of Europe conquered by Rome? The frontiers of the Roman empire nearest the north of Europe, were Gaul and Pannonia, which are in the middle, not the north of Europe. During upwards of four centuries, Ireland was no more a British dependency than France. The king of England had dependencies in both kingdoms, for the preservation of which they were almost continually at war. They assumed titles from both countries, from which they derived no real sovereignty over either. The lord of Ireland was as little obeyed beyond the Pale, as the king of England and France was out of his feudal French territory. In diplomatic and law language, they were equally accosted as stiled, allies, potentates, or enemies. In Hume's idea, Gaul and Spain were sunk before the Romans blessed them with civility and slavery! Where did they sink from, or into what? Liberty and independence. What an abject condition! From Roman history we may see, if we chuse to enquire, that Gaul and Spain were populous, brave, and wealthy, before civi-

lity and slavery were bestowed on them; necessities and comforts of life were abundant; nor were they destitute of science and education. For my part, I cannot discern any great civilization or improvement introduced by Roman arms into any of the provinces. What little information they possessed, scantily diffused, they entirely borrowed from Athens, which was their only university. Virgil, in his fine eulogium on Italy, prudently disclaims all pretension to competition in pursuits of science and the fine arts, complimenting the Romans with their favourite pursuit, in which only they studied to excel, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, to spare the subdued and conquer the haughty. Indeed were they generally a scientific people, from which they were far, they would not deem it consistent with their civilizing policy to diffuse literature and science in the provinces; because mental illumination and slavery are not congenial associates. Roman civility made them truly, witness the cries of the Britons to Ætius, unable to withstand the predatory incursions of the Scots, and easily conquered by their Saxon allies. Witness the ease with which the uncivilized northerners, comparatively few, overran all the provinces, Italy and Rome itself. “ Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these ad-

vantages, inhabited by a people, whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians." The Irish, surely, owe David Hume many thanks, for this rough-spun compliment. These words are of ambiguous signification. To the Greeks, all nations were barbarians. The Romans copied from them, with an exception to the Greeks. The word itself, borb, rampant, fierce; from borr, satiety of nourishment, high condition, or, to use a vulgar phrase, 'going out of one's skin,' which was far from being the condition of the Irish in the latter end of the sixteenth century; when, torn to pieces by civil and foreign war, the arts of peace were neglected or crushed, and the infernal policy of Bess and her council, added plague and famine to the wasting sword and fire that laid waste the land. People of savage manners may dwell in any country; but the definition of a savage nation will, I suppose, be admitted to consist, in their subsisting altogether on the produce of the chace, or devoting themselves entirely to that diversion. In that sense, country squires, in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as their huntsmen and hounds, bear some faint resemblance to the savage state. But, that the institutions and manners of a nation, which once made so eminent a figure in Europe, approached the lowest verge of human existence, nearer than to the rude state of the most barbarous Samoeid or Laplander, requires some proof, beyond 'See Spencer throughout.' We cannot suppose, that such a nation practised

agriculture or manufactures; because these are very far removed from savage life, and also from most of those called barbarians, in any degree of improvement or perfection. The agriculture and manufactures of the Irish are well attested, by the traces of the plow; by their unbounded hospitality and entertainment to foreign students; by their numerous monasteries and universities; by their exports; by subterraneous discoveries yearly made; by many written, domestic and foreign authorities. An antient coin or inscription would be greedily adopted as an unquestionable evidence of antient facts; but the early agriculture of the Irish stands on a more solid foundation; its traces are impressed on the rugged brows of now barren mountains, and concealed beneath bogs. This, as a matter of notoriety, might safely be left to its own evidence, which must strike every traveller of Ireland. It was observed long ago by Samuel Molyneux, in a letter to the archbishop of Dublin, in which he says, "Ireland has certainly been better inhabited formerly than it is at present; mountains, that are now covered with bogs, have been formerly ploughed, for when you dig five or six feet deep, you discover a proper soil for vegetation, and find it ploughed into ridges and furrows. This is observable in the wild mountains between Ardmagh and Dundalk, and likewise on the mountains of Altmore; the same, as I am informed, has been observed in the counties of Derry and Donnegal. A plow was found in a very deep bog in the latter; and an hedge with

wattles standing under a bog that was five or six feet in depth. I have seen likewise large old oaks grow on land that had the remains of furrows and ridges; and I am told, that on the top of an high mountain in the north, there are yet remaining the streets and other marks of a large town. And, in truth, there are few places, but either at present, or when the bog is removed, exhibit marks of the plow, which surely must prove the country formerly to have been well inhabited." What a stupendous register of an immense lapse of time! A cultivated plain must have been over-run with wood, which would require a long series of years; that wood must grow to maturity, and fall at last, through age and decay, and a bog be formed, which has subsisted immemorially for many centuries; and this justifies the Irish annals, which mention a period when Ireland was desolated from being populous and cultivated, so as to be over-run with woods, and that through the effects of long wars and famine. Morrison, an hostile writer, accompanying the ravager Mountjoy, says, "I was surprised at the beauty and fertility of O'Moore's country, and the neat manner in which it was laid out for tillage." Even Cambrensis says, "the plains are fertile in corn, the mountains are covered with flocks, the woods abound with game." Also, "this island is rich in pasture and agriculture, in milk and honey, and in wines, though not of its own growth;" of course obtained through commerce. Pomponius Mela and Solinus extol the fertility of its pastures,

asserting that the flocks would burst, if not occasionally driven from pasture. Orosius says, that it exceeds Britain in the goodness of its soil, and the temperature of its climate. In the life of St. Kilian, it is called, fruitful of soil; and in the life of St. Rumaldus, the most fertile of all the countries on earth. Stanihurst says, that “few countries could vie with, and none exceed Ireland, in salubrity of climate, fertility, in the abundance of its harvests, delightful springs, commodious rivers, safe havens, stately forests, rich veins of metals, abundance of pasture and cattle.” Sir John Davies calls it, in the language of scripture, “a land of wheat and barley.” Petrus Lombardus says, that “the soil of Ireland is so fruitful, that it bears constantly crops of different kinds, without the intervention of fallowing.

The antiquity of agriculture is lost in the immensity of time: our most antient laws mention the *arech deise*, or tillers, among the seven classes into which the people were divided. Whenever agriculture came hither, it came when *arbor* was the common term for corn, when *orne* meant barley among some people of Europe: when *coirce* meant oats; when *ith* meant wheat; when *ce* meant the earth; *ceate*, a plow; *treava*, plowing; *omare*, a ridge; *citire*, a furrow; *fod*, a sod; *siol*, seed; *brathair*, fallow; when *gort* signified growing corn; *abbui*, ripe, &c. when *mehlui* signified a reaper; *punnan*, a sheaf, &c. This vocabulary of agriculture cannot be found among any of the European nations, enlightened

enough to export arts, these last two thousand years and upwards.

Every smatterer in Irish antiquities knows, that the Irish excelled in timber work. I remember to have seen two houses in Shop-street, Drogheda, finished indeed with curious art. The joists of oak were curiously carved, and shaped into ovals, circles, and parabolic sections; the date was carved in the oak, in figures about two feet long, and, as I think, was 1074. I have seen wooden houses in Pilnitz, Reichenau, and other towns of Bohemia and Germany, but none of such curious and elegant, as well as durable workmanship. Smith, in his history of the Co. of Kerry, deplores the neglect with which a curious bridge over the river Inny, which he calls the Irish Rialto, was suffered to fall into decay, for want of a little repair. In the small island of Skelligs, he describes elegant ruins of religious edifices, and the remains of a considerable town still braving the force of winds and seas. He says, that a stone inscription of the house of O'Lehane, dated 1010, was found in its ruins, when rebuilding by the Barrys, who dispossessed the family in the twelfth century. The magnificent ruins of Kilmallock; those in Inis Catha (Scattery) in the Shannon; those of the royal palace of Emania, near Armagh; the cathedral of Ardagh; the church of Mayo, covered with lead, burnt by Turgesius; the cathedral of Armagh, repaired by Gelasius, consecrated primate, anno 1137, and his kiln of 60 feet diameter; the church of Tuam, built 1004;

St. Mary's-abbey, in Dublin, founded by Maol-seachluin, in 1139; the abbey of Baltinglas, by Mac Morrough, in 1159; the abbey of Holy-cross, Tipperary, founded by Mortogh and Donald O'Brien, before the Saxon invasion; the cathedral of Limerick, originally a palace for the kings of north Munster, built in the eleventh century; three grand and spacious bridges, completed in the reign of T. O'Connor, anno 1130, viz. of Athlone, of Ahacrucha over the Shannon, of Donleoga over the Sure; the causeway from Inis Caorach (Mutton island) to the main land, forty feet wide, two miles in length, passable at the ebb of spring tides; the elegant ruins of Boyce and Mellifont, in the county of Louth; the royal bishop of Cashel's chapel, built anno 908; the monument of Feidlim, king of Connaught, surrounded with his galloglachs, executed in fine Irish marble, in the Dominican church near Roscommon, destroyed by drunken dragoons; the crosses, curiously carved in stone, with very antient Irish inscriptions on them, at Cluainmacnois, near Drogheda, are instances of Irish architecture, before the English invasion.

That manufactures flourished in Ireland, various monuments attest: and first, *Leavar na Gceirt*, or the Book of Public Rights, mentions swords, shields, mantles, golden-bitted bridles, horses richly caparisoned, scarlet and embroidered cloaks, and caps of curious workmanship, among the presents made by the king of Munster to his subordinate princes; as also a ship or ships, in full rigging, to the princes on the sea coast. In

the will of Cathaoir More, made before the battle of Tailtean, the following items occur. To his son Bressil he left five ships of burden, fifty shields embossed, ornamented and inlaid with gold and silver; five swords with gold hilts; five chariots with their harnesses and steeds. To Fiech, another son, among other things, fifty pied horses, with brass bits. The famous Boroimh Laigean, or Leinster tribute, consisted in part of six thousand ounces of pure silver, and six thousand mantles. The linen manufacture flourished here very early, as may be seen in a description of Ireland, printed at Leyden in 1627, quoted by Cambden and archdeacon Lynch, which states, that "Ireland abounds with flax, which is sent ready spun in large quantities to foreign markets. Formerly they wove great quantities of linen, which was mostly consumed at home, the natives requiring thirty ells or upwards in a shirt or shift." That iron was well wrought and tempered in this country, Cambrensis assures us. Speaking of the weapons of the Irish, he says, "they use pikes, javelins, and great battleaxes, exceedingly well tempered;" and, that "they wield the axe with one arm, their thumb extending along the shafts, and guiding the stroke, from whose violence neither helmit, nor coat of iron mail, are sufficient protection; whence it has happened in our days, that a single stroke has severed a heavy-armed horseman in two, thorough his massy covering of iron armour, one side falling one way, and the other a contrary way." How powerful must the arm be, and how

well tempered the weapon, to atchieve what is here related by an eye-witness and an enemy! "These hatchets," he says, "they always carry in their hand, as walking-staffs, ready instruments of death, not requiring to be unsheathed like a sword, or bent like a bow; without further preparation than raising the arm, it inflicts a deadly wound." The story that Rapin tells, from some old English fable or history I know not, about De Courcy, earl of Ulster, proves the reputation of Irish steel in those days. Confined in the Tower, he consented to answer the challenge of a French knight, sent by king Philip to challenge all England. Enlarged, allowed to recruit his strength and prepare for the combat, the French knight saw, dreaded him, and fled. The king and court, desirous to see how his blade would cut, requested he would try it in their presence, and try if he could cut a helmet in two. But he replied, that English blades would not do, he must have his own trusty one from Ireland. The great use made of copper and brass, we not only collect from domestic documents, but from the great quantity of brass hatchets, swords, and other utensils, discovered in modern times, on digging through bogs, &c. Iron succeeded to brass, and iron mines were wrought very early. Nennius, a British writer of the 9th century, speaks of the iron, copper, lead and tin mines of Ireland, (*De Mirab. Hiberniæ*) in the neighbourhood of Lough Lene, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry. When these mines were worked in the last century, they discovered

the shafts formerly sunk, and the implements of mining. On opening many other mines, old shafts have been discovered, and implements of mining found, particularly in a rich lead one on the estate of Thos. Westrop, esq. near the border of the Shannon. In the lead mines of Knockaderry, in the county of Tipperary, old shafts, and other proofs of its having been antiently worked, were found. Stanihurst says, that Ireland was known to be rich in mines of different metals. It could not be without good foundation, that Donatus, bishop of Fesulæ, near Florence, who wrote eleven centuries ago, affirmed, that Ireland abounded with gems, cloth, and gold. In the reign of Tighernmas, cotemporary with Solomon, the first gold mine was discovered in Ireland, as Keating, O'Flaherty and Lynch testify, on the authority of our antient annals. The mine was discovered near the banks of the Liffey, and Jauchadhan, of Cualane, in the county of Wicklow, was the principal conductor of the works. In 1692, a crown of gold was found in the county of Tipperary, raised in chafed work, which must be older than the christian æra, as it has not the cross, which the crowns of christian princes never were without. It was purchased by Jos. Comerford, and preserved in the castle of Anglurre, in Champagne. In 1744, another golden crown, weighing six ounces, was found in the bog of Callen, and sold to Mr. Jos. Kinshallagh, a jeweller of Limerick. From the number of curiosities, gorgets of gold and gold-handled swords, found in this bog, it

is called Golden Bog. The gold corselets found by the Spaniards near Smerwick-bay, in the county of Kerry, and frequently in bogs, of which O'Halloran says he saw twenty, and purchased one, the gold of which was so ductile, as to roll up like paper, prove the reality of our Niaghnaise, or knights of the golden collar, as well as the knowledge possessed by the antient Irish in the natural history of their own country. It is not a century since those pearls were rediscovered, which, according to foreign writers, abound here; and, according to our own old writers, were used as ear-pendants and ornaments. Airgiod sron, or nose-money, to the amount of an ounce of gold, was paid yearly to the Danish tyrants, by housekeepers within their jurisdiction. The great plenty of gold is attested by the quantity of plate used by the sovereigns of Tara, and in the churches throughout the kingdom; even the small bells used at the altars were of gold, or silver inlaid with gold, and ornamented with precious stones, many of which existed in the seventeenth century, as Colgan witnesses. Ard-corn oir, frequently mentioned in poems, or lofty golden goblets, attest the luxury of private families in this article. Gold and silver derived no value from the stamp or impression, but circulated in pieces called *Bonn Nuinge*, not round; as we find from Matthew Paris, who relates, that, in the days of king John, the bishop of Norwich, justiciary of the Pale, caused the coin (in the Pale) to be rounded and stamped after the English manner; for antiently pieces

of gold and silver were received as value, in proportion to their weight alone, as to this day in China, Persia, Hindoostan, and formerly among the Tyrians, Jews, Egyptians; as we find by the names of their monies signifying pounds, ounces, scruples, and the like. Thus, in the will of king Cormac, bishop of Cashel, who died A. D. 913, among other bequests are the following: to the abbey of Ardfinan, an ounce of gold, an ounce of silver, a horse and arms. To the church of Lismore, a gold and silver chalice, with silk vestments. To the church of Cashel, four ounces of gold, five of silver, a chalice of gold, and one of silver. To Emly, three ounces of gold, and a mass-book. To Glendaloch, an ounce of gold, an ounce of silver, a horse and arms, with a silk vestment. To the church of Ardmagh, twenty-four ounces of gold and silver. To Inis Catha, three ounces of gold, with a silk vestment, and his benediction. The sumptuary laws, published by general Valancey, mention *aicde airgit*, *bom. nuinge*, *criad nuinge airgit*, *mion oir*, *tan oir*, *rann airgid*, which appear to be different pieces of gold and silver. *Aicde* is explained a bodkin; *mion oir*, a gold diadem. *Airgid mbruibh*, refined silver, is once mentioned in the same law tract.

In shipping, also, antient Ireland was not deficient. The annals frequently mention fleets and naval expeditions; as, the fleets of Eogan More, Labra Loingseach, and Mac Con, before the fourth century. The great naval victory, obtained by the Irish fleet of Munster, over the

Danish fleet in the bay of Carlingford, near Dundalk, in the county of Louth, and from which event the bay and a town on its borders derive their name, Catharlin, meaning a sea-fight, are irrefragable proofs of an Irish navy. Tacitus, in his life of Agricola, affirms, that the harbours of Ireland were more frequented by foreign merchants than Britain; and that Ireland connected the most powerful provinces of the empire, by a great commercial intercourse; as Camden likewise remarks on that very passage.

Before the English invasion, though under an imperfect system of government, this country was distinguished among the nations of Europe. No fact is more fully attested by unquestionable vouchers. We must totally reject historical evidence, or admit that Ireland was the mart of civilization and science for the rest of Europe. Its hospitality and learning are extolled unanimously by all the writers who treat of the middle ages. From all parts of Europe youth flocked hither in crowds, and Irish professors laid the first foundation of seminaries and universities abroad.

The state of Irish learning could not have been very contemptible, to secure it a preference before the Greeks: and it is certain, that Italians, more contiguous to Greece by far, preferred a dangerous and expensive journey to Ireland, before the short and easy passage to Greece. Surely some weighty motives of superior advantage must have decided their choice; for, during the feudal period, travelling was insecure and

expensive. Let it not be fancied, that Greek learning was then extinct: its lustre was doubtless decayed, yet they had, during the middle ages, several learned men, and chief among them was Photius, of matchless erudition. At a much later period, Greek refugees still possessed learning enough to be instrumental in reviving literature and taste in Europe, at a time when they were extinguished, even in their antient western seat, by national calamities. Lord Lyttleton, in his life of Henry II., mentions the topic incidentally, with a handsome compliment to the bounty and hospitality of the learned and ancient nation. Venerable Bede treats more largely of the subject; as a man evidently impressed with veneration and gratitude to those eminent benefactors of Europe and mankind. A very competent witness he must be allowed: learned himself; a contemporary witness of what he records, and impartial, though an Englishman. Nevertheless he witnessed only the declining period of Ireland's fame, when her descending glories beamed for a while on the western horizon. It is desirable, that all the records and testimonies, relating to this curious and interesting subject, which are numerous, and dispersed in the different libraries of Europe, should be collected and published. It would fill a large chasm in literary history, and ought to be considered by every friend to Ireland as a work of peculiar national importance. A letter from Aldhelm to Eadfride, published by Usher, speaks thus of the Sacred Island; "Ireland is a fertile and blooming nursery of letters.

You might as soon reckon the stars of heaven, as enumerate her students and literati. There Eadfride imbibed the pure nectar of knowledge: six years he gave to the study of philosophy, and enriched his mind with treasures of the Scotie hive. Such were the crowds of students who resorted to Ireland from Britain only, that it required fleets to carry them." Camden vouches the same; " Our Anglo-Saxons, in them days, flocked from all quarters into Ireland, as the mart of literature, whence we commonly read, in the lives of holy or eminent men, ' He was sent into Ireland for his education;' as we find in the life of Sulgenus, who flourished more than 600 years ago (dating back from Elizabeth,) ' Moved by the example of his ancestors, he went to Ireland, to court the muses, a land far famed for admirable wisdom.' And," continues Cambden, " our English ancestors appear to have borrowed thence their alphabet, as they formerly used the very same which is employed to this day in Ireland; so that Ireland was adorned with piety and the splendour of genius in those ages, when the rest of the christian world lay immersed in darkness." Fifty monks, natives of Rome, were attracted to Ireland by the reputation of that people for piety and learning, and especially the knowledge of the sacred scriptures, which greatly flourished there. Ten of them became the disciples of St. Finlan; as many submitted to the discipline of St. Sennan; as many betook themselves to Brendau; as many to Barræus; and the remaining ten addicted themselves to Kieran.

(Colgan, M. Martio, p. 533.) There were twelve foreigners, the elect disciples of St. Syn-cellus in Ireland; into which arrived likewise in a hundred and fifty ships, natives of Rome and Italy, in the company of St. Elice, Romanus Coreuntarius; also one hundred and fifty Romans and Italians accompanied St. Abban, on his return to Ireland. Alcuin, in his life of St. Willibert, and Usher, De Primordiis, state, that St. Willibert, understanding that scholastic learning flourished in Ireland, repaired thither with all speed, that he might, in imitation of the prudent bee, cull the mellifluous flowers of piety and learning, and construct in his bosom, as it were, honey-combs of virtue. There he was instructed during twelve years, by the most eminent professors of sacred and humane literature, who was to become the teacher of many people. St. Sampson remained some time in Ireland, and his uncle, St. Umbrifel, father of St. Maglorius, was made abbot. In the same island did Osbert and Lancfrid, two Anglo-Saxon kings, as likewise Constantine, duke of Cornwal, finish their education; as likewise St. Perroc, Gildas, styled Sapiens, or the Wise, Gildas, of Scotland, and Badonicus; St. Cadroc, St. Genorius, Betheus, together with other religious Britons, followers and disciples of St. Finian, accompanied him on his return to Ireland, after an absence of thirty years. Agilbert, bishop of Paris, came also into Ireland, for the purpose of studying the holy scriptures. (Bede, Usher, and Colgan.)

It would prove an endless task to enumerate

the Irish, who are venerated on the continent for their learning and sanctity. According to the testimony of foreign writers, you might as well reckon the sand of the shore, or the stars of the firmament; they have been estimated to outnumber, in this particular, the whole christian world beside. St. Bernard says, "Ireland poured out swarms of saints, like an inundation, upon foreign countries." Antissiodorus states, "it may be superfluous to relate (a thing so well known) how all Ireland as it were emigrates to our shores, with her swarms of philosophers." From all the literary and ecclesiastical monuments of the middle ages it is clear, that the northern nations, who overran the western Roman empire, especially those of Britain, Gaul, and Italy, received the rudiments of the christian faith, and their first bishops, from Ireland, as well as the Germans and Belgians. The earliest seminaries were opened by Irish teachers; as Ratisbon, by Marianus, St. Gall by Gallus, Paris and Oxford by Joannes Erigena, Pavia by Joannes Albinus. To return nearer home, the following monasteries, which were likewise academies, agreeably to the Irish usage, were commenced by Irish doctors there, before Erigena opened his famous school at Oxford; viz. Malmsbury, which owes its name, and existence as a town, to the monastery commenced there by Maildulph; from him antiently called Maildulphsburg, and since contracted into Malmsbury. The celebrated monastery of Glaston, which was likewise an academy of learning, had its commencement from Irish-

men, as English authors of the first weight and character testify, and from their testimony primate Usher, in his sylloge. Cambden, says, "in early times, most holy men held vigils to God in this place, and chiefly Irishmen, who were supported by royal stipends, and educated youth in piety and the liberal arts. They embraced a solitary life, that they might study sacred writ with the greater tranquillity." Osborne of Canterbury says, "Many illustrious men, highly instructed in sacred and profane literature, leaving Ireland, came to reside in England, and chose Glaston for the place of their habitation." In Monmouthshire Tathæus opened a school, at the request of king Caradoch, whither a multitude of scholars flocked from all parts, to learn the seven liberal arts; and the monastery of Lindisfarn, begun by St. Aidan, afterwards bishop; besides several nunneries, instituted by Irish women in England, for the education of female youth. Add to all this, that the first bishops and doctors of Anglo-Saxon race, were every one of them educated in Ireland, or by Irishmen teaching in England. These are the men, who are branded as savages, the apostles of religion, and doctors of learning throughout Europe. Where will the licentious rage of libellers stop? Not satisfied with reviling the living, they blaspheme the illustrious dead; men, great and glorious in their generations, whose titles are not founded, like the false pretenders to fame, on the misery or destruction of their fellow-creatures, but on the godlike beneficence, that marked

their active and meritorious lives; diffusing the blessings of religion, knowledge, civilization and benevolence, far and wide, through the remote nations as well as their neighbours. Such was the character of their public conduct. Follow them into the shades of academic retirement, you will find those venerable sages consistent throughout; equally great in the virtues that adorn private life, as in those that distinguish the more public stations; a life of labour and study; a life of abstinence and sobriety, of devotion and piety, in which the career of private virtue was suspended only to make room for the public duties of administering instruction and consolation to the people; and the relaxation from public duty was the resumption of austerity and labour. From what has been stated, the following poetic description of the sacred island will not be considered too highly coloured.

- " Far westward lies an isle of antient fame,
- " By nature bless'd, and Scotia is her name;
- " Enroll'd in books; exhaustless is her store
- " Of veiny silver, and of golden ore;
- " Her fruitful soil for ever teems with wealth,
- " With gems her waters, and her air with health:
- " Her verdant fields with milk and honey flow;
- " Her woolly fleeces vie with virgin snow;
- " Her waving furrows float with bearded corn,
- " And arms and arts her envied sons adorn.
- " No savage bear with lawless fury roves;
- " No fiercer lions through her peaceful groves;
- " No poison there infects, no scaly snake
- " Creeps through the grass, nor frog* annoys the lake:

* Frogs were never seen in Ireland until the reign of king William III. when, along with many other exotics, they were introduced.

“ An island worthy of its pious race,

“ In war triumphant, and unmatch'd in peace.”

Of the fine arts, those that breathe a civilized air, and contribute most to refinement, are, music, poetry and eloquence. The proficiency of the Gathelians in the first is indisputable, and obvious to every hearer who is blessed with a taste for harmony. The monuments of the two last, that escaped the rage of Gothic civilizers, are of sufficient number and merit, as to convince those who understand them, that gross ignorance or poisonous malevolence vented the foresaid abuse on the memory of our departed forefathers. Miss Brooke's elegant translations may justly be appealed to as a specimen of Irish poetry ; had we many such translators, we have materials enough for several large folios. That Ireland had long been in a state of decadence is too true ; and that every evil of civil confusion and sanguinary anarchy, was aggravated studiously, and zealously, and unremittingly, by the English, who laboured to cut them down by each other's hands, in order to make the remnant and the soil a prey. But then the invaders, in their whole conduct, views, and means of attaining their object, were much nearer the most atrocious savages of the interior of Africa, than the invaded, in all the convulsions of anarchy and civil war. Egypt and Greece, like Ireland, once basked in the sunshine of prosperity and renown. Like it, they have been prostrated beneath the iron yoke of barbarous victors, and languish under a temporary cloud of adversity. The institutions of Ireland bordering on the

savage state! Yet they bore a striking resemblance to the institutions of those nations revered for wisdom by all antiquity. As in Egypt, Chaldaea and Hindoostan, the people consisted of distinct classes, or, as they are called, casts, of different rank, privilege, and avocation, distinguished by different garments and colours, all hereditary. The military, the judicial, the literary, the druidic, the bardic, the agricultural, and the mechanical casts, were all by inheritance, and the number of casts was seven, as in the East. Lest emulation should be extinguished, by hereditary succession to professions, different degrees and titles of honour were awarded to merit, determinable by the unbiassed judgment of the public, on the performances of competitors. The memorials of these things I have seen, in old vellum manuscripts of the Brehon laws, written in the Phœnico-celtic. For example, seacht ngradh phile, seven degrees of phile, of which the highest was ollamh, or ard ollamh. Now, the philosophy of the Milesians included music, poetry, and eloquence, as well as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, natural history and physic. The fragments of those that have survived persecution, have not been the contrivance or work of savages, but of an ingenious scientific people. I have known cures to be wrought, by recipes taken from these musty records, of diseases, which baffled the faculty to this day, with all their materia medica. What shall I say of those relics of antient art yearly dug up? Vases and instruments, for use or or-

nament, in gold, silver, brass, and iron, of curious and elegant workmanship. The most valuable and elegant specimens that I have seen, of these antient monuments of Irish art, three golden serpents of exquisite workmanship, forming an urn by their foldings, purchased by DeLandre from a countryman, and from him by the marquis of Lansdown, I hope to be preserved. These put me in mind of a passage I had read in one of the old vellums, concerning the migration of the Hy-Mbruin tribe towards the Shannon. They divided themselves into three columns, the standard of each was a serpent of burnished gold. I was not confirmed in the belief of this assertion until I saw the reality, and both call to mind the brazen serpent, that was borne before the children of Israel. The same goldsmith has another curious antique, dug from the Irish soil, a golden vase, in form of a cymbal, of no savage contrivance or workmanship. In effect, whether we contemplate the munificent institutions in favour of learning, piety, hospitality, poetry, music; their mild and equitable laws, some of which are still preserved on vellum, of a date antecedent to the christian æra. The triennial assembly of the states. Their Olympic games, of which some mention is to be found in the fabulous period of Grecian antiquity. Their antient orders of chivalry. The different titles and degrees of honor, assigned to every kind of merit, in arts, in learning, valour and virtue. The care with which, beyond any other nation, they preserved the records of history. This at-

tention to historic truth was in reality indissolubly interwoven with the constitution ; for every man's rights, privileges and property, depending on pedigree, the antiquary was as necessary as the Brehm : no clan could want one. Besides the check of mutual jealousy, their works must be revised by the states at Tara, and receive their sanction, before they were admitted as legitimate records.

It is not without contempt and scorn, that any one, informed of the memorable facts concerning the antient, learned, philanthropic and religious race, can read the despicable insult of an infidel historian, telling the world, that the barbarous Baltic rovers contributed rather to civilize Ireland ! He has not named any single species of improvement introduced by them ; not a single art or manufacture, that has any Danish name, or any connexion with a Danish origin. The terms of Irish art and science have a strong affinity with the antient languages of Phenicia and Persia. But the Danes built castles here ! What then ? Does civilization depend on the rude workmanship of them forts, or on stone buildings preferably to wooden ? Whoever experienced the comforts of timber walls, especially during the damp cold winters of these islands, would assuredly not chuse to be environed with damp cold stones. When the dearth and scarcity of timber obliged people to resort to stone fabrics, the opulent still got their walls wainscotted, i.e. lined with timber by Scottish, that is, Irish carpenters. On the contrary, the ferocious plunderers were civilized by those whom they outraged, and from

whom they received religion, letters and arts. They likewise imparted letters, arts and religion, as far as Iceland and Africa, founded colleges and universities in sundry parts of Europe, where their learning and piety is still preserved in memory, in temples, and religious offices. The very names of Gillimer* and Gillus, of the Vandals and Goths, point out the missionaries who baptized them; the one meaning the Servant of Mary, the other the Servant of Jesus.

Hume and Leland agree, in attributing to their ignorance, the inattention of the Irish to the theological controversies that convulsed the greater part of Europe during nearly two centuries. It might, with more justice perhaps, be attributed to the contrary, or to other causes. In the writings of cotemporary protestants, we find much cause to think, that superior information, natural sagacity, or both united, discredited the reformation in Ireland. The preachers of the new faith they describe as 'sorry curates,' ignorant, profligate, indolent, careless of the instruction or salvation of the people, so they got the emoluments of a sinecure office. The catholic clergy, on the other hand, are depicted, as animated with indefatigable zeal and perseverance, in the exercise of their functions, sacrificing there-to every personal consideration of ease, health, and frequently at the peril of their lives. From

* Gillimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, was defeated by Bellisarius, an. 530. His Irish name is a sufficient proof of his having been baptized by an Irish missionary, whose father he had converted, as he is mentioned to have been kind to the church.—Christ. Helvicus. Chron. Hist.

this unsuspecting evidence 'tis easy to infer, which flock was best instructed. The sagacity of the Irish was easily directed to discern the essential point, on which all controversies must depend. A supernatural religion must contain some things undiscoverable and unintelligible to mere human reason, the number and definition of which cannot be settled by it, but by the divine authority, immediate or delegated. Now as that supernatural religion is not revealed to every individual directly, and yet is necessary for all, and for ever, consequently, it must be communicated by delegated authority, extending to all countries and all ages, protected from any noxious error, and commanding silence on the human understanding, in the exposition of the faith. Revealed religion implies, in its conception and definition, a superior and paramount authority, to whose dictates human reason must submit. The Irish must have perceived, on supposition of their being diligently taught the principles of their religion, that christianity was founded on facts, and those of a supernatural kind, claiming implicit belief. That facts, beyond the course of nature, require more than ordinary testimony, unerring. Because supernatural religion, teaching incomprehensible mysteries, deserves no implicit submission, unless supported by unerring testimony, and taught by those commissioned as delegates to preserve and dispense it from generation to generation. Irish catholics saw, that those, who disown infallible testimony and interpretation, have no right to

believe any mystery of the faith. For belief in these mysteries requires a sacrifice of the human understanding, the greatest that man can make to his Creator; consequently, it cannot be made to any fallible authority without idolatry. Nor is the Scripture any refuge in this case; for it also, to those who reject the church, one, catholic, apostolic, and its grave testimony, is but a fallible authority; since all the copies and versions were made by fallible men, who might, through ignorance, inattention, or design, change it materially from the original; and, since the interpreters are all fallible, they concluded, that the reformers, by rejecting the authority of the catholic church, through which the christian faith was handed down to us, without interruption, from Christ and his apostles, rejected religion itself. Indeed authority is so much of the essence of revelation, that it cannot be conceived without it. Why was revelation necessary? The insufficiency and errors of the human mind, on the question of religion, and the abominations practised in the name of worship, called for divine interposition. The understanding was to be controuled, as well as enlightened. God dictated. To him, or to those manifestly delegated by him, the submission of all human faculties is due. The experience of ages before christianity, when the age of reason and superstition existed with the whole Gentile world; the necessity of checking the aberrations of the human mind, and guide it by a sure authority, to which it would submit, became apparent, even to hea-

then philosophers. Cicero, who has left us an epitome of the Greek philosophy, laments the deficiency of the human intellect, to settle the important question of religion. "The question, concerning the nature of the gods, as you know, my friend Brutus, so pleasing in the investigation, so necessary for the settlement of religion, is, as you know, most obscure and difficult; on which there are so many, and such contradictory opinions, published by the most learned of men, as prove sufficiently, that the first principle of sound philosophy is not yet understood." What a candid confession of the impotence of human reason, unguided by divine authority, either immediate or delegated, towards settling the most important of human concerns. As was the case of the heathen schools of philosophy, straying after false lights, precisely similar has been, and ever shall be, the predicament of christian sects, departing from the unity and authority of the church. The one misinterpreted the book of nature, unquestionably the handy-work of God. The other despoil the written work of its legitimate authority, by depriving it of the support of its appointed testimony; and by misinterpreting, mistranslating, interpolating, and erasing, according to the whims of heated imaginations, overweening fancies, and bewildered intellects. Like the heathen schools, their doctrines will be eternally at variance with themselves, and with each other. The Irish catholic was scandalized at the commencement, and could augur no favourable issue to the rupture. He

wondered why people, who professed to worship Christ as God, could doubt his words. He gave a mission to his disciples, such as he received from the Father. He promised to be with them to the end of the world. The gates of hell, that is, death, dissolution, or decay, should not prevail over his church. He that receives you receives me; he who rejects you rejects me. Will they deny, that redemption was for all nations and ages, that the church was accordingly promised perpetuity and universality? or will they say, that God was either unwilling or unable to perform his promise? Do they not know, that St. Paul, and all the apostles, considered the church as the pillar of truth? Well, but there were abuses. Allowed. What divine gift has not been abused by frail mortals? Must all institutions, human or divine, be therefore abolished? The way to reformation, was it to rend asunder the body of Christ, in dissolving the unity of his church? Was it by sacrilege, confiscation, plunder, massacre, and infidelity, that christians were to be reformed? These considerations disgusted Irish catholics with the principles and conduct of the so-called reformers; and long experience has classed them with the results of prudent reflection, warning against the seduction of innovators; an effect which the partizans of innovation vainly endeavour to ascribe to ignorance.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







VOLUME

2

G. R. High

AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY DENNIS TAAFFE.



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IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.

ONE circumstance of calumnation, brought forward by Leland and Hume against the unfortunate Shane O'Neil, was forgotten in the preceding numbers. "Such was his rage against every thing English, that he hung one of his followers for eating English biscuit." That is not probable. 'Tis much more likely, that he was executed for holding treacherous correspondence with the enemy, of which his possession of English biscuit afforded presumptive proof; for how could he, on examination, account otherwise for the fact, since only English soldiers could give it to him? But to return to the Irish war.

Maguire, aided by O'Donnell, laid siege to his castle of Enniskillen; to the relief of which the deputy hastened with his forces, but on the way he learned that he was too late. The English garrison had already surrendered. The troops, detached against the besiegers, were totally defeated by O'Donnell; and the garrison, reduced to extremity of distress, surrendered, and were massacred by the angry victors, who thus

only retaliated the cruelty practised by Bingham on his taking the castle from its original owner, Maguire. O'Donnell knew how to take advantage of his victory; and, with his wonted rapidity, followed up his blow. He pierced into Connaught, harassed the quarters of the enemy, besieged the fort of Belleek, cut off a detachment sent to its relief, and gave English measure to the garrison. To complete his triumph, O'Donnell established one of the De Burgos, his associate, chieftain of his district, under the name of Mac-William, while Bingham, the queen's president of Connaught, was obliged to shrink from the conflict.

The queen and her ministry were justly alarmed at the intelligence of such a succession of defeats, received from enemies they were accustomed to undervalue, and saw the necessity of greater efforts in warring against the northern Irish. Their first endeavour was, to tamper with O'Donnell, in order to detach him from Tyrone, considered as the most powerful of the Irish chieftains; one without whose secret approbation the spirited opposition of O'Donnell, Maguire, &c. to the forementioned outrages, practised on them and their people, would scarcely have taken place. Not caring to rely too much on the success of their intrigues with O'Donnell and other chieftains, an army of veterans, distinguished by their service in Brittany, with a new levy raised in England, were dispatched under the command of Sir John Norris, a general of reputation. Tyrone justly dreaded, that these great prepara-

tions were directed against himself in particular. He saw that the plan of Elizabeth's council was, to insulate the north from the rest of the kingdom, by a chain of forts connecting the great lakes, which were to be defended by garrisons, and ships of war stationed on the lakes. That thus circumvented by sea and land, by the forces of England, the tribes would be gradually awed, or bribed into submission. Seeing that without striking some prompt and decisive blow, before the English reinforcements arrived, the defection of his tributaries and allies was too likely, in which case he could neither make war effectually, nor expect by submission, safety or honorable terms, he besieged the fort of Blackwater, whose garrison, like the rest, were injurious neighbours. Still wishing to avert the calamities of war, provided any endureable terms could be obtained, he wrote to the deputy, imputing his rising to necessity and self-defence. He in particular requested the lord general to entertain a favourable opinion of him, and not force him to war against his interest and inclination. But his implacable enemy, Bagnal, by intercepting his letters, and destroying his messengers, deprived him of his hopes from a pacific correspondence, and forced him to continue hostilities. The castle of Monaghan was besieged, and the attempt of Norris to relieve it produced a skirmish, in which the danger and address of Tyrone were remarkable. One Sedgrave, an English officer, observing where he had taken his station, and was issuing his orders, assaulted

and unhorsed him. The earl, in falling, contrived to seize his antagonist, and dragged him to the ground. The Englishman, who still had the advantage, prepared to dispatch him; but O'Neil, encumbered as he was, contrived to prevent the blow, by plunging a dagger deeply into the body of Sedgrave.

“ These petty hostilities were soon suspended by the weak and temporizing policy of the queen, impatient to disengage herself, by any means, from the disorders of Ireland. A commission arrived, whereby Wallop, the treasurer at war, and Gardiner, the chief justice, were empowered to treat with Tyrone and his associates, to hear their complaints, and to receive their overtures, in order to an effectual accommodation. The northern Irish obeyed the invitation, but peremptorily refused to meet the commissioners at Dundalk. The conference was held in open field, not as a submission of rebellious subjects, but a parley between contending leaders. Tyrone first explained his grievances; complained of the injustice of Bagnal, in usurping a jurisdiction in Ulster inconsistent with his just rights; of his unreasonable and implacable resentment in attempting to separate him from his wife, and with-holding her portion; of his perfidy in secreting his letters to the state, and by a series of injuries forcing him to take arms, and to apply to the queen's enemies for protection. He required a full ^{b55} pardon for himself and followers; that they should ²¹¹ be allowed the full and free exercise of their religion; that Bagnal should be com-

elled to pay his sister's portion, who had now sunk under the affliction occasioned by his cruelty; that his country should be freed from English garrisons and sheriffs; that his troop of horse should be restored to him; and that all those who had ravaged his territory should be obliged to due restitution. O'Donnell next proceeded to expatiate on the treachery of Sir John Perrot, and the injuries he had received in a cruel and unmerited captivity. The severities of Fitz-William to O'Toole, Mac-Mahon, and O'Dogherty, were not forgotten. Every inferior chieftain had his grievances to urge; and all concurred in the same general demands of a free exercise of religion, and an exemption from garrisons and sheriffs. They were heard with temper: some of their allegations were confessed to be just; and some indulgence acknowledged to be reasonable. In the essential articles, they were informed, that no decision could be made, until the royal pleasure should first be signified. In the mean time some points were propounded on the queen's part, tending to suspend their hostilities, till an equitable accommodation should be finished. It was demanded, that the insurgents should lay down their arms, admit sheriffs into their country, repair the forts they had demolished, leave the English garrisons unmolested, restore what they had unjustly seized, discover upon oath their transactions with foreign princes, and, begging pardon for their present rebellion, solemnly promise for the future to enter into no engagements against their sovereign.

But these haughty lords, who in the condescensions of government discerned its fears and weakness, rejected such overtures with disdain; and broke up the congress, consenting only to a truce of a few days.”*

This account is pretty near the truth, saving that an English bias in the writer is prevalent. This war is called petty, because every thing Irish must be either petty, barbarous, or even savage. The negotiation with the northerns was, the effect of a weak temporizing policy, for the same reason; because the impertinent fellows ought to be crushed at once: and because a learned book-bred gentleman, two centuries after the scene, claims deference to his own superior judgment, in censuring the policy of Elizabeth and her counsellors, such statesmen as Bacon, Cecil and Walsingham. They did not consider the war petty, but very serious and formidable, as it really proved in the result. Elizabeth was mortified at the disgrace and expence that accompanied her arms in Ireland, while she reaped glory and emolument from her wars in France and the Netherlands. The offer of peace only proves the wisdom of the English cabinet, and the temporary superiority of the northern Irish in arms. Their demands, and the influence of their example on the rest of Ireland, concur with the pacific offers to prove their success, though we have no exact detail of the military operations of the campaign of 1595. A cessation of arms

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 334.

was every thing to the English, whose resources were at some distance from the scene of action, and whose intrigues might profit of the interval, to detach some members from the sand-rope confederacy of Irish chieftains. It was, on the part of the Irish, weak and temporizing policy, to grant a truce, as long as they remained masters of the field, until they obtained substantial pledges for the fulfilment of articles, agreed to by their adversaries only to gain time and opportunity for infringing them.

The oppressions, spoliations and cruelties, practised in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, had considerably broken and disheartened the inhabitants, but left a sore spirit of discontent rankling in their bosoms, ready to burst into flame, whensoever any prospect of revenge or redress appeared. The success and solicitations of the northerners stirred up partizans in these provinces, who might make useful diversions. They had a common cause, as well as a common country to defend. The free exercise of their religion, security for their lives, and the remnant of their properties, hitherto denied them, was a natural and just claim, though qualified insolence by party writers. The justice of their quarrel is partly confessed even by Leland, on the authority of Morryson, an hostile writer, who quotes Gen. Norris, commander-in-chief of the queen's forces.

“ Norris had judgment and equity to discern, that the hostilities of the Irish had been provoked by several instances of wanton insolence and oppression; and as the deputy declared for a ri-

gourous prosecution of the rebels, he was the more tempted to adopt the opposite principle of lenient and conciliating measures, even though he had not duly weighed the hazard and toil of pursuing an enemy to their bogs and woods, repelling their tumultuary incursions, and guarding against sudden and desultory attacks. He marched however with the lord-deputy to the borders of Tyrone, at the expiration of the truce, with a force so terrifying to the Northerns, that the rebel earl abandoned the fort of Blackwater, set fire to the town of Dungannon, without sparing his own house, destroyed the adjacent villages, and retired to his woods, which then overspread those parts of Ulster, that have since experienced the effects of industry and cultivation. In this progress, Tirone and his principal associates were indicted, summoned, condemned in a regular procedure, and proclaimed traitors. But such was the distress occasioned by their laying the country waste, that the lord-deputy was soon obliged to return to Dublin, having first stationed garrisons at Armagh and Monaghan, which latter place had been reduced, and was now abandoned by the enemy. According to his instructions, Sir John Norris was left with part of the royal army, on the borders of Ulster, to prosecute the war against the Northerns, while the lord-deputy professed to march against the insurgents of Leinster.”*

Both parties were wearied of the war, but looked for terms hardly attainable, and preca-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 337.

rious if attained. Security for the *uti possidetis*, was sought by the northerns, with regard to temporals and spirituals. Submission to her authority, ecclesiastical, civil and military, was the main object of Elizabeth; which, for the present, she was obliged to postpone. Deeply engaged with her principal antagonist, Philip, in the wars of France and the Netherlands, where fame and emolument was often reaped by her forces, she was confounded and mortified, at the disgrace, losses and expence, attending her Irish wars, though conducted by Norris, one of the most distinguished generals of his age. Glad to disengage herself, at any rate, from a vexatious, losing contest, until she had leisure to prosecute it with all her power, she sent commissioners to treat with the chieftains at war. These did not want motives for a cessation of hostilities. Their territory, become the theatre of war, was wasted, even by their own defensive measures; which, added to at least partial neglect of agriculture, menaced scarcity. Philip, involved in the civil wars of France, was tardy in sending the promised succours; and the consecrated feather of a pretended Phenix, sent by the holy father, was but a poor substitute for the sinew of war. The conference was held in an open plain, near Dundalk, where a treaty of peace was signed, the terms of which I cannot admit, nor insert, from such biassed writers as Morrison and Leland; suffice it to say concerning it, that the treaty, not long after its conclusion, was violated by the English, a l'Anglois.

The associates of Tyrone in Connaught were, by the intolerable oppressions of Bingham, driven to the field once more. Their numbers and efforts were so considerable, that president Bingham was foiled in his attempts to dispossess them of some forts, which they had seized; and the lord-deputy and general Norris were constrained to march with their united forces to his aid. The gallant reply of the Irish, in one of these forts, to the summons of surrender, is memorable; “We would not surrender, though all your army were lord deputies.” The insurrection was nevertheless suppressed. Pheagh Mac Hugh O’Byrne was prosecuted. O’Neil was hereupon necessitated to take the field again, in support of his allies, and to avenge the infractions of the late treaty.

Leland accordingly misrepresents these transactions, in which English honour is tarnished. “While the malecontents of Connaught retired before the queen’s forces, and reserved themselves for some favourable occasion of returning to the field, the chieftains of the north grew still more impatient of their late treaty, and studied pretences to rescind it. Tirone, in particular, complained of injuries and provocations: insolently adding to his list of grievances, that after the pacification of Connaught, the state had presumed to prosecute his friend and ally Pheagh Mac-Hugh, with others of the insurgents of Leinster. In revenge of this intolerable wrong, the earl harassed the English garrison at Armagh, cut off their provisions, and invested the town. Norris

again marched to the northern borders. Before his arrival the garrison of Armagh had been obliged to capitulate, and were dismissed with honour and safety: and agreeably to that infatuated policy, which the general himself but too much favoured, a commission arrived from England for treating once again with the earl of Tirone, and accommodating the differences of the North by an amicable conference. The rebel earl had ventured on his petty hostilities merely to keep alive the zeal and spirit of his countrymen. The success of his practices in other provinces of Ireland, as well as of his negotiations with Spain, was as yet uncertain. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity of delaying, and amusing the English government. He attended the commissioners with all the affectation of humility and resignation, repeated his solemn asseverations of the sincerity and integrity of his intentions, pretended to discover all the secret practices of his associates, and their correspondence with Spain; renouncing all his hopes of happiness both here and hereafter, if he were not truly and faithfully determined to approve himself a loyal subject to the queen, provided he might be pardoned, accepted as a subject, and protected from wrong.”*

Who can doubt, that the allies of Tyrone were included in the pacification; or that renewing the war against them afterwards was a manifest violation of the treaty? Why call a complaint of the infraction, insolence? or question O’Neil’s

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 340.

sincerity, in making or keeping treaties, more than that of his adversaries? In the whole course of Irish history, breach of faith much oftener occurs on the side of the invaders than of the natives. Inferior in force, they had recourse to stratagem, often to fraud and perfidy. Conscious of the perfidious machinations of his enemies, Tyrone, during the suspension of hostilities, ceased not to exercise his men, and maintain correspondence with his allies. Every day gave him additional strength, and fairer prospects of success. Nevertheless sensible, that, pending the foreign wars in which Elizabeth was engaged, the terms of an honorable peace could be more easily obtained, than after a general peace on the continent, he agreed to the pacific conference, but on such conditions as might assure performance of articles. The want of a reasonable security for the performance of articles he urged, from the facts, which Leland, with his usual insincerity, calls recurring to his old pretences. These were, frequent breach of promise on the part of the English government. That his hostages had not been exchanged, according to agreement; nor restitution made for the ravages committed on his lands. That he had but little hope of the performance of any articles; as he had been so often deceived by the queen's officers. That the intentions of the lord general were indeed just and honorable, but had been counteracted by the deputy; and, as Norris was speedily to be recalled from his command, and the grievances of the northerns were to be sub-

mitted to a new governor, whose principles and character were utterly unknown, he had less reason to expect an equitable conclusion. That he could not, with safety, nor with honor, attend the commissioners, within any walled town or castle, from the notorious design of abusing his confidence, if ever he put himself in their power, and detain him prisoner, in defiance of protections and promises.*

O'Neil had ample reasons for declining a conference within a walled town, by the testimony of his enemies, and their writers. Yet, unmindful of what he wrote a few pages before, Leland insinuates the contrary, imputing his conduct, on that occasion, to dissimulating craft. "He condescended, however, to propose a time of conference, which he well knew could not be accepted, provided it were held contrary to the queen's express orders, in the open field, as a parley, not in a walled town, as a submission of rebellious subjects." With what varnish does the Dr. strive to disguise the truth which he well knew? He well knew what anger the queen and her council testified to deputy Russel, for suffering O'Neil so easily to escape out of his hands, at a time

* Bagnal so far prevailed, that it became a question, whether he should not be committed to custody. Russel declared for this measure. . . . Tyrone was dismissed, to concert new mischief, to the utter dissatisfaction of the queen's English ministers.—Lel. Eliz. c. iv. p. 331. The queen was much displeased, that her commands with respect to Tyrone were not executed; and the lords of the English council sharply rebuked the deputy, for having so easily suffered him to escape out of his hands.—Morryson's Hist.

when he waited on him in Dublin with an assurance of safety, to confer amicably on matters of state. He well knew, even from the partial Morrison, the extreme desire of Bess and her ministry, to get possession of his person by any means, not excepting breach of faith, perjury, or if there be any thing worse. He was not ignorant, that the queen's express orders, for offering a conference, only in some walled town, were given, with a view, if possible, to inveigle him into captivity, and dispatch him; like Brien Roe O'Brien, invited to a banquet by De Clare, and there murdered, as intended; like O'Neil, of Clan-Hugh-boy, invited, from the same hellish motive, and massacred amidst his attendants, after Judas professions of esteem, and treacherous civilities of mock hospitality. Like the four hundred O'Moores, invited to a pacific conference, at Mullahmaisteen, there perfidiously massacred. Like the five brothers of the earl of Kildare, invited to dine with the deputy, sent prisoners from his table to the tower of London, hanged, quartered and gibbeted. Like the many attempts made on himself, by the queen and her ministry.

He was not deceived in his conjectures of a speedy change in the queen's Irish government. The English government, astonished at the little progress made by a general of such renown as Norris, with such means as they deemed more than sufficient, in the reduction of a people, whom they were habituated to view as undisciplined, disunited, and destitute of the resources of mo-

dern war. The ill success of the conferences, the general was directed to hold with Tyrone, in order to seize by stratagem, whom he could not conquer by force of arms, was peculiarly mortifying to a vindictive and sanguinary tyrant. Through the influence of the earl of Essex, rival and enemy of Norris, lord Burgh was appointed deputy; who, on his arrival, ordered Norris to depart to his government of Munster, where he sunk under the anguish of disgrace, in the arms of his brother.

The new deputy was resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; yet there was a month's cessation of arms with Tyrone, which both employed in preparations for the campaign. Burgh marched northwards, with his forces, attended by the lords of the Pale, and their followers, ordering Sir Conyers Clifford to march his forces through Connaught, and meet him at the fort of Blackwater. O'Nial lay with his main body entrenched near the town of Armagh. He sent notice to his allies in Connaught, to oppose the progress of Clifford. Tirrell, a kinsman, of the southern Hy-Niall, he sent with five hundred horse, to encourage his allies in Leinster to make a diversion. The first commencement of hostilities seemed to augur well to the cause of Ireland. A son of lord Trimbleston was sent, with a detachment of a thousand horse, to attack Tirrell. But the ability of the leader compensated the deficiency of his numbers. He gave the Anglicans a total defeat, and sent their commander prisoner to O'Nial. Clifford was arrested in his

progress through Connaught, compelled to retreat, and harassed, with considerable loss, until he took refuge in a fortress. Burgh, nevertheless, marched forward, and attacked the northern army in their entrenchments. The defence was obstinate; but the superiority of the Anglo-Irish forces, in the implements of modern warfare, procured them success. They fought their way to the fort of Blackwater, and took it. Having therein placed a garrison, the deputy resolved to pierce to Dungannon, the chief residence of O'Nial. He was again vigorously attacked; nor was he able to repel the assailants without loss and danger. On his march he met them again, advantageously posted in defiles, determined to dispute his passage. By the sudden death of lord Burgh, the command devolved on the earl of Kildare, who thought it most prudent to keep on the defensive. Nor did he long survive his predecessor. "His two foster-brothers had fallen, in rescuing him from the enemy; and such was his sense of their fidelity, that he pined with grief, and died lamenting their fall." (Lel.) How theatrical the description! Two generals die suddenly, one after the other, at the head of their forces, on the field of battle. One died, we are not told why, the other died of grief! Might he not have received a wound, when his foster-brothers died fighting by his side, attempting his rescue? What a pity we cannot obtain more accurate details of a campaign, which can be proved to have terminated favourably to the Irish, even from the forged narratives of scan-

dalously bigotted historians, no more deserving credit to the disadvantage of Ireland, than Cox or Musgrave.

“ On the death of lord Burgh, the council, as usual, committed the reins of government to Sir Thomas Norris, lord president of Munster. But at his own request the queen immediately appointed a new administration. The civil government was committed to Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and to Sir Robert Gardiner, chief-justice; the military was entrusted to the earl of Ormond, with the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. So alarming were the disorders of Leinster, that the new general thought it necessary to confine himself to this province; while Sir Henry Bagnal was detached to the borders of Ulster to awe the Northerns, and support the garrisons of Armagh and Blackwater. But O’Nial, who dreaded that vigour which he had just experienced from English forces, found it expedient to recur once again to his former artifices. He affected particular satisfaction that so considerable a share of authority in Ireland had been committed to the earl of Ormond, from whom he looked for the regards of a countryman; and addressing himself in his usual terms of humiliation to this lord, lamented his situation, pleaded his grievances, and implored his favourable interposition with the queen, for pardon and protection to a repenting offender, whose foul relapses could not indeed be justified, but were palliated by the wrongs he had sustained. This new overture to

an accommodation was transmitted to the queen, and Ormond empowered to confer with him at Dundalk. Here it was agreed that a cessation of arms should be made for eight weeks, in order to give the northern lords an opportunity of stating their grievances at large, and transmitting them to the queen. Tirone, on his part, engaged to recal his forces from Leinster; to hold no correspondence with Spain during the cessation, but to discover any intelligence he might receive from thence; neither to commit nor countenance any outrage, nor aid those who should presume to violate the truce; to give safe conduct to her majesty's officers; to victual the fort of Blackwater; and, as a token of his humble duty, to deliver forty beeves for the use of the garrison. Ormond promised that the Northerns should have the same permission to purchase provisions in the Pale, which the queen's subjects were to be allowed in Ulster; that none of Tirone's associates depending on the truce should be seized by the state, without his consent; and that the soldiery should be restrained from all violence and rapine.

“ In the course of these treaties, so disgusting in the recital, another conference succeeded, in which the earl was informed of the conditions on which the queen was pleased to grant her gracious pardon to him, and all the inhabitants of Tirone.”*

Wherefore the change of administration, but the bad success of the war? Wherefore a truce,

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 344.

and proposal of a treaty, but the same. Were the queen's arms victorious, she would listen to no such terms as Leland states from partial Morryson; no nor so much as listen to truce or treaty. "He was required to renew his submission publicly and solemnly; to detach himself from his confederates, disperse his forces, and dismiss all strangers; to renounce the title of O'Nial, with all its pretended rights and jurisdictions; to repair the damages formerly made by him in the fort and bridge of Blackwater, and to furnish the garrison with provisions at an equitable rate; to discover all his transactions with Spain; to admit a sheriff into his country; to pay a fine in satisfaction for his offence; to deliver up all traitors who should attempt to conceal themselves in his lands; to surrender the sons of John O'Nial into the hands of Ormond; and as a surety for the faithful performance of those articles, to make his eldest son an hostage.

"The humility of Tirone was by this time considerably abated. He canvassed all these articles: objected, and demanded explanations. He could not engage to detach himself from his confederates, unless time were granted to them, to come in and submit, so that they might not charge him with a clandestine desertion of their interests; if he dismissed all strangers, he expected a safe-conduct for them: while he promised to renounce the name of O'Nial, he reserved the rights usually annexed to the chieftainry of his country. As he had not received the sons of John O'Nial from the state, he peremptorily refused to give them

up. He agreed to receive a sheriff, but required that a gentleman of the county only should be chosen to this office; and that the appointment should for some time be deferred. In consenting to deliver up all disloyal persons who should conceal themselves in Tirone, he excepted those who sought refuge with him, in a cause of conscience: and as to the demand of his eldest son, he utterly rejected it. Thus did he dictate the conditions on which he would accept his pardon. His pardon, at the pressing instance of the earl of Ormond, received the great seal; and to confirm the hopes entertained by the queen and her ministers of a speedy restoration of tranquillity in Ireland, O'Ruarc, the principal insurgent of Connaught, made an humble submission to Sir Conyers Clifford, and promised for himself and all his followers faithful allegiance to the crown, and all the duties of good subjects."*

Wherefore did he dictate his terms to the imperious arrogant Bess; or why did she accede to them? If the candid Doctor feels these treaties so disgusting in the recital, must not a proud imperious queen feel them at least as disgusting in the execution? Would she have transacted business so disgusting, without the compulsion of imperious necessity? Which party asked, which granted? The truth may be collected from the contrary mistatements of Moryson, Carte and Leland. "And although he could obtain but a truce of two months, yet he was not ignorant that

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 346.

the present shattered condition of the army, obliged Ormond to grant even this short respite.”* When did an enemy ask a truce from a shattered army, and afterwards dictate and impose terms? “Had he been gratified in his first demand, his dissimulation might have been continued; but now, having discovered the real weakness of his enemy, he determined to recommence hostilities, without the least regard to promises or treaties, which he considered as mere temporary expedients.”† What unintelligible jargon! In the page before, he knew the truce was extorted by the shattered condition of the army; in this page, 348, had he obtained a twelve month’s truce, his dissimulation might have been continued! Dissimulation of what? Of the enemy’s weakness! He is stated to have known that. Of hostile intentions? A truce never conceals, but merely suspends them, for the purpose of negotiation. Oh! it seems it was the short truce informed him of the enemy’s weakness. Would not a long one have informed him just as well, if he had not abundant means of coming to that knowledge from the operations of the campaign, and the reports of friends and enemies? If history said, that the English cabinet demanded a truce of twelve months, accompanied with a proposal to open a conference for establishing tranquillity in Ireland; that O’Nial would agree only to a truce of two months, a sufficient time for settling all differences, the story would be understood, however disgusting to English-

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 347.

† Ib. p. 348.

men, and their bigotted Irish partizans. The demand of a twelvemonth's truce would betray the insincerity of the English government in their pacific overtures, only craving time to assemble forces from the continent and England; while the confederacy would be enfeebled by delay; weakened and dissolved by English intrigues. If Hugh O'Nial really considered treaties as mere temporary expedients, he must have been indebted for that refinement to his English education, and his civilizing intercourse with the court of London. Certainly, it was unusual with his country; who, in all their wars and treaties, were more guided by pride and passion than by policy. From the usual practice of his adversaries, however, if he awaited not the termination of the truce, 'tis rather probable he was driven to recommence hostilities by some breach of the articles.

Bagnal was stationed with his forces in Newry, on the frontier of the Pale, and O'Nial, encamped between him and the garrison of Armagh, in order to cut off their communication, and deprive the garrison of the latter place of provisions. But his design was frustrated by the treachery of his own kinsmen. His brother Tir-lough, and his bastard son Con, guided Bagnal by unfrequented roads, so as to elude the vigilance of the northerns, throw in a supply to the garrison of Armagh, and by a sudden attack on Tyrone's foraging parties, occasioned some confusion; Bagnal cautiously avoiding an engagement. O'Nial next marched to the fort of

Blackwater, which he blockaded. The queen's Irish government, informed of the danger, re-inforced Bagnal, and ordered him to raise the siege. He commanded four thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse, of those veterans, who served under Norris in France and Ireland, the forces of the Pale, and several well affected Irish clans. At a distance of three miles from the fort, he found the northern army drawn up to oppose him, composed of the forces of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, under their respective chieftains; and some troops from Connaught, under the command of the Mac-William de Burgo, amounting to four thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse. The forces here would appear to have been pretty equal; as the forces of the Pale, and the auxiliary clans, are not enumerated. These cannot be estimated at less than three or four thousand. Without such superiority, Bagnal, who is described by Captain Lee, one of the queen's officers, as a coward, and by Leland as cautious, would not venture an engagement with a general of tried ability and courage, who had already foiled commanders of great reputation. In cavalry too, he had a great superiority; for one of his auxiliaries, O'Reily, chieftain of East-Brefny (Co. Cavan), could bring one thousand three hundred horse into the field.* The want of judgment, attributed by

* The proof of this is in the Registry of the House of O'Reily, a copy of which is in the possession of Edward O'Reily of New-street. 'Tis therein stated, that deputy Sydney, in 1575, invited Hugh O'Nial, afterwards earl of

the English to Bagnal on this occasion, without explanation, seems to have consisted in his engaging the northerns in a position where his superiority in cavalry was of little avail. For 'tis more than probable, since O'Nial had his choice of ground, as being on the defensive, he chose such a position as would cover his wings by woods, morasses, or defiles, where cavalry could not deploy. The assault was violent; and in the heat of the engagement, an accidental explosion of some powder cast the English into disorder. Shortly after their general fell by a shot in the forehead. The victory of the northerns was complete. Fifteen hundred soldiers of the royal army, and thirteen gallant officers, were slain in the field. And that the slaughter was not still greater, is imputed by the English writers to the bravery of Montague, commander of the cavalry; by the Irish to the gallantry of O'Reily, a loyal chieftain, who lost his life in covering the retreat. The Irish acknowledged no greater loss, than two hundred slain, and six hundred wounded. They reckoned thirty-four ensigns taken, with other honors of war. But what was of real consequence, they became masters of all the artillery, ammunition, and provisions of the royal army, together with a quantity of Tyrone, Mac-Mahon, O'Donnel, Maguire, and the other chiefs of Ulster, as to an amicable conference, to the town of Drogheda. Hugh Conalach O'Reily, either informed, or suspecting that they were to be detained prisoners, suddenly marched to Duleek, with his cavalry, twenty-seven companies of light horse, and compelled the deputy to surrender the northern chieftains.

arms. The fort of Blackwater was immediately surrendered, and the remains of the royalists, who had fled for shelter to Armagh, were soon obliged to evacuate this town. The annals of the Four Masters rate the loss of the English in this battle a good deal higher. The earl of Tyrone ordered, that the dead of the enemy should be interred, 2500 were left with their general, on the field of battle; 18 captains, and many other gentlemen, whose names were unknown. This difference is easily explained; for supposing that Baker and other English writers, regarded only the loss sustained by the queen's forces, without noticing the loss of the Irish auxiliaries, both settlers and Milesians; whereas the Irish, masters of the field of battle, reckoned the slain without distinction.

This signal victory, the greatest, as Borlase says, the Irish ever gained, since the first landing of the English, had a decisive influence on the affairs of Ireland. The remnant of the bards, who escaped the persecutions of pretended civilizers, extolled the illustrious O'Nial, as the defender of the faith, the deliverer of his country from worse than Danish thralldom. The oppressed Irish, fired by this glorious example, condemned their own pusillanimity, in suffering so long under a grinding iron yoke, that assailed at once their persons, goods and conscience. The septs of Leinster, who had been gradually ejected from their fairest patrimonies, with circumstances of unmanly cruelty and perfidy, now rose in arms, to revenge their wrongs, and recover their

property. The chieftain O'Moore, who had regained possession of Leix, his antient patrimony, at the instance of Pierce Lacy, led some forces into Munster, to assist the discontented of that province. The great leaders of the south had numerous causes of complaint; and those, whose lands had been forfeited in the Desmond insurrection, harboured implacable resentment against their spoilers. Sir Thomas Norris, the queen's president, found it necessary to retire to Cork; not without being harassed in his retreat by O'Moore.

The insurrection spread rapidly in the south. The lords of Lixnaw, Fermoy, Mountgarret, Cahir, the Knights of the Glin and the Valley, were tutored by oppression, that Ireland, not England, was their real country, to whose interests, four hundred years residence, their fortunes, families, and the hopes of their prosperity, should attach them. They considered the claim of selfish England, to an eternal attachment from all those who emigrated thence to other countries, in preference to the land of their choice and residence, where they planted their families, and their prospects of prosperity, as unnatural and insolent. As if Normans, who had scarce resided one century in England, and were four centuries planted in Ireland, must prefer the interests of a transitory abode, where they touched only as sojourners, to those of their permanent habitation for themselves and posterity. They lamented the delusion, kept up by English craft, that made them consider their countrymen of older standing, who had, with them, a common

country, and a common interest, as enemies, and attach themselves to the natural enemy of both; whose object, in keeping them divided, was to subjugate both, and make them subservient instruments to their own power and aggrandizement. Why should we, who are natural born Irishmen, where we enjoy prosperity, and consequence, be looking to England, under the fantastical notion of a parent country, as if one country could engender another; as the wandering persecuted Jews look with longing eyes to their Sion? If any country were entitled to so ridiculous a title, Normandy has a prior title to England; and Denmark, whence our forefathers emigrated southward, has a prior claim over both. But the most convincing argument, proving where their attachments should fix, along with their interests, lay, in the sore experience of spiritual and temporal tyranny, unrelentingly and inhumanly exercised over them, by the foreign government, arrogantly claiming their exclusive attachment. These joined the more antient inhabitants; and to give their party the greater weight, and completely to remove any apprehensions, that might be inspired into the settlers by the craft of the enemy, of a resumption of property by the antient inhabitants, the first act of Tyrone was, to revoke the unjust confiscation of Desmond's property. He caused James, nephew to the late unhappy Gerald, to be solemnly invested with the title of earl of Desmond; which, together with his lands now to be recovered, he stipulated to hold in vassalage to the O'Nial.

The condition of English government appeared now desperate. The chieftain of Tyrone, without the title of king, commanded the reverence of his countrymen, and possessed considerable authority in most of the open country. He sent ambassadors to Spain, enlarging on the success of his arms, professing attachment, and demanding succours. There can be scarce a doubt, in the actual posture of affairs, that if ten or twelve thousand veterans were sent by Philip, with sufficient arms and ammunition, the English power in Ireland, would be irrecoverably overthrown. “ Repeated dispatches were sent into England, representing the dangerous situation of Irish affairs, with pressing instances for additional troops. The queen, more provoked at the vexatious burden, than solicitous for the real welfare of her Irish dominions, condemned the conduct of Ormond in not undertaking the northern war in person, instead of entrusting it to Sir Henry Bagnal; ordered him passionately to purge the army of Irish; named Sir Richard Bingham, now restored to favour, to succeed this unhappy officer as marshal of Ireland; and on his sudden death, appointed Sir Samuel Bagnal to lead two thousand men into this kingdom. They had been destined to form a garrison at Loughfoyle on the back of the northern rebels; but now it was deemed necessary to station them in Leinster, in order to strengthen the heart of the kingdom.

“ But such a provision was by no means thought adequate to the pressing necessities of Ireland.

At a time when this country was one general scene of insurrection, Elizabeth received intelligence from the king of Scots, that Philip of Spain was preparing for a powerful invasion of her dominions; that forty thousand men were raised for a descent on England, as was supposed; and twelve thousand destined for the assistance of her rebel-subjects in Ireland. The preservation of this kingdom was now become a serious object of attention in her councils; and so forcibly were they impressed with the danger and futility of all temporizing expedients, that it was universally agreed, that nothing but a formidable army, and an experienced general, could preserve the realm of Ireland from the enemies of the crown.”*

The Irish war was no longer beheld with contempt in England. Nothing less than a formidable army, headed by a brave and skilful general, was thought capable of preventing Ireland becoming the property of its own inhabitants. The earl of Essex, the queen’s favourite, a commander of established reputation, was sent to the post of danger and honour. “His patent was granted with the title of Lord Lieutenant, and with more extensive power than almost any governor had enjoyed: besides an extraordinary authority of pardoning all treasons, even such as touched the queen’s person, of removing officers and conferring dignities, he was left to conduct the war at his own discretion, and furnished

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 351.

with an army of twenty thousand men, such a force as had not yet been sent into Ireland, and such as those, who were strangers to this country, conceived to be utterly irresistible.

The insurgents of Ireland seemed not dismayed by this formidable preparation; they even took occasion from thence to confirm the inveteracy of the disaffected, and to persuade the wavering, that their very being now depended on uniting bravely with their countrymen. "Our grievances," said they, "have been frequently laid before the throne, but without redress or notice. Treaties have been violated; submissions received, with a shameful and contemptuous disregard to the most solemn promises; our fortunes have been torn from us; our consciences have been enslaved; but our oppressors, not yet satiated, now prepare to exterminate the wretched natives who have presumed to assert their liberty, and thus to erect a tyrannical dominion even over those who call themselves English subjects, and are so infatuated as not to discern, that the present is the common cause of all." Such was the alarm conceived or affected in Ireland, that the queen thought it necessary, by proclamation, utterly to disavow all intertentions against the liberty of a country, where she had so great a number of loyal subjects; the war she declared was to be directed only against the obstinately rebellious; and that her mercy should be still extended to those who sought it by sincere penitence and submission."*

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. iv. p. 354.

Essex had been expressly commanded, agreeably to his own declared opinions, to strike directly at the North, as the focus and principal strength of the insurrection. But he was persuaded by the Irish council, interested in the new plantations in Munster, to march first southward, to settle the disturbances of that quarter. In his march through Leinster, he was considerably harassed by O'Moore, chieftain of Leix. At a place called the Pass of Plumes, from the quantity of plumes taken from his soldiers, the earl was attacked in his rear, with great advantage, and a number of his men slain. The siege of Lord Cahir's castle, his first military exploit in Ireland, was retarded ten days, by the active opposition he met with from the earl of Desmond. "So confident were the enemy, notwithstanding the inferiority of their numbers, that it was resolved to break from their retreats suddenly, and to attack different bodies of his army at once: but by some disagreement among their leaders, the scheme miscarried; and Essex was left to march through the province without opposition, and waste his forces in a fruitless pursuit of the rebels.

The northern insurgents in the mean time proceeded with address and vigour. The chieftain of Tirone was indefatigable in confirming his adherents, and defeating every attempt to seduce them. He stationed parties on the passes of Loughfoyle and Ballyshannon, to oppose any English garrisons that might attempt to settle there. He received ammunition from Spain; and,

in concurrence with O'Donnel, hired a considerable body of Scottish islanders to strengthen their forces, which by this time amounted to nine thousand foot, and fourteen hundred horse. He chose an advantageous ground between Dundalk and Newry, where he lay strongly entrenched with his main body; declaring his resolution of giving battle, and his confidence of success. Even the rebels of Leinster, though less numerous, had now learned to look on their enemies without terror. About six hundred of the queen's forces were encountered by the sept of O'Byrne; and instead of bravely defending themselves against inferiour numbers, were seized with a sudden panic, and shamefully defeated. And when Essex returned into Leinster with an enfeebled and diminished army, he could express his vexation only by decimating the unfortunate troops, cashiering their officers, and executing the chief delinquent."*

Essex had by this time learnt by experience, that the Irish, though still divided, were more formidable even than the apprehensions entertained in England. He lays down the plan of subjugating them by famine, intrigue, perfidy, a plan strictly followed by his successor, with the addition of forgery. "The earl had written to the queen from Munster, in terms totally different from those which his rash presumption had dictated in England. He now expatiates on the superiority of the enemy, represents the dis-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 356, 357.

affection as general, arising from an aversion both from the religion and government of England; hints at the expediency of breaking the rebels by secret practices; at the necessity of hunting out their priests, the chief agents in cementing them: recommends it to the queen, if she would have a strong party among the Irish, to hide from them all purpose of establishing English government, till their strength should be completely broken: advises that the coasts be guarded, the towns occupied by strong garrisons, and prevented from supplying the rebels: and upon comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of the state, expresses his confidence, that although the rebels be superiour in number, have abler bodies, and perfecter use of arms, yet as the queen commands the towns and champain countries, has a brave nobility and gallant officers, may cut off the enemy's provisions, and lay their territories waste, victory must in the end be certain, though the work of care, expence, and time."*

On his return to Dublin, Essex considered his force inadequate to the northern war; he therefore solicited the queen for an additional force of two thousand men, and contented himself for the present with making war on the Irish of Leix and O'Faly; (King and Queen's-county).

The queen was astonished and confounded, that she was so far out in her calculations on the reduction of Ireland. She felt cause to lament,

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 357. 858.

that she paid no attention to Lee's memorial, presented to her four years before; predicting to her, that a war with Hugh O'Nial would prove the most serious and formidable she ever had on her hands; proving at the same time, that she might, by following moderate counsels, retain him in his allegiance, as a feudatory vassal prince, and make him a powerful instrument for the preservation of tranquillity in Ireland. As to the latter part, lord Verulam was exactly of the same opinion, at the conclusion of the war.

The demanded reinforcement arrived, and Essex prepared for his northern expedition. " Sir Conyers Clifford, lord-president of Connaught, was ordered to draw his forces to Beleek, in order to make a diversion on that side, while Essex made his grand attack upon the rebels. He obeyed, and marched with fifteen hundred foot, and about two hundred cavalry; when O'Ruarc, one of the rebel-leaders, issuing suddenly from his ambush, with no more than two hundred men, attacked the party in a mountainous and embarrassed situation, cast them into confusion, killed one hundred and twenty, among whom, Clifford himself, and some other officers, fell at the first onset, and pursued his victory, till by the valour of the horse he was again driven into his woods. But the queen's forces deprived of their general, and dreading to be again attacked by O'Donnel, instead of pursuing their intended course, deemed it necessary to return to their garrison. The loss in this encounter was of little moment, compared to the impression made on

the minds of the soldiery. The English levies shewed the utmost reluctance to march through a strange country, where at every step they were liable to be surprised; and deserted in considerable numbers. The Irish royalists despised an unsuccessful general, and fled to their countrymen.”* The account of this expedition, left us by the English writers, such as Morrison and Leland, seems very inaccurate, when compared with the following extract from the annals of Donnegal.

“ Sir Conyers Clifford marched from Athlone towards Lough-Earn, to draw O’Neill to a close and general engagement. Sir Hugh O’Conor Don, who, in consideration of his services, had been honored with the dignity of military knighthood, accompanied him. Theobald Burke, surnamed the seaman, sailed from Galway to Sligo, to supply O’Conor Sligo with cannon and ammunition. O’Conor Sligo, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, kept the city of Sligo in awe, but was soon pressed by some squadrons of O’Donel’s army, who took Sligo by a coup-de-main, before the arrival of Burke, and obliged O’Conor to retire into the castle of Colooney, where he was closely besieged. Clifford and O’Conor Don, informed of his situation, marched with 2000 infantry, and some squadrons of cavalry, to relieve him. O’Donell, hearing of their approach, left 200 horse, commanded by Nial Garve O’Donell, to block up O’Conor

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. v. p. 358. 359.

Sligo in Colooney, and, with the remainder of his army, marched to meet Clifford, in the defiles of the Curlieu mountains, where his cavalry could be of little service. O'Donell's troops, were, as usual, lightly armed, and his march, as usual, extremely rapid. To render the passes of the mountains more difficult, he felled some of the larges trees in the neighbourhood, with which he constructed an abbatis, that rendered the approach of the enemy's horse extremely difficult, and then gave orders for a general fast. Every soldier, imitating the example of his general, prepared himself for the approaching combat, by confession and communion; and scarce had divine service been concluded, on the festival of the Blessed Virgin, 15th of August, when the English army appeared, slowly advancing, with great order and regularity. A notion prevailed, about that time, among the native Irish, that one of the great objects of the reformation was, to impugn the virginity of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God; and this notion, which the language of the reformers but too fully justified, impressed such a horror against the English, on all orders of clergy and laity, that it rendered their hatred, if possible, more irreconcilable, and rendered every Englishman an object of abhorrence. O'Donel, impatient for the moment, which he was certain would be decisive of the fate of his country, harangued his men in their native language; he shewed them, that the advantage of their situation alone gave them a decided superiority over their opponents.

“ Moreover,” added he, “ were we even deprived of those advantages I have enumerated, we should trust to the great dispenser of eternal justice, to the dreadful avenger of iniquity and oppression, the success of our just and righteous cause. He has already doomed to destruction, those assassins, who have butchered our wives and our children, plundered us of our properties, set fire to our habitations, demolished our churches and monasteries, and who have changed the face of Ireland into a wild, uncultivated desert. On this day, more particularly, I trust to heaven for protection; a day, dedicated to the greatest of all saints, whom these enemies to all religion, endeavour to vilify; a day, on which we have purified our consciences, to defend honestly the cause of justice, against men, whose hands are reeking with blood, and who, not content with driving us from our native plains, come to hunt us, like wild beasts, into the mountains of Dunaveeragh. But what? I see you have not patience to hear a word more. Brave Irishmen, you burn for revenge. Scorning the advantage of this impregnable situation, let us rush down, and shew the world, that, guided by the Lord of life and death, we exterminated those oppressors of the human race. He who falls, will fall gloriously, fighting for justice, for liberty, and for his native country; his name will be remembered, while there is an Irishman on the face of the earth; and he, who survives, will be pointed at, as the companion of O’Donel, and the defender of his country. The congrega-

tion shall make way for him at the altar, saying, THAT HERO fought at the battle of Dunaveeragh.”*

A general cry, to be led to the charge, was the issue of a speech, pronounced with a loud commanding voice, by a man who had never been defeated; a man, whose courage was unquestionable, and whose strength and size were proportionate with his elevated enthusiasm. The Irish army rushed down the hills with incredible impetuosity; the onset was furious, and O'Rourke of Breffny appeared, unexpectedly, rushing down from another quarter, on the flank of the enemy. Immediately when he appeared, a tremendous shout from his party and O'Donell's ensued. The clashing of their swords, and the impetuosity of young O'Rourke, who breathed revenge for his father's death, threw the English into irreparable confusion. Their flight was precipitate; the pursuit relentless; the carnage frightful. Clifford was killed in the action; his head was severed from his body; and O'Conor escaped with difficulty to Ballintubber. O'Donell expressed an ardent wish, that O'Rourke would pursue him. “No,” said the other, “O'Conor Don is my brother-in-law, and I have no enemy, and I never will, but those sons of foreigners, those Saxons, who were the murderers of my father.” “Well then,” says O'Donell, staring at him, with a disdainful countenance, “by the hand of

* The reader may compare this speech with that of O'Sullivan, in Latin, but he must reflect, that it was delivered to the army in the Irish language.

my father, the O'Connor's shall now suffer for their base apostacy, or O'Donel shall be no more;" and so saying, he marched off to Ballintubber. O'Connor's clans, awed by his name, and despising their own chief, who joined Elizabeth, dragged his great gun* to the heights of Ballifinegan, within shot of the castle, the walls were soon battered, and O'Connor surrendered at discretion. The conqueror conveyed him in triumph to Colooney, where O'Connor Sligo was besieged, and sent Clifford's head into the castle, with a message, that if Colooney was not immediately surrendered, O'Connor Don's head should be sent in likewise. The castle of Colooney was therefore surrendered to the victorious O'Donel, who generously bestowed to the two O'Connor's their lives and properties, on condition of their joining in the general cause. The Irish writers say, that Clifford lost 1400 men in this action. Cambden's words are, *Cliffordo una*

* It is remarkable, that O'Donell had but one great gun in his army, a brass caannon, which was sent to him as a present from Spain. Nothing can be more ridiculous, than the accounts, which some English writers give of the Irish armies; it is certain, that, in general, they had nothing to oppose to the English but their courage, and their hardihood. "At the battle of Ballintubber," says Ledwich, "the Irish had 1200 pikes and 1000 muskets;" but it may not be amiss to state, that not 30 years ago there were people living, who spoke with persons that were at that battle, who stated that the Irish fought with sticks and pitchforks only, that there was but one musket in the engagement; and Borlace himself owns, that the Irish musketeers did not come into action, whereas the English, as he says, were then armed in the best manner possible.

cum Alexandro Radcliffe, de Ordsall, ex equestri ordine, et multis veteranis, occisis.

Immediately after these events, O'Connor Sligo coalesced against the queen with O'Connor Roe, but O'Connor Don could not be prevailed on to take any active part in favor of his countrymen.

Essex now wrote to England that the whole force, then under his command, was but four thousand effective men; that all his intended enterprizes must therefore be suspended; and that, consequently, he could draw towards the borders of Ulster, but three thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse. To justify this conduct, his letters were accompanied with the opinion of the principal officers subscribed and attested. With this force he arrived at the northern borders of the Pale. Tyrone appeared with his forces at some distance, and sent a messenger to Essex, to desire a parley, probably solicited thereto. He was answered, that the lord lieutenant would meet him next day, at the head of his army. He again solicited, and obtained permission to wait on his excellency, at a ford, near the principal town of the county of Louth. Thomas Lee, author of the memorial to queen Elizabeth, on the state of Ireland, the creature of Essex, and intimate of Tyrone, served as inter-nuncio between the two generals. They conferred a considerable time without witnesses; the subjects of which conference can only be surmised. It was at least rumoured, by the enemies of Essex, that he communicated his extravagant schemes of ambition to Tyrone, and agreed to

some secret articles of alliance with him. At least it is confessed, that Tyrone assured him, if he would take his directions, he would make him the greatest lord in England, and that, after this conference, he declared to his followers, that new disorders were soon to arise in England, which would require his presence in that country. Be that as it may, the conference was opened in form, with witnesses on each side. Tyrone repeated the grievances, which had induced the northerns to take arms, and proposed the conditions of peace. A general amnesty. A free exercise of religion. The restoration of their lands; and an exemption from English government. Essex promised to transmit their desires to the queen; and was even accused of promising to prevail on her to grant them, as highly equitable and reasonable. A truce was agreed on for six weeks, to be renewed for the same period, leaving each party at liberty to renew the war on a fortnight's previous notice.* If any of the Irish confederates should refuse to adhere to this agreement, Tyrone engaged to leave them to be prosecuted by the lord-lieutenant at his pleasure. Not long after this truce, Essex suddenly departed for England, leaving the government to the chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carew.

That the Irish confederates had successfully resisted the mighty force brought against them by Essex, was a great encouragement to their hopes of final success. It was not probable, that England would ever make a greater effort to

* Moryson, Sydney's letters, vol II. p. 125.

reduce them; and still farther to flatter their expectations, shortly after the departure of Essex, a fresh supply of money and ammunition arrived from Spain, with assurances of a powerful reinforcement from that country. Elevated by these promising appearances, Tyrone, at the first period, gave the stipulated notice of recommencing hostilities. "The royalists, not well prepared to oppose him, expostulated on this violation of his treaty." (Lel.) But the Dr. forgot his own statement, from cotemporary English authorities, that the treaty, if a truce may be so called, left each party at liberty to renew the war, on giving fourteen days previous notice. Doubtless, the Anglicans would willingly renew the truce, until reinforcements arrived from England; but O'Nial was left at liberty, by the conditions of that truce, to refuse a renewal thereof, on giving the stipulated notice. Accordingly, he replied, that he had given the necessary notifications of his intentions, conformably to the articles of the truce; nor was it in his power to recal them, as his confederates had received directions, in different parts of the kingdom, to renew the war.

Ormond, again appointed lord-lieutenant of the army, proceeded to the north, with such forces as he could collect; when, unhappily for himself and the cause he was embarked in, O'Nial parleyed, and agreed to renew the cessation for a month. It might justly be said of him, what was said of Hannibal, 'He knew how to gain a victory, but knew not how to profit by

it. His success hitherto, and the reputation of his arms, encouraged him to hope, that he might gain over his countrymen, of English, as well as of Spanish origin, by negotiations, proclamations, and a pilgrimage to the holy cross of Tipperary. Thus the precious irrecoverable season of action was lost, when the shattered remains of a great army were unable to oppose him. Protracting war, on the defensive, is often useful; but the moment of victory, when the enemy were in confusion and dismay, offered the golden opportunity of pushing his advantages without intermission. Did he not know the obstinate, inflexible character of the imperious tyrant, with whom he was at war? That, in the interim, she would call forth all the resources of her dominions; which she did, even selling the crown jewels, and royal domains, borrowing loans from the people, obtaining unusual subsidies from parliament, to renew the war with redoubled vigor. He might be excusable for parleying with Essex; as he might have been persuaded, by the promises of the favorite, and what would he not promise, to avoid the disgrace of a defeat? to obtain peace on favorable terms. But there could be no reasonable apology for his agreeing to a cessation with Ormond, more artful and dangerous than his implacable enemy, Bagnal. His plan was, to carry the war into the Pale, and use all efforts and promptitude to conquer it, and other English partizans, which would give greater efficacy to his negotiations and proclamations. If his reliance on tardy, irreso-

lute, and ill-directed Spanish succour, induced him to the cessation, Spain was his ruin.

We shall see to what little purpose he employed this interval, while Elizabeth exerted all the energies of her kingdom, to repair the losses and disgraces sustained in Ireland.

Tyrone, though tolerant beyond his age, so as to furnish his enemies with a pretence of taxing him with indifference to religion, deemed it good policy now to declare himself champion of the faith. Whether to gratify Rome and Spain, from whom he solicited and expected succours, or that religion might cement those whom temporal interests could not unite, he is said, by Leland, I have seen no other authority, to have published a proclamation, as follows :

“ Using hitherto more than ordinary favour towards all my countrymen, both for that you are generally by your professions Catholicks, and that naturally I am inclined to affect you, I have for these and other considerations abstained my forces from attempting to do you hindrance ; and the rather for that I did expect in processe of time you would enter into consideration of the lamentable estate of your poor country most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresie.

“ But now seeing you are so obstinate in that in which you have hitherto continued, of neces-

sitie I must use severity against you, whom otherwise I most entirely loved, in reclayming you by compulsion, when my long tollerance and happy victories, by God's particular favour doubtlessly obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences.

“ Considering notwithstanding the great calamitie and miserie whereunto you are most likely to fall, by persevering in that damnable estate, in which hitherto ye have lived, having thereof commiseration, hereby I thought good and convenient to forewarne you, requesting everie of you to come and joyn with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same ye do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but according to the utmost of my power shall work what I can to dispossess you of all your lands; because you are the means whereby warres are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholick faith. Contrarywise, whosoever you shall be, that shall joyne with me; upon my conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will imploy myself to the utmost of my power, in their defence and for the extirpation of heresie, the planting of the Catholick religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed, nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility, and consequently of infinite evils, which are too lamentable to be rehearsed.

“ And seeing these are motives most laudable

before any man of consideration, and before the Almighty most meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our poor afflicted country unto the Catholick faith, which can never be brought to any good pass, without either your destruction or helping hands: hereby protesting that I neither seek your lands, nor goods, nor do I purpose to plant any in your places, if you will adjoyn with me, but will extend what priviledges and liberties that heretofore ye have had, if it shall stand in my power: giving you to understand upon my salvation, that chiefly and principally I fight for the Catholick faith to be planted throughout all our poor country, as well in cities as elsewhere, as manifestly might appear, by that I rejected all other conditions proffered to me, this not being granted; which eftsone before by word of mouth I have protested, and do hereby protest, that if I had gotten to be king of Ireland, without having the Catholick religion which before I have mentioned, I would not the same accept.

“ Yet some other very catholickly given, to cover their bad consciences with cloaks of affected ignorance, will not seem to understand my good meaning therein, but according to their own corrupt consciences and judgments, conster my warres to be for my particularities, affirming that I never mentioned any points of religion in any articles of agreement which were to passe between the queen’s governours and me; con-

trary to my first article of agreement, which was to passe between me and the lord of Ormond, the general of all the queen's forces in Ireland; though very craftilie the same, as I was given to understand long after, was suppressed by them.

“ But some no doubt maliciously given are not contented to admit my warres to be lawfull, affirming that the same were begun upon some particular causes: which I admit as a thing impertinent, seeing the continuance thereof, as plainly to all men appeareth, is for the chiefest motive, or at least was a principal part thereof. Albeit the same was not then manifest, because so good a cause should not be committed to so doubtfull an entertainment as my power was then like to afford; and least a catholick cause should receive any disgrace, or should be scandalized by hereticks, I refrained myself from giving others to understand my intentions.

“ Which, notwithstanding many catholicks understanding, doe think themselves bound to obey the queen as their lawful prince: which is denied; in respect that she was deprived of all such kingdoms, dominions, and possessions, which otherwise perhaps should have been due unto her, and consequently of all subjection, insomuch as she is left a private person, and no man bound to give her obedience; and beyond all this, such as were sworne to be faithful unto her, were by his holyness absolved from performance thereof, seeing she is, by a declaration of excommunication, pronounced a heretic; nei-

ther is there any revocation of the excommunication, as some catholicks do most falsely, for particular affection, surmise : for the sentence was in the beginning given for heresie, and for continued heresie the same was continued. It is a thing void of all reason, that his holyness should revoke the sentence, she persevering in heresie, yea, in mischiefing and persecuting the catholicks.

“ But it may be, therè was a mitigation made in favour of catholicks, by which they might be licensed in civil matters precisely to give her, during their inability, obedience ; but not in any matter tending to the promotion of heresie. Wherefore, I earnestly beseech you all catholicks, and good loving countrymen, as you tender the exaltation of the catholic faith, and the utter extirpation of heresie, in this our poor distressed country, to consider the lamentable and most miserable state thereof. And now let us join altogether, to deliver this poor kingdom from that infection of heresie, with which it is, and shall be, if God do not specially favour us, most miserably infected : taking example by that most christian and catholick country of France ; whose subjects, for defence of the catholic faith, yea, against their most natural king maintained warres so long, as by their means he was constrained to profess the catholick religion, duely submitting himself to the apostolick see of Rome ; to which doubtless we may bring our country, you putting your helping hands to the same.

“ As for myself, I protest before God, and upon my salvation, I have been proffered oftentimes such conditions, as no man seeking his own private commodity, could refuse. But I, seeking the publick utilitie of my native country, and means for your salvation, will prosecute these warres, until that generally religion be planted throughout all Ireland.

“ So I rest, praying the Almighty to move your flinted hearts, to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ease.

Dunaveag, the fifteenth day of Nov. 1599.

O'NEALE.”*

He went afterwards on a pilgrimage to the holy cross, county of Tipperary, as well to impress an idea of his devotion, as to concert measures with his associates. The earl of Desmond addressed a letter to the king of Spain, inveighing against the tyranny of the English queen, exceeding that of Pharaoh or Nero, praying to be supplied with men and ammunition, that he might follow up his successes, and reduce those towns, to which his enemies had been driven for shelter. Another letter, signed by O’Nial, Desmond, Mac Carty More, and Dermod Mac Carty, was addressed to the pope, Clement, earnestly soliciting his holiness to make a provision of pious and learned pastors, for their

* E. MSS. Epis. Sterne. Bibl. Trin. Coll. Dub. :

afflicted church, which they profess to cherish and protect.

While the leaders of the Irish confederates were thus busied in negotiations and foreign correspondence, Ormond labored to allay the terror of the English party. Indefatigable in strengthening and supplying the forts and garrisons, collecting and training the forces of the Pale, he earnestly importuned the English ministry, to provide speedily some effectual protection for their colony, before the Irish enemy would break into the Pale, and overwhelm them. At the expiration of the truce, he marched into Munster, to watch the measures and motions of Tyrone and his confederates.

During this stagnation of the confederates, Elizabeth made every possible exertion, and strained every nerve, to repair her losses in Ireland. Great reinforcements were sent to Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, who was sent as commander in chief and lord deputy, accompanied by Sir George Carew, as president of Munster. They landed at Hoath, and arrived in Dublin, February, an. 1599.

Kind reader, if you have a heart to feel, a scene now opens, that must afflict you ; a scene of desolation and carnage. War, carried on, not after the manner of men, not even of the most barbarous nations, but after the practice of demons, if demons go to war. To exterminate a nation, by famine, forgery, treachery, unbounded cruelty, was the plan, contrived and commanded by a bloody tyrant and her council.

Fit instruments were chosen for the execution ; white-livered Charles Blount, of effeminate appearance, and treacherous Carew, of cold-blooded cruelty, whose callous hearts were never appalled, by the scenes of desolation and misery they produced ; and shrunk from no means, however dishonorable or infamous, to accomplish the destruction of the Irish. Yet these were, the restorers and followers of the gospel, reformers of religion, civilizers of nations !!!

The scenes that open to us now, are shocking to humanity, in the narration ; painful surely to me in the writing. However, we must sacrifice our feelings to truth. However distressing the rehearsal, we must discharge our duty, as well as we are able, in the arduous task of giving a faithful picture of those dismal times of ruin and sorrow, the extremes of human wickedness and human wretchedness. Oh, ye unbelievers, who question the severity of divine justice, in sentencing the wicked to future torments, read the following, and your doubts must be silenced.

Mountjoy followed up the plan, neglected by Norris, of cooping the northerns in their own territory, surrounding them by forts, and destroying their provisions and tillage. The day after his arrival, he received intelligence from Ormond, that Tyrone lay with some force in the western part of Munster. That he was so surrounded, by the troops of Clanrickard, Thomond, the vice-presidents of Munster, and his own, that he had no escape, but by the western

borders of the Pale; so that if the deputy should march thither, he would have a fair opportunity of intercepting him. Mountjoy accordingly marched to Molingar; where, after some fruitless delay, he learned, that Tyrone had escaped to the north. This unexpected escape threw suspicion on Clanrickard; but an incident soon happened, that made the loyalty of Ormond suspected. Sir George Carew, on his way to Cork, was entertained at Kilkenny, by Ormond; who informed him, that he was next day to have a conference with O'Moore, inviting him and his companion O'Brien of Thomond, to be witnesses. They complied; advising him to bring his own troop of two hundred horse, joined to the president's guard of one hundred. He replied, that it was unnecessary; and even commanded his own troop to halt, within two miles of the place of meeting, advancing only with seventeen armed men, while O'Moore awaited him with a band of pikemen, posting a body of five hundred foot and twenty horse, in an adjacent wood. Carew, disliking the situation of the place, and suspecting appearances, requested Ormond to retire. The latter, after a long conference with O'Moore, demanded to see one Archer, a Jesuit, as one who possessed influence with the insurgents. While he was engaged in conversation with him, the insurgents gradually advanced from the wood, and seized him. Carew and Thomond effected their escape with some danger and difficulty. Ormond's troop could not be per-

suaded to attempt his rescue. It need scarcely be observed, that the parley with O'Moore being over, any further delay deprived him of the protection of the olive branch, and that parleying with individuals of the party would be construed into tampering. In these times of jealousy and distrust, the earl was suspected of having wilfully delivered himself, and of having intended the capture of his two companions. It was alledged, that he had held frequent conferences with O'Nial, and had lately received a letter from that chieftain. Mountjoy received from O'Moore the terms, on which the earl's liberty was to be purchased. That her majesty's garrisons should be removed from his territory of Leix, and security given, that none should be stationed there after. That, if these securities should be denied them, the garrisons of O'Faly should be removed. That O'Moore and his followers should be received into protection for six weeks.* That, during the armistice, no forces should be sent against their confederates of Ulster.

Mountjoy, not displeased at the removal of a rival in power, and thinking the circumstance might induce the queen to send him reinforcements, paid no attention to the terms or proposal. He had sent detachments to Ardee, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, Kells, and every strong place on the northern borders of the Pale. Sir Henry Dowkra was sent, with four thousand

* For the purpose of agriculture, it being then early in spring.

men, to Lough Foyle; and, having provided for the security of Leinster, and sent provisions to the garrisons of Leix and O'Faly, he marched north, to favor the descent of Dowkra, by drawing off the attention of Tyrone. He found this chieftain strongly entrenched, between Newry and Armagh, attacked him vigorously, and drove him from his trenches, with more disgrace than loss. Mean while Dowkra landed at Lough Foyle, and fortified the city of Derry. The power of an Irish chieftain, destitute of revenue or a standing army, depended chiefly on opinion. Circumstances, in themselves trifling, such as his escape from Munster, his retreat from his trench, joined to the serious one of the force planted at Lough Foyle, in the rear of the insurgents, had a powerful effect on the fickle Irish. Numbers deserted the banners of O'Nial; many surrendered to Dowkra, and to Mountjoy, suing protection. Sir Arthur O'Nial, son of Tirlough Lynnough, submitted to Mountjoy, hoping to be invested with the title and estate of Tyrone. Nial Garuff O'Donel solicited the chieftainry of Tyrconnel, as the reward of his desertion. Though he could not satisfy the demands of all, by some concessions, and assurances of favor, he retained them in a dependence on English government.

Mountjoy's successful operations in the north were suspended for a while, by the necessary consequences of the plan he had to execute. That plan was formed in the queen's council in London. Experience proved the truth of Essex's

assertion, that the Irish were stronger, more skilful in the use of arms, and more numerous than his army, or indeed any army that would be sent. That the only sure way of conquering the Irish was, by starving them. That England possessed the means of famishing the Irish, by holding possession of all walled towns and fortified places. That, by garrisoning and victualling these, the troops should be continually on the alert, sallying out by night and day, and take every opportunity of burning or otherwise destroying all manner of provisions, beyond what they could carry with them. To burn villages, houses, drive cattle, indulge their appetites in every kind of licentiousness. In harvest, there was a favorable opportunity of burning, cutting, trampling standing corn; and in spring, the tillers employed in husbandry, and the cattle, should be assaulted, as Irish enemies. Every ploughman, driver, and plow horses, thus surprized and put to death, procured for the lucky perpetrators, applause of a victory. The brave garrisons of Leix and O'Faly were loyally busy in executing this charitable plan of civilizing the rude Irish, while Mountjoy was paling the north with forts and garrisons, and mining the power of O'Nial, by sowing division among his followers, and gaining deserters for the queen's service. Some of those provision destroying parties had the misfortune to be intercepted, and put to death. The Irish had the insolence, as Leland justly calls it, to resent those methods of civilization; as if fasting were

not an institution of their own religion, to nourish the soul by thinning the flesh. They had even the audacity to make reprisals on the loyal quarters of the Pale. “ From the northern borders Mountjoy was again called into Leinster by the insolence of the rebellious sept of this province; and here again the well-affected were encouraged, and the insurgents confounded by his successful excursions. He pursued Tirrel and O’Moore into their retreats in Leix, where, in a bold attack upon the English forces, O’Moore was killed. This chieftain had some time before consented to release the earl of Ormond, on his giving hostages for the payment of a large ransom; and the deputy in this expedition had the good fortune to prevail on those who had the custody of these hostages to deliver them into his hands upon a promise of pardon and protection. The Leinster rebels, by driving the royalists into their fortified towns, and living long without molestation, had cultivated their lands, and established an unusual regularity and plenty in their districts. But now they were exposed to the most rueful havock from the queen’s forces. The soldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, every where cut down the standing corn with their swords, and devised every means to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the necessaries of life. Famine was judged the speediest and most effectual means of reducing them; and therefore the deputy was secretly not displeased with the devastations made even in the well-affected quarters, by the improvident fury of the rebels.

The like melancholy expedient was practised in the northern provinces. The governour of Carricfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester, issued from his quarters, and for twenty miles round reduced the country to a desert. Sir Samuel Bagnal, with the garrison of Newry, proceeded with the same severity, and laid waste all the adjacent lands. All the English garrisons were daily employed in pillaging and wasting; while Tirone, with his dispirited army, shrunk gradually within narrower bounds. They were effectually prevented from sowing and cultivating their lands, which had formerly lain unmolested by the English, and at the approach of winter, the deputy again appeared on their borders. He again drove Tirone from his entrenchment, and demolished his works. The want of necessaries had driven the English garrison from Armagh, and made it impracticable to maintain this post, in a wasted country; he therefore marked out a place for a new fort, eight miles distant from this town, which he finished, and called Mount-Norris, in honour of the general, whom he deemed his master in the arts of war. Every day the enemy attempted to interrupt him by skirmishes, but were constantly repelled by his vigour and prudent dispositions. The last effort made by Tirone was to oppose his return by Carlingford; but here again he was bravely repelled with considerable loss. So that the reputation of this chieftain, so long the idol of his barbarous countrymen, was utterly overthrown, and his followers from all quarters fled from the miseries of war,

and sued to government for pardon and protection.

But while Mountjoy proceeded thus wisely and successfully in the prosecution of the Irish war, some alarming incidents in England threatened to interrupt his progress.”*

Wisely and successfully indeed, he executed the divine plan of good queen Bess, sending myriads of men, women, and children to heaven, through long fasting, which is seldom unaccompanied with abundance of prayer and tears of contrition. Can any contrition be more feeling, than bowels rent by the agonizing pangs of hunger? A contrite stomach will, of course, cause a contrite heart; that is, a sure passport to heaven. Hence, we must conclude, that England never had so charitable a queen, to punish the flesh of the Irish nation, for the salvation of their nobler and immortal part. It was, moreover, absolutely indispensable, to pulling down the swelling pride of the Milesians, and teach them humility, the solid and deep foundation of christian perfection; which was accomplished, when they greedily lay on their bellies to eat grass. The posture, gesture, and occupation, were truly humble, and edifying. Let no captious reader bring her charity into suspicion, asking did she practice this holy regimen on herself? She did, as her most honorable, humane, and just council, who aided her by their advice, in the formation of this most christian plan, for

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. v. p. 377.

reforming civilizing, and gospellizing the poor wild Irish, witness. She did punish her flesh, in the same manner she devised for the happiness of the Irish, as the most chaste, unblemished, and immaculate maid of honor, attending on the blessed virgin queen, can attest; as all her honorable and upright courtiers can testify, where ever they be; part of which historians have recorded. Yea, she imitated the humility of the posture, adopted by the civilized Irish, in the meek and harmless occupation of biting grass, even to the roots, ferns, furs, barks and branches of trees. She divested herself of all her grandeur; she forgot her throne, scepter, and power. Her wardrobe of fine garments, her jewels, she had already parted, to execute the charitable plan. She lay in her undress, and a plain night gown, on the floor, for several days, and several nights. She would neither go to bed, eat, drink, or take any comfort, untill she fasted herself out of this world. If I am asked whither, I care not to know. But to the execution of the plan.

Mountjoy, in the full tide of his successful career, had like to have been arrested, by the tongue of Essex, who involved him in his London insurrection. However, his success in the execution of her favourite plan, so endeared him to the very soul of the virgin, that she wrote him a polite epistle, forgiving his weakness, assuring him of her love and friendship, and continuing him in the command. Thus encouraged, the hero proceeded on his mission with renewed ardour.

He animated the soldiers, by letting them have all the booty they could carry, leading them skilfully to excursions, where they met few to oppose them, and were sure of victory. This great man studied natural history, and finding that lions, and other carnivorous animals, usually lye in wait for prey, at streams, where cattle are wont to slacken their thirst, he, in like manner, left, on the confines of a desolated territory, some portion of corn, or other provision, untouched, near which an ambuscade was placed, that the famished groupes, who flocked thither, might be mercifully delivered from the lingering pangs of hunger. Thus, the soldiers, who before dreaded the northerns, would acquire contempt for the emaciated swordsmen of Ireland, and confidence in their own stuff-gut valour. Besides the many other advantages, conferred on the barbarous natives, by these humane and christian methods of reclaiming them to English civilization, and to Bess's late reformed religion, it offered a great field to the fine arts. Situated on Tarah, or any other eminence commanding an extensive prospect, the painter would have a sublime and terrific scene for the exercise of his art. He could draw a bird's-eye landscape of vast and fertile plains, involved in fire and smoke. The labours of the harvest, villages, and hamlets, reddening the atmosphere with promiscuous blaze, capped by curling volumes of smoke. On approaching nearer the awful scene, he might distinctly hear the frightful shrieks and cries of the wretches perishing in the fire. He might hear the volleys

of musquetry mowing those who attempted to escape, sure of their aim, as the blaze clearly exhibited the object, while the terrified fugitives were blinded, by the smoke and glare of fire, from perceiving their civilizers, ready to receive them with a merciful discharge of bullets, or the point of the bayonet. Nor is painting the only branch of the fine arts, that could be employed to advantage, on this grand exhibition of English clemency and refinement. Music, too, a sister art, might derive considerable improvement, from noting the various modifications of the Irish cry, uttered by sufferers of every sex and age, from hoary decrepitude to suckling infancy. Here a husband grasping his wife; there a mother, with her babe in her arms, in a state of demi-combustion, rushing from the conflagration, on receiving the final volley, sink, closing desolating shrieks, of pain, anguish and dismay, with a last groan of horror. Nero is said to have enjoyed his conflagration of Rome, and to have tuned his pipe and song to the grand spectacle. Bess could only have enjoyed, in imagination, the more extensive conflagration of Ireland; but her loyal soldiers and subjects, executioners of the sentence, might have feasted their eyes, with every species of human woe; their ears, with heart-rending cries of perishing humanity, every diversity of destruction, ruin, and desolation, exhibited in the frightful panorama of exterminating cruelty, Certain it is, that those English writers, who mention these horrific scenes, do so, without manifesting any symptom of displeasure; nay, with

apparent marks of satisfaction and approbation. Another benefit, derived to the cause of England, and good queen Bess, from their plan of civilization. Her armies were recruited from the ranks of her enemies; her battles fought by them, with little loss of English precious blood; for general starvation proved an excellent recruiting sergent. "With more of policy than humanity, he took care that those Irish soldiers should be exposed both to toil and danger; and even boasted to the queen that he thus diminished the number of her secret enemies. They were however outwardly encouraged; and their leaders rewarded by especial favours, when they had once approved their fidelity. One of the sept of Maguire, was, in opposition to a partizan of Tirone, invested with the lands and chieftainry of Fermanagh: and Nial Garruff obtained a like grant of Tir-connel, with a reservation of eight thousand acres round Ballyshannon. But these methods of dividing the northern rebels were not so acceptable to the English ministers, nor deemed so speedy or effectual, as the schemes for depriving them of all provisions necessary not only for war, but the common subsistence of their lives. The devastations made by the English garrisons already threatened them with the miseries of famine; and to cut them off from all foreign supplies a new and extraordinary measure was devised, which essentially affected every part of the realm."* Famine, to be sure, was an

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. v. p. 379.

efficacious way of weakening and exterminating a people; but, to complete its effects, the possibility of foreign supply must be prevented. For this purpose, a base coin was forged, for the payment of the queen's forces in Ireland, which would not pass current any where else; the importation of any other species was prohibited, the coin already current decried: consequently, the starving Irish would be disabled from purchasing provisions from abroad. "By her proclamation, an exchange was established in several towns of England and Ireland, where the subjects of either kingdom might commute their coins, allowing a difference of one shilling in the pound, between the Irish and English standard. This scheme, indeed, served to encrease the distresses of the rebels; when no money at all appeared, except of this base sort, denominated at an high valuation, and yet of little use for purchasing provisions in foreign countries, where it would not pass above its real and intrinsic value. But as traders took care, in consequence of this coinage, to raise the prices of all commodities excessively; and as great quantities of spurious coinage were made by rebels and strangers, the exchange soon failed, and (as Moryson expresses it) "the hearts of the queen's soldiers failed therewith; for they served in discomfort, and came home beggars; so that only the treasurers and paymasters, who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the authors of this invention."*

* Pacat. Hib.—Moryson.—Leland.

Mountjoy, to prevent a mutiny of the army, on account of the defalcation of their pay, kept them busily employed. He marched to the northern borders, followed up the system of devastation, reserving such provisions as could be raised by the soldiers, or thrown in as a supply to the garrisons, kept Tyrone in constant alarm, by petty and generally successful skirmishes, without undertaking any enterprize of moment until events of greater importance called him to the south, when it became the principal seat of war. It is necessary to recapitulate the succession of events there, as managed by president George Carew.

“The causes of discontent alledged by the insurgents of this province, were nearly the same with those which had excited, or at least inflamed the public disorders in other parts of Ireland; the grievous compositions laid upon the lands, from which they were not relieved at the determination of the stipulated time; the extortions of bribery of sheriffs; the easiness of English jurors in condemning obnoxious persons on the slightest evidence; and the terrifying execution of innocent Irishmen; the extraordinary devices found to impeach their titles to estates; the rigorous execution of the penal laws against recusants; the intrusion (as they deemed it) of the English settlers. But whatever public causes were alledged, the principal leaders had their private views, and private points of interest to engage them in rebellion. Florence Mac-Arthy had purposely been raised up by government, as a

rival to Daniel, a factious and suspected leader, and, in the administration of Essex, sent into Munster with a royal grant of the county of Desmond, his ancient inheritance; but as his insolence and cruelty soon disgusted the neighbouring lords, and determined them, in their lawless way, to support the claims of Daniel, Florence joined readily with Tirone, hoping by his powerful assistance to recover his lands; and was by him established chieftain by the name of Mac-Arthy-More. And had his sept been firmly united, he must have proved a truly formidable leader, as he could command three thousand fighting men of his immediate followers.”* James Fitzthomas, on the death of the late earl, Gerald, aspired to his title and estates; but, as an heir was countenanced and educated by the queen, and finding therefore, no room to hope for favor from her Irish government, he threw himself into the arms of Tyrone, who in the full tide of his success, created him earl of Desmond, by which title and possessions thereunto annexed, he commanded a powerful train of followers, “by O’Neil’s imaginary authority,” says Leland. While O’Neil was successful, his authority was real; defeat made it imaginary. To strengthen the malcontents of Munster still further, two bodies of mercenaries were led out of Connaught, by Redmond de Burgh, and Dermot O’Connor, amounting to five thousand men. Besides the number engaged in open insurrec-

* Pacat. Hib.—Leland.

tion, Carew was informed, that the towns abounded with disaffection. To encounter the queen's enemies and awe the disaffected, Carew was furnished with three thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse; a force utterly incapable of making the slightest resistance to the enemy, if firmly united in one body. But their numbers, however formidable in appearance, were really made up of various bodies, commanded by separate and independent leaders, each seeking his own particular emolument, jealous of each other, restrained by no superior authority, and but weakly influenced by any common principle, national or religious. Carew seated himself in Cork, studied the characters and different interests of his enemies, and was soon convinced that the most effectual means of subduing was to disunite them, and to fill them with mutual jealousies and suspicions of their associates. But he had firm allies in the earls of Thomond, Ormond, and Clanrickard, and expected daily reinforcements from England. He procured the submission of the chieftains adjoining Cork, by threats of devastation and military execution. Florence Mac Carthy, humbled by a recent defeat, consented to a neutrality. The chief leaders he had now to deal with were Desmond and O'Connor. Any parley with the former was hopeless; as being determined to hold an estate and title, which the queen was equally entitled not to grant him. His overtures to O'Connor were better received. This soldier of fortune, married to a daughter of the late Des-

mond, was prevailed on by her to deliver up the titular earl into the hands of the president.

Such methods of making war, however necessary, were not of the most honourable kind : but Carew still descended to more dishonourable practices. One Nugent, a servant of Sir Thomas Norris, had deserted to the rebels, and by the alacrity of his services acquired their confidence. In a repenting mood he submitted to the president, and to purchase his pardon, promised to destroy either the titular earl or his brother John. As a plot was already laid against the former, and as his death could only serve to raise up new competitors for his title, the bravo was directed to proceed against John. He seized his opportunity, and attempted to dispatch him ; but as his pistol was just levelled, he was seized, condemned to die, and at his execution confessed his design ; declaring that many others had sworn to the lord president to effect what he intended. This declaration so affected the brothers, that they lived in continual fear of treachery, never daring to lodge together in one place, or to appear at the head of their troops. To encrease their confusion, Redmond De Burgh, who claimed the lands and lordship of Leitrim, and was purposely encouraged to hope that the president would favour his claim, withdrew from his service, with five hundred mercenaries.

The plot of O'Connor for seizing the sugan earl, remained still to be executed ; and to promote its success, all the motions of the lord president were directed. At a season when his

officers expected some vigorous action, he suddenly dispersed his forces into different garrisons, in order to inspire the rebels with confidence, and to induce their leaders to make the like disposition of their troops. A letter was devised, as if addressed by Carew to James Fitz-Thomas, expressing many acknowledgments for his secret services to the state, and exhorting him to deliver up Dermot O'Connor alive or dead. Dermot, furnished with this letter, which it was to be supposed he had intercepted, seeks an interview with James, seizes him in the name of O'Nial as a traitor, produces his letter as a proof of this his guilt, and conveys him with some of his companions to a neighbouring castle, of which he held the command, informing the lord president of his success, and eagerly expecting his reward. But before Carew could arrive to receive his prisoner, John Fitz-Thomas and Pierce Lacy, who suspected the real purpose of O'Connor, collected four thousand of their followers, and rescued the titular earl.

Carew, though disappointed in this attempt, yet was now the more emboldened to proceed in his military operations against an enemy divided by mutual suspicions. He took the chief castle of the Knight of the Valley, in despite of a vigorous defence, and proceeded to other exploits of the same kind, even while the enemy was in view. Two thousand five hundred of the Connaught mercenaries, alarmed at his progress, and despairing of the cause in which they had engaged, sued for his permission to return un-

molested into their own country; which was granted, not without some stately delay. He pierced into Kerry, where he took the castle of the lord of Lixnaw, who died of grief at this mortification, leaving a son no less determined in his inveteracy against the English, yet for the present obliged to submit, and sue for the protection of government. His excursions were attended with the most dismal havoc, through all the disaffected country. Numbers of the most desperate rebels relented at the prospect of desolation and famine, and these champions of the faith sued to Rome to be absolved from the sin of submitting to an heretical government, and to be permitted to continue in a temporal obedience to the state. To complete the confusion of the rebels, the garrison of Kilmallock, in a successful attack upon the titular earl, struck such confusion into his troops, that they dispersed, and so dispirited his adherents, that his brother John fled for shelter to Tirone, and Pierce Lacey determined to court better fortune in the war of Ulster.*

Before the titular earl had been reduced to this distress, the queen and council thought it expedient to set him up a rival, James, son of the late earl, educated in London, in the new religion. With this purpose he was sent to Munster, together with a patent for his restoration to his blood, honours, and fortune, addressed to the lord deputy, with orders to give or with-

* Pacat. Hib.—Leland.

hold them, as the young lord might prove an useful instrument or otherwise. Having found that young James, by openly professing the new religion, lost all his popularity and influence in Munster, the puppet is set aside and heard of no more. In fact, the expedient was no longer necessary. The Munster insurgents were reduced to the lowest state of distress and weakness. Their hopes of supply from Ulster and Connaught, were slender. Tyrone was too closely hemmed in, by the dispositions of the lord deputy, to afford assistance. Two thousand five hundred of the Connaught mercenaries, despairing of the cause, had returned home. Raymond de Burgh, again amused by the president, with the hope of gaining his lordship of Leitrim, deserted them. Dermot O'Connor had been made prisoner by his own party, and put to death as a traitor. Mac Carthy More had lately renewed his submissions, and assurances of loyalty. Even the Sagan earl chose the life of a wandering kern, rather than commit himself to confederates, either of whom might betray him to make his own peace. The wretched remains of the rebels fled for shelter and sustenance to Ormond; but here they were hunted from their retreats. In the south there was no longer any appearance of war. Pardon was offered to all, except John and James Fitzthomas, the knight of the Valley, and the baron of Lixnaw. Four thousand persons readily accepted it. Having tranquilized Munster, he now proposed to detach one thousand men to assist the

deputy in the North. O'Nial might now learn, with grief, to what little purpose he had sacrificed the season of action, endeavouring to organize the south.

Carew omitted nothing to confound the hopes of the insurgents in Munster. Notwithstanding Mac Carthy More's submission and assurances of loyalty, he seized on him, and some leading men of his clan, whether by invitation, surprise, or some other English method, I have not been informed. Scarce a man of note he did not practice with to get possession of the earl of Desmond, now a wretched fugitive, concealing himself from one haunt to another. Some of lord Barry's soldiers, in pursuit of robbers, casually fell on one of his retreats, while he was waiting for some refreshment. At their appearance he started from the miserable meal prepared for him, and, assisted by a few followers, effected his escape; but the mantle he left behind in the scuffle discovered the owner. Lord Barry, informed of his flight and direction, reported to the president that he was lurking upon the estate of the knight of the Valley, and the latter was obliged by menaces to find and deliver him up. He was tried and convicted by martial law, that his estate might devolve to the queen without an act of parliament. But lest John, or some other leader of the sept, should assume the title, his death was postponed, and he was sent, along with the other illustrious captives, prisoner to London, to be immured in the tower.

At length the long expected Spanish succours

came, on the 23d September, 1601, but too late, too few for that period, and landed at as ill-judged a spot as could possibly be pointed out to them by the enemy. For, in the first place, the harbour of Kinsale, defended neither by sufficient forts or batteries, must necessarily fall into the hands of the English, and become a convenient depot for the supplying the besiegers with provisions, arms, ammunition, and reinforcements of troops, from the seaports of England and Ireland. Thus the best chance the Irish had of ruining the besiegers, by cutting off their supplies, was in a great measure defeated, by the unfortunate position of their allies, so contiguous to the haven, neither strong by nature or art. “ Had the invasion been made at that critical period, when the insurgents of the North were in the full tide of success, and given strength and countenance to the disaffected in every quarter of the kingdom, the English power, already shaken, even to its foundation, could scarcely have sustained it for a moment. But now the Northerners lay cooped within their own immediate demesnes, dispirited by ill-success, and wasted by famine. The insurgents of Leinster were broken and subdued. Those of Connaught reduced to such weakness, by pouring their forces, upon fruitless expeditions, into the northern and southern provinces, that the bare appearance of an enemy was sufficient to drive the wretched remains into their inaccessible haunts. In Munster, the rebellion had been broken, and its chief leaders held in captivity; many partizans

had fallen by the sword in different quarters; nor was it an inconsiderable loss to the insurgents, that Pierce Lacy had been lately slain upon the borders of Ulster."

Mountjoy immediately took the field, sent pressing demands for provisions, men, and ammunition to England, and stated the course he intended to pursue with the Irish as follows: " Besides the foreign enemy, the Spaniard, with whom we are first to deal, and the known traitors and rebels already in arms, there are two other sorts of people here, which if we do not carefully provide for, they will soon adhere unto the rest, and make their party so strong, as in judgement we cannot see how we shall be able to encounter it, unless by good providence it be prevented, which is the mark we aim at. The one of these two sorts is the subject, who hath lands and goods to take to, for whom we must provide defence, else with his livelihood we are sure to lose him, and therefore we will omit nothing that our means will stretch to, that may preserve, cherish, and content him. The other sort are such as have no living, nor any thing that will afford them maintenance, and yet hitherto have not shewed themselves disloyal, though all of them be swordsmen, and many gentlemen by descent, and are able to draw after them many followers. To this sort we hear for certain the Spaniards make offer of great entertainment; and if we should not in some manner do the like, we cannot in reason look but they must and will fall to their party. We have therefore out of this necessity resolved,

to take as many of them into her majesty's entertainment, as we have any hope will truly stick unto us, being confident that we shall make good use of them against the Spaniards; for we mean thoroughly to put them to it, though if we should fail in our expectation, and find them cold or slack in serving with us, yet will it be a great countenance to the service to shew the persons of so many men on our side, where otherwise they would have been against it: and of this we can assure your lordships, that when they have served our turn against the Spaniards, until we have freed ourselves of them, we can without danger ease her majesty of that charge, and will no longer hold them in entertainment. In the mean time they shall spend little of the queen's victual, but being paid of the new coin, provide for themselves, which may be with less oppression of the country, than if in that sort they were not entertained, for then they would spoil all, and put out such as otherwise will continue in subjection."*

On the 21st of October, Mountjoy invested Kinsale. Rincorran, a castle commanding the harbour, surrendered on the 1st of November. On the 13th he states his reasons for undertaking the siege, and its difficulties, thus: "It was not my opinion only, but my lord president's, that if I did not suddenly make head to this force, most of this province would have revolted; and if we had suffered the force of Spain

* Letter of Mountjoy and council to the lords in England, dated 3d October, 1601.

to have been masters of the field but six days, as easily they might have been, if we had not fought well to prevent it, I assure myself that all the towns of this province would have revolted, and the current of that fortune would have run so violently through all Ireland, that it would be too late to have stopped it. For the second, the difficulties of a winter siege in this country (where, by reason of the great numbers of the besieged, we are forced to keep strong and continual guards) will soon waste a greater army than ours, if God do not mightily bless us; for the weather is so extream that many times we bring our centinels dead from the stations, and I protest even our chief commanders (whose diligence I cannot but mightily commend) do many of them look like spirits with toil and watching, unto the which we are with good reason moved, since there be many examples that where an enemy can sally out with two or three thousand men they have defeated armies that have been treble our number. But now besides these ordinary difficulties, which in all winter sieges do waste or make unprofitable the greatest part of an army, when we are to make our nearest approaches to force them, we cannot do it without great loss; for although the town be weak against the canon, yet can we plant the canon nowhere, but they have places that do absolutely command it, so that the town is weak to defend itself, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best part that art can add to any fortification, and this is so well provided by nature, that from

one hill they beat into any ground that we can lodge in near them.”*

“ The 13th day of November, 1601, our fleet recovered the mouth of Kinsale harbour, but could not get in, the wind being strong against them. The 14th day the fleet with much difficulty warped in, and recovered the harbour, whence the admiral and vice admiral came to the lord deputy at the camp....The 17th day the weather continued stormy, so as neither that day nor the next we could land our ordnance or do any thing of moment....Hitherto nothing could possibly be attempted against the town more than had been done; for, considering that the country stood upon such fickle terms, and so generally ill affected to our side, that almost the least blow, which in the doubtful event of war might have lighted upon us, would have driven them headlong into a general revolt; and further that our army consisted for a third part (at the least) of Irish.”† The siege continued without intermission till the 23d, when “the lord president advertised, that O’Donnel, by advantage of a frost (so great as seldom had been seen in Ireland) had passed a mountain, and so had stolen by him into Munster, whereupon he purposed to return with the forces he had, to strengthen the camp....The first of December it was resolved in a council of war, that some foot should be drawn out of the camp, to give the Spa-

* Letter to the English secretary from Mountjoy, dated 13th November, 1601.

† Moryson’s Hist. of Ireland.

niard a bravado, and to view if the breach we had made were assaultable, and also to cause the Spaniards to shew themselves, that our artillery might the better play upon them. To this purpose 2000 foot, commanded by Sir John Barkley the serjeant major, and captain Edward Blaney, were presently put in arms, and drawn near the walls of the town, who entertained a very hot skirmish with the Spaniards, who were lodged in a trench close to the breach without the town. During this skirmish our artillery played upon those that showed themselves, either in the breach or in the trench, and killed many of them, besides such as were killed and hurt by our small shot.

“ Among the rest one captain Moryson, a Spaniard, walked across the beach, animating his men, and though sir Richard Wingfield, our Marshal, caused both great and small shot to be fired at him, with a promise of twenty pound to him that should hit him or beat him off, yet all the skirmish he continued walking in this brave manner without receiving any hurt.... The 2d of December the lord deputy was advertised by one Donogh O’Driscoll, that six Spanish ships were put into Castle-haven, and that six more were sent with them from the Groyne, but in the way were scattered from these by tempest, and that since it was not known what became of them. The 3d of December, by reason of rainy weather, nothing could be done.

The 6th of December we were advertised that O’Donnell was joined by those Spaniards which

landed lately at Castle-haven, and that he assisted by all the rebel force in Ireland, were drawing up towards Kinsale to relieve it, and were come within a few miles of the camp. Of all these news the Spaniards in Kinsale had knowledge, and thereupon took heart again, when they were otherwise ready to yield upon reasonable composition. For this respect it was thought enough for us to keep the ground we held against all these enemies till we should be further supplied out of England, since upon the least defeat or disaster befalling us, the whole kingdom would have been hazarded, if not lost, by reason of the people's inclination to a general revolt.

“The 7th the lord deputy advertised the secretary in England of all these particulars, adding, that we daily heard very hot alarms of Tyrone's purpose to relieve the town, who, strengthened with the above named forces, was now lodged in woods and inaccessible strengths very near our camp, so as he hindered us from forage for our horse, and from the helps we formerly had out of the country for sustentation of our army; and that his neighbourhood on the one side, and the Spaniards in Kinsale on the other, kept us at a bay from proceeding in our approaches and battery. Besides that our last supplies were in time incredibly wasted, the new men dying by dozens each night thro' the hardness of the winter siege, whereunto they were not inured.”*

* Moryson's History of Ireland.

Thus situated, the deputy and council wrote to the lords in England, stating, " The Spaniard, finding how hardly he was laid to, importuned Tyrone and O'Donnel, with their forces, to come and relieve him, they both are accordingly come and encamped not far from the town. And now a thousand more Spaniards are arrived at Castle-haven, with great store of munition and artillery, and report that a greater force is coming after, which doth so bewitch this people, as we make account all the country will now go out, as most of them have done already, as in our former letters we signified that we feared. O'Donnel's forces are said to be four thousand, and to be joined with the Spaniards that landed at Castle-haven, and Tyrone's (as we hear generally) to be as many more, and since his passage through the country hither, Tyrrel, with many other Leinster rebels (as it is said) are joined with him, and coming also hither. By these means we are induced to leave our battery for a time, and to strengthen our camps, that we may be able to endure all their fury, as we hope we shall, and keep the town still besieged, and so invested as we are not out of hope in the end to carry notwithstanding all that they can do. Yet since it is now most apparent that the king of Spain means to make this place the seat of the war, not only for the gaining of this kingdom. but from time to time to push for England, if he should get this, (for so some that we have taken and examined do confess) and that the whole strength of the Irish are drawn and draw-

ing hither to set up their rest, to get that liberty (as they call it) that they have so long fought for. We must earnestly entreat your lordships to supply us and that speedily, of all things necessary for so great a war as this is like to be. We hold it a matter of necessity that four thousand foot more be sent us presently without staying one for another to come together, but as they can be levied and shipped away.....A great part of our companies being extreme sick through the exceeding misery of this winter's siege, (so as at this present there is but one third part of the last men that come over serviceable and able to do duties, whereof happily a great part may recover,) it cannot therefore be determined, until they be here, what number will be necessary for supplies, and what companies fit to be raised, for that must grow out of a view here of such as continue sick, or are grown deficient by death, or running away, whereof of late there are very many, notwithstanding the severe courses we have taken, by executing some for a terror to the rest, by making proclamations upon pain of death that none should depart the camp without licence, by giving direction to the port towns that they should be stayed and apprehended, and lastly, by sending special men to Cork, Youghal, Waterford, and Wexford to see the same duly put in execution, for which purpose they have commission for martial law, all which is well known to every private man in the camp, and yet they steal away daily in such numbers, as besides those that by devices

do get passages, there are at this present taken between this and Waterford, at the least two hundred ready to be returned: though we confess the misery they indure is such as justly deserveth some compassion, for divers times some are found dead standing sentinel, or being upon their guard, that when they went hither were very well and lusty, so grievous is a winter's siege in such a country: for the sick and hurt men we have taken the best course we can devise.... And yet all this doth not serve but that a great many are still unserviceable, which we have here noted at the greater length, that it might appear unto your lordships that it proceeds not from want of care or providence in us, but from keeping the field in such a season, where human wit cannot prevent their decay.... Neither will this country now afford us any thing, no not so much as meat for our horses, and therefore we must likewise be humble suitors that two thousand quarters of oats may speedily be sent us without which undoubtedly our horses will be starved.... On the other side, the whole force of Tyrone and O'Donnel, with all the strength of the rebels of Ireland, to lie within six miles of us, and to their assistance they have the Spanish supplies, and (that which is worst) their munition and provisions; the whole province either is joined with them, or stand neutrals; and what use soever the enemy maketh of them, I am sure we receive by them no manner of assistance. Notwithstanding all this, I hope we shall give a good account of the besieged; but we have reason to

proceed with great caution, having a desperate enemy before us, and so many that are engaged in the same fortune behind us. For Tyrone and O'Donnel have quit their own countries, to recover them here, or else to lose all. Now, Sir, to enable us in this great war, you must continually supply us with munition and victuals. It is true, how incredible soever you think it, that of 2000 men you send us, you must account that we make use of little more than 500, and yet we can well justify, that there is nothing omitted that human wit can provide, for the preservation of such as we have.”*

“ The 14th day was so rainy, and so tempestuous in winds, as we could not stir out, to proceed any thing in our business.....The 17th day was very tempestuous with rain, and especially wind, and so continued all night, for which cause our artillery played but seldom on the town...This day (the 18th) his lordship intercepted this following letter, which he commanded me to translate out of Spanish into English.

“ To the Prince ô Neal, and Lord ô Donnel. I thought your excellencies would have come at Don Ricardo his going, since he had order from you to say, that upon the Spaniards coming to you (from Castle-haven) you would do me that favour. And so I beseech you now you will do it, and come as speedily and well appointed as may be. For I assure you the enemies are tired, and are very few, and they cannot guard the

* Mountjoy's dispatches to the Privy Council, dated 13th December, 1601.

third part of their trenches, which shall not avail them, for resisting their first fury, all is ended. The manner of your coming your excellencies know better to take there, than I to give it here; for I will give them well to do this way, being always watching to give the blow all that I can, and with some resolution, that your excellencies fighting as they do always, I hope in God the victory shall be ours without doubt, because the cause is his. And I more desire the victory for the interest of your excellencies, than my own. And so there is nothing to be done, but to bring your squadrons, come well appointed and close withal, that being mingled with the enemies, their forts will do as much harm to them, as to us. I commend myself to Don Ricardo. The Lord keep your excellencies. From Kinsale the 28th (the new stile, being the 18th after the old stile) of December, 1601.

“ Though you be not well fitted, I beseech your excellencies to dislodge, and come toward the enemy, for expedition imports. It is needful that we all be on horseback at once, and the greater haste the better. Signed by Don Jean del Aguila.

“ The 19th day was so extream rainy, as we could do little or nothing. The 20th in the morning being very fair, our ordnance played and brake down good part of the wall of the town. And to the end we might sharpen Tyrone, (whose lying so near did more annoy us, by keeping relief from us, than he was like to hurt

us by any attempt).....The night was stormy, with great lightning and terrible thunder, to the wonder of all, considering the season of the year, and this night came certain intelligence, that Tyrone, drawn on by Don Jean's importunity, determined presently to set up his rest for the relief of the town, and that the next night he would lodge within a mile and half of our camp. "The 21st, the night being light with continual flashings of lightning, the Spaniards sallied again, and gave upon a trench, newly made beneath our canon, but were the sooner repelled, because we kept very strong guards, and every man was ready to be in arms, by reason of Tyrone's being so near unto us. The 22d Tyrone's horse and foot often shewed themselves from an hill, beyond which they incamped in a wood, yet our artillery still played upon the town, breaking down the wall, and some turrets, from whence the Spaniards shot annoyed our men. Many intelligences confirmed, that Tyrone on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other, had a purpose to force our camp..... Our artillery still played upon the town, that they might see we went on with our business, as if we cared not for Tyrone's coming, but it was withal carried on in such a fashion, as we had no meaning to make a breach, because we thought it not fit to offer to enter, and so put all to hazard, until we might better discover what Tyrone meant to do, whose strength was assured to be very great, and we found by letters of Don Jean's, which we had intercepted, that he had advised

Tyrone to set upon our camps, telling him that it could not be chosen, but our men were much decayed by the winter's siege, and so, that we should hardly be able to maintain so much ground as we had taken when our strength was greater, if we were put to, on the one side by them, and on the other side by him, which he would not fail on his side to do resolutely. And it was most true, that our men died daily by dozens, so as the sick and run-aways considered, we were grown as weak as at our first setting down, before our supplies of 4000 foot. " 'This evening one of the chief commanders in Tyrone's army, having some obligations to the lord president, sent a message to him for a bottle of usquebagh, and by a letter wished him, that the English army should that night be well upon their guard, for Tyrone meant to give upon one camp, and the Spaniards upon the other, meaning to spare no man's life but the lord deputy's and his. Don Jean del Aguila after confessed to the lord president, that notwithstanding our sentinels, he and Tyrone the night following, had three messengers the one from the other. All the night was clear with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the great astonishment of many, in respect to the season of the year....Tyrone's guides missed their way, so as he came not up to our camp by night, as the Spaniards ready in arms hourly expected, but early about the break of the next day....And Sir Richard Greame, having the scout that night when he discovered that Tyrone with his

forces was on foot marching towards the camp, presently advertised the lord deputy thereof.... It was now the break of day, whereas midnight was the time appointed for the rebels to meet with Don Jean's forces, the Spaniard being to set upon our lesser camp (or the earl of 'Thomond's quarter,) and Tyrrel leading the rebels van-guard (in which were the Spaniards lately landed at Castle-haven,) and Tyrone leading their battail, and ô Donnel their rear, being all to set upon our chief camp, conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to force both our camps at one instant, and to make no great work of it..... But the Spaniards still expecting the coming up of the rebels, according to their mutual project, and never imagining that we with our small forces could draw out sufficient bands to meet and beat the rebels, contained themselves within their town walls, till (as by the sequel shall appear) their sallies could little profit them."*

On the approach of the English army, commanded by marshal Sir Richard Wingfield, the Irish retired. The marshal, seeing them disordered in their retreat, sent to Mountjoy for leave to attack. Left to his own discretion, the " earl of Clanrickard came up, and exceedingly importuned the marshal to fight; whereupon the marshal drew a squadron of foot with their drum to the ford, and willed Sir Richard Greames with his horse to march directly to the ford; then the

* Moryson's Hist. of Ireland.

enemy retired hastily with horse and foot over a boggy ground to firm land, hoping to keep that boggy passage against us; then the marshal directed Sir Henry Davers (commanding the horse under him) with his horse and Sir Henry Power with his regiment of foot to advance, who presently came over the foresaid ford unto him. The lord deputy being upon the hill with 2 regiments of foot, commanded the serjeant-major there attending him to second our men with those foot; so the marshal, having the earl of Clanrickard and Sir Henry Davers with him, advanced with some 100 horse, and began with 100 harquibusiers to give occasion of skirmish on the bog-side, which the rebels with some loose shot entertained, their 3 battalions standing firm on the one side of the bog, and our foot on the other side: in this skirmish our foot were put up hard to our horse, which the marshal perceiving, put forth more shot, which made the rebels retire towards their battail: then the marshal finding a way through a ford to the ground where the rebels stood he possessed the same with some foot, and presently he passed over with the earl of Clanrickard, sir Richard Greames, captain Taaffe, and captain Fleming and their horse, and offered to charge one of the rebels battails of 1800 men; but finding them stand firm, our horse wheeled about. But the whole of the English horse coming up, charged home upon the rear of the battle, and the Irish not used to fight in plain ground, and something amazed with the blowing up of a gunpowder

bag (they having upon the like fright defeated the English of old at Blackwater,) but most discouraged to see their horse fly (being all chiefs of septs and gentlemen, to the number of 5 or 600,) were suddenly routed, and our men followed the execution: the other two battails that stood still, now finding this routed, made haste to succour them; whereupon the lord deputy sent instantly captain Francis Roe with sir Oliver St. John's regiment (of which he was lieutenant-colonel) to charge on the flank of the vanguard, which presently retired disorderly, being followed by our foot and horse; but the Spaniards, landed at Castle-haven, marching there, and being not so good of foot as the Irish, drew out by themselves, yet were by Sir William Godolphin, leading the lord deputy's troop, soon broken, and most of them killed, the rest (with their chief commander, Don Alonzo del Campo) being taken prisoners, namely, 2 captains, 7 alferoes, and 40 soldiers, whereof some were of good quality. In the mean time many of the light footed Irish of the van escaped, as did likewise almost all the rear, by advantage of this execution done upon the Spaniards and the main battle, (of which body far greater than either of the other, all were killed) but only some 60 or thereabouts.

Thus the Irish horse first leaving the foot, then two of the battalions being routed, they all fell to fly for life, our men doing execution upon many in the place. On our part Sir Richard Greames, cornet, was killed, Sir Henry Davers,

Sir William Godolphin, Capt. Henry Crofts, scout-master, were slightly hurt, only six soldiers hurt, but many of our horses killed, and more hurt. The Irish rebels left 1200 bodies dead in the field, besides those that were killed in two miles chase; we took 9 of their ensigns, all their drums and powder, and got more than 2000 arms: and had not our men been greedy of the Spaniards spoil, being very rich; had not our foot been tired with continual watchings long before in this hard winter's siege; had not our horse especially been spent by ill keeping and want of all meat for many days before, (by reason of Tyrone's nearness, so as the day before this battle it had been resolved in council to send the horse from the camp for want of means to feed them, and if Tyrone had lain still and not suffered himself to be drawn to the plain ground by the Spaniards importunity, all our horse must needs have been sent away or starved;) had not these impediments been we had then cut the throats of all the rebels there assembled, for they never made head against them that followed the execution, nor scarce ever looked behind them, but every man shifted for himself, casting off his arms, and running for life, insomuch as Tyrone after confessed himself to be overthrown by a sixth part of his number, which he ascribed (as we must, and do) to God's great work, beyond man's capacity.....The earl of Clanrickard with his own hand killed above 20 Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no rebel. The captive Spanish commander, Alonzo del Campo, avowed

that the rebels were 6000 foot and 500 horse; whereas the lord deputy had but some 1200 foot, and less than 400 horse.....The same day an old written book was shewed to the lord deputy, wherein was a prophesy naming the ford and hill where this battle was given, and foretelling a great overthrow to befall the Irish in that place.”* After noticing his success, Mountjoy states,† “ We have forced two places already held by the Spaniard, and now he remains possessed and fortified in four several places more, with great store of munition, artillery and victuals. There is supply of horse and foot certainly coming unto them, some say in great numbers. We have endured (I dare boldly say) the most miserable siege for extremity of weather and labour, that in this age hath been heard of.”

“ The 28th day of December, the lord deputy was advertised that Syrriago, a principal commander of the Spaniards, landed in the west parts, having received news of Tyrone’s overthrow, was suddenly gone for Spain, without acquainting any of the Spaniards therewith, and that he had carried with him in the same ship Hugh ô Donnel. And thus was the old prophesy fully accomplished, which often before we had heard, namely, that Munster should be the destruction of the three great northern Hughs. For Hugh Mac Guyer, lord of Fermanagh, and the first Robin Hood of this great rebellion, was

* Moryson’s Hist. of Ireland.

† Dispatch to the English Secretary, dated Dec. 27, 1601.

long since killed near the city of Cork, and Hugh Tyrone and Hugh ô Donnel were overthrown at Kinsale, whereof Hugh ô Donnel is now fled for Spain, whence he never returned; and Hugh Tyrone drew faintly his last breath in the north, without hope of better living, than as a wood-kerne here, or as a fugitive abroad. Likewise Hugh Mostian, a famous rebel, at this time fled with ô Donnel into Spain.”*

The defeat of the Irish so affected the Spaniard, that, to indulge his resentment, he sacrificed the interests of his master, surrendered Kinsale, and all other places occupied by the Spaniards in Munster, on condition of the Spanish army, arms and ammunition being sent to Spain. Terms easily obtained, “ especially since many strong reasons made the agreement, as it was honourable, so to seem very profitable to the state of England; namely, that our army was wasted and tired with the winter’s siege. That it was dangerous to attempt a breach defended with so many able men. That if we should lodge in the breach, yet they having many strong castles in the town, so much time might be spent ere we could carry it, as our fleet for want of victuals might be forced to leave us. That at this time our army was only provided for six days. That we had not munition or artillery to make any more than one battery in one place at once, five of our pieces being crazed. That upon any disaster befalling us, the Irish were like to revolt. That besides the taking of Kinsale, the other places held by the Spaniards, as Baltimore, Cas-

tle-haven, and Beer-haven, would have made a long and dangerous war, with infinite charge to the state of England, they being strongly fortified, and well stored with all provisions of war, and our army being so tired as it could not attempt them, without being first refreshed, and then being supplied with all necessaries, to the insupportable charge of our state, must have been carried by sea to those places inaccessible by land. Lastly, that in this time the king of Spain could not but send them powerful seconds, being thus far engaged in his honour. Besides that by this long war we should be hindered from prosecution of the rebels, who were now so broken, as in short time they must needs be brought to absolute subjection.”*

From the detail of this memorable siege, left us by the enemy of the ancient Irish, it is apparent, that Ireland was lost by the mismanagement of their Spanish allies. Their first and greatest fault, consisted in their dilatoriness in sending the promised succours. Their second error was, their choice of position. The third fatal one was, their importuning the Irish to a premature attack on the English camp. From Moryson's journal of the siege, the elements evidently fought against the English. Famine, fatigue, and rain, during a winter's siege, thinned their ranks more than the sword of the enemy. Effectually besieged in their camp by the northern Irish, and deprived of forage and provisions by land, which they industriously wasted

* Moryson's Hist. of Ireland.

themselves, supplies by sea were rendered difficult and tedious by tempests of thunder and lightning, unusual in the month of December. Men and horses were perishing by hardship; their very officers looked like spectres. By the confession of the English afterwards, they would soon have lost all their cavalry; nor could they hold out any time without great reinforcements and stores from England. Spain was, meanwhile, preparing to pour in more forces and supplies of all kinds, that would enable the Irish to block up their enemies by sea and land, and starve them to a surrender. D'Aquila acted the very part his enemies most earnestly wished; and by his impatient importunity betrayed the interest of his master and allies, ruining the cause he came to defend. Could he but emulate the patience with which the English bore all manner of hardship, in the service of their mistress, a fair prospect of success opened to him. No assault could be attempted on the town, while the Ultonian forces lay so contiguous; the assailants were enfeebled by extremity of weather, fatigue, and scarcity, evils every day encreasing on them. What insanity, to offer an enemy, thus perishing by intolerable hardships, a chance of extricating himself, by one vigorous attack of courage, excited by despair, and strengthened by discipline, on the mobbish unmanageable body of the confederate Irish! Unfortunate Irish! Their commander, fully sensible of the advantages of his situation, wished to leave the decision of his cause to the operation of natural causes; cold,

wet, scarcity, incessant toil, and want of rest. As Pompey was dragged from Dyrrachium, where he had a fair prospect of victory, being master of the seas, in an impenetrable camp, by the great men of his party, impatient of camp discipline, and longing for the luxuries of Rome, to meet defeat and ruin at Pharsalia; O'Neil was teized and worried, by his foreign allies and confederate chiefs, against his better judgment, to yield to the evil fate of his country. The attempt of forcing the camp appears not only injudicious, but likewise to have been blasted by treachery, and rendered abortive by mismanagement. The notice of the projected attack, sent by a commander under O'Neil to lord Mountjoy; though situate within a mile and a half of the English camp, to be led astray all night by guides, furnish proof of this. That no stratagem was hit on, to remedy their inferiority in cavalry, exhibits a dearth of generalship; since companies of pikes interspersed among them would give them a similar advantage as Cæsar procured for his at Pharsalia.

The Irish war, impudently called rebellion, by the enemy, may be considered as terminated by the surrender of the Spaniards at Kinsale. All that follows is but military execution, superfluous cruelty, coolly and cruelly inflicting torments on an unfortunate nation, who are to be exterminated by famine, fire and sword; only a remnant to be spared for bondage, deprived of property and liberty, and persecuted for conscience.

The lord president, hearing that the Munster fugitives were harboured in some parts of that province, diverted his forces thither, burnt all the houses and corn, taking great preys, harassing the country, and killed all mankind that were found therein. In other parts* he did the like, not leaving man or beast, corn or cattle, except such as had been conveyed into castles. These he besieged and took, killing those who took refuge there. The ward of Listoel, eighteen in number, besieged by sir Charles Wilmot, came forth on their knees, and begged for mercy. The women and children he suffered to depart; but of the weaponed men he hanged nine, the residue detained, till he had acquainted the lord president with what he had done, who gave pre-

* Of the numerous instances given by Moryson, in his History of Ireland, of the mode of warfare adopted by Mountjoy, to whom he was private secretary, the following are extracted. In this deputy's progress to Ulster, in Leix, (Queen's county,) "our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels corn, to the value of £10000 and upward, the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonnaghts (or hired soldiers). It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous inhabitants, the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, and the high-ways and paths so well beaten, as the lord deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the queen's forces, during these wars, never till then came among them." B. I. c. 2.—What rancour must be in the breast of this writer, to term barbarous, the inhabitants of a country that he describes so highly cultivated, interspersed with populous towns, connected by good roads. "The 15th of March his lordship drew towards Arbrachin. . . and in the morning suddenly fell into the Ferney, the pos-

sent orders for the execution of the rest.* The same officer, at another time, entering an Irish camp without any resistance: for there he found nothing but hurt and sick men, whose lives and pains by the soldiers were both determined.† “One would imagine,” says Curry, “from the virulence of the expressions, and the barbarity of the actions mentioned in this history, that it was written by Carew’s enemy.” Yes, if one did not know, that the book was written for his employers, the court of England, and an English public, whose virulent antipathy to the Irish nation, and the religion to which they adhered, would be highly gratified, by the perusal of such barbarous atrocities, committed by their authority and forces on a detested race, whose ruin and

* Pac. Hib. fol. 98.

† Ib. fol. 365.

session whereof Ever mac Cooly, one of the Mac Mahown’s then usurped, and there we burnt the houses and spoiled the goods of the inhabitants.” B. 1. c. 2. “All the garrisons in time of harvest, gathered as much corn as they could, and destroyed the rest.” Ib. “The 16th of April, the governor of Loughfoyle advertised, that the garrison of the Liffer had burnt the new town, and killed twelve kerne and thirty-eight of other people, and had brought back some three hundred cows; and that the garrison of Donnegal had burnt in ô Kane’s country a great village, and many women, children, and cows, with the houses, and had killed some forty kerne and churls.” Ib. “The 29th of July, his lordship and the council with him made to the lords in England a relation of the past services and wrote further as followeth. . We can assure your lordships thus much, that from ô Kane’s country, where now he liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses meerly starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places

desolation would furnish them a dainty recreation. Dr. Curry weakly says, that "the royal clemency and gracious promise of pardon, were frustrated by the cruelty and inhumanity of her officers." Lord Mountjoy, and his secretary Moryson, as well as president Carew, could inform him, that no methods of dividing and weakening the Irish were so acceptable to Elizabeth and her council, as that of destroying all their provisions, and mowing down the nation by famine and fire, as a more effectual instrument of destruction, in addition to the sword. In Moryson we have lord Mountjoy's letters to the queen, the council, and the secretary, giving an account of his progress in the laborious work of destroying the Irish by famine. Likewise their

as we passed." B. III. c. i. In Mountjoy's statement of his deeds in the north to the lords in England, he says: "We found every where men dead of famine, insomuch that ô Hagan protested unto us, that between Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay unburied a 1000 dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were above 3000 starved in Tyrone." Ib. Sir Henry Dockwra states to the lords in England, that "for four days space together, I divided the forces into three bodies, and traversed first about, and then through the country, spoiling and burning such a quantity of corn, and number of houses, as I should hardly have believed so small a circuit of ground could have afforded, if I had not seen it." Ib. "Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Richardson, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian mac Art aforesaid, in their return homeward, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above

answers, applauding his conduct; in particular, an affectionate letter from Bess, extolling his wisdom and successful valour, in causing a general famine. Her letter also to Carew, extolling his atrocities and famishing industry in the south. The plan, committed to Essex, was the very same, of which Leland gives the particulars from Essex's letter to the queen. The queen's clemency therefore was not disappointed; for she was punctually obeyed by her officers, monsters fit to execute any devilish purpose. From themselves we have some shocking scenes particularized, of the dreadful famine and mortality they caused. True indeed, some time before the landing of the Spaniards, Bess's policy, not her affected clemency, sent offers of pardon to

ten years old,) all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed 20 days past, and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entrails in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the lord deputies letters, of carcasses scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not only on hawks, kites, and unsavory birds of prey, but on horse-flesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding,) the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I (Moryson, Hist. Ireland, B. III. c. i.) not pass it over without adding some few instances. Capt. Trevor and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old women of those parts used to make a fire in the fields, and divers

Munster, to have that province quiet in case of invasion.

The war against O'Neil was prosecuted near two years longer, from the surrender of Kinsale, in December 1601, to the thirtieth of March 1603. Unable to keep the field, O'Neil was forced to burn his town of Dungannon, and seek safety in his fastnesses, while Mountjoy and his officers proceeded in devastating the country, erecting forts, and expelling the inhabitants. Tirone was every day deserted by some followers. Roderic, the brother of Hugh O'Donnel, who, on the flight of the chieftain, succeeded to the command of his sept, sought the protection of government, and was favourably received.

Forsaken by his nearest kinsmen and followers;

little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body, and Capt. Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the childrens skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact." The authors of the famine were the authors of cannibalism, not the unfortunate hags, who were driven by extremity of hunger to that shocking sustenance. It has often happened, that sailors, in similar distress, have cast lots, and fed on their comrades; nor have we ever heard of any surviving that wretched extremity, being hanged therefore. The English garrison of Derry, besieged by Edward Bruce, who eat the eight Scotch prisoners, were inexcusable cannibals; because a surrender would have relieved them. "The captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts can witness, that upon the making of peace, and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not sword-men,) to thrust long needles

his country a desert ; £2000 reward for him if taken alive, £1000 if dead ; the gallant O'Neil again endeavoured to obtain the restoration of his property. The opportunity was favourable: Elizabeth, his implacable enemy, dead ; an invasion from Spain dreaded ; the expences of the war great ; the English ministry impatient. A safe conduct was given to O'Neil, who, at an interview with the deputy, in which Mountjoy endeavoured to break his magnanimous spirit, was reinstated in the earldom of Tyrone, new letters patent granted of his lands, with trifling exceptions, and his followers pardoned.

Here properly ends the history of the antient Irish, when every sort of power and liberty was torn from them, by treachery and infuriate cruelty, scarcely equalled in the annals of the

into the horses of our English troops, and they dying there-upon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground." B. III. c. i. The effects of this artificial famine were severely felt even in the very city of Dublin, the most remote from those dreadful scenes of devastation. Leland states, that he had seen an account of the rates of provisions sold in Dublin, in the year 1602, authenticated by the signature of John Tirrel, mayor, by which it appears, that Wheat had arisen from 36 s. to £9 the quarter. Barley-malt, from 10 s. to 43 s. the barrel. Oat-malt, from 5 s. to 22 s. the barrel. Pease, from 5 s. to 40 s. the peck. Oats, from 3 s. 4 d. to 20 s. the barrel. Beef, from 26 s. 8 d. to £8 the carcase. Mutton, from 3 s. to 26 s. the carcase. Veal, from 10 s. to 29 s. the carcase. A lamb, from 12 d. to 6 s. A pork, from 8 s. to 30 s.

world. Mowed down by fire and sword, still more by the famishing desolation so industriously and perseveringly accomplished by their enemies, they present no longer but the abject oppressed remnant of a great people. How many the English destroyed by famine we can now only guess ; but from the records left by the perpetrators, it is easy to see, that it must have been immense. Three thousand men are said by Moryson to have perished of famine in Tyrone in one year, without reckoning women and children, which would make the total about fifteen thousand ! How many perished during the other three years by these means of extermination, he does not say. From the heaps found dead in the ditches in all the wasted countries, their mouths coloured green, from their miserable endeavours to relieve the excruciating pang of famishing nature, there remain two incontestable proofs, that a vast majority of the wretched natives was destroyed by these infernal means. According to Moryson, wolves multiplied exceedingly towards the conclusion of these tragic scenes, so as to prowl in the suburbs of towns ; an evident sign of a desolate country, whose inhabitants, that would thin their numbers, and repress their daring, were made food for carnivorous beasts and birds, by the piety and charity of Bess's apostles for civilizing the poor Irish and converting them to her holiness's new religion ! From the testimony of these civilizers, in travelling leagues over the wasted countries, there remained no vestige of any living man or beast. To which the expres-

sion of lord Mountjoy, "that if the Spaniards come not this year, they will be late the next, as no foreign succour can revive the dead." Now, if one half, one third, or even one fourth survived, foreign succour might avail them, whence obviously the destruction of the whole was meditated, or nearly so.

It is hard to determine which most to admire, the heroic constancy and patience with which the Irish endured extremities of hardship, allowed by their enemies to exceed any thing in the records of history, or the inhuman ferocity with which the royal tygress and her assassins prosecuted their destruction. Had she lived much longer, 'tis rather doubtful, whether she would cease the work of extermination until the best and greatest part of Ireland was made an absolute desert; for she mortally hated the Irish, first, by national antipathy, but chiefly, because, instead of yielding to her arbitrary tyranny, spiritual and temporal, with the fawning pliancy of her English slaves, they stoutly stood in defence of civil and religious liberty. This desperate excess of cruelty lord Bacon testifies, when he disapproves of it. "That too much letting blood in the decline of a disease was against reason, and the extirpation of antient generation not commendable." But the mighty arm of God, who willed a remnant to be saved, prostrated the monster before her bloody purpose was entirely accomplished. A memorable example in the list of persecuting tyrants, she lay on the floor, afflicted with burning heat and unquenchable

thirst, gnawed with anguish and sorrow, corroded by the stings of a guilty conscience, without the remedy of contrition, the consolation of hope. After lingering ten days and nights, in inconsolable melancholy and frantic despair, a terror to all the beholders, she terminated the career of her crimes, smarting under the "judgment without mercy, because she shewed no mercy."

It may not be displeasing to the reader, nor is it quite foreign to the purpose of giving just traits, characteristic of the hostile sects and parties, to contrast with the frightful end of this persecuting tyrant, the horrors of which were endeavoured to be concealed, the affecting and magnanimous scene, exhibited by Mary queen of Scots in her last moments, while preparing for the scaffold, and at her public execution. The foundress, and propagating zealot of the new sect in England, deriving from her new fangled doctrines and liturgy no hope or consolation, but perishing in the horrors of despair, in her own palace, surrounded by the satellites of her power, and her slavish courtiers, and no less servile bishops, her own creatures, from whose functions and prayers she expected no relief. The other displaying before and at her lawless execution, the piety, resignation and courage of a primitive martyr. May it not be fair to infer, that the undutifulness of James to such a mother, entailed divine vengeance on his posterity, being one great source of the misfortunes that befel the Stuart family.

“ Feb. 7. 1587.—The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, came to Fotheringay-castle; and being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprized, with the intelligence. She said, with a chearful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person, not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. “ But as such is her will,” said she, “ death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions.”* She then requested the two noblemen, that they would permit some of her servants, and particularly her confessor, to attend her: but they told her, that compliance with this last demand was contrary to their conscience, and that Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborow, a man of great learning, should be present, to instruct her in the principles of true religion. Her refusal to have any conference with this divine inflamed the earl of Kent's zeal; and he bluntly

* It appears by some letters published by Strype, vol. iii. book ii. c. 1. that Elizabeth had not expressly communicated her intention to any of her ministers, not even to Burleigh: they were such experienced courtiers, that they knew they could not gratify her more than by serving her without waiting till she desired them.

told her, that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it. Mention being made of Babington, she constantly denied his conspiracy to have been at all known to her; and the revenge of her wrong, she resigned into the hands of the Almighty.

“ When the earls had left her, she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure, after it, to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. It was necessary for her, she said, to take some sustenance, lest a failure of her bodily strength should depress her spirits on the morrow, and lest her behaviour should thereby betray a weakness unworthy of herself. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was; and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction, which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Turning to Burgoin, her physician, she asked him, whether he did not remark the great and invincible force of truth. “ They pretend,” said she, “ that I must die, because I conspired against their queen’s life: but the earl of Kent, avowed that there was no other cause of my death, but the apprehensions, which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime: the rest is only a colour, invented by interested and designing men.” Towards the end of the supper, she called in all her servants, and drank to them:

they pledged her, in order, on their knees; and craved her pardon for any past neglect of their duty: she deigned, in return, to ask their pardon for her offences towards them: and a plentiful effusion of tears attended this last solemn farewell, and exchange of mutual forgiveness.

“ Mary’s care of her servants was the sole remaining affair, which employed her concern. She perused her will, in which she had provided for them by legacies: she ordered the inventory of her goods, cloaths, and jewels to be brought her; and she wrote down the names of those to whom she bequeathed each particular: to some she distributed money with her own hands; and she adapted the recompence to their different degrees of rank and merit. She wrote also letters of recommendation for her servants to the French king and to her cousin, the duke of Guise, whom she made the chief executor of her testament. At her wonted time she went to bed, slept some hours, and then rising, spent the rest of the night in prayer. Having foreseen the difficulty of exercising the rites of her religion, she had the precaution to obtain a consecrated host from the hands of pope Pius; and she had reserved the use of it for this last period of her life. By this expedient she supplied, as much as she could, the want of a priest and confessor, who was refused her.

“ Towards the morning she dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. She told her maids, that she would willingly have left them

this dress rather than the plain garb, which she wore the day before; but it was necessary for her to appear at the ensuing solemnity in a decent habit.

“ Thomas Andrews, sheriff of the county, entered the room, and informed her, that the hour was come, and that he must attend her to the place of execution. She replied, that she was ready; and bidding adieu to her servants, she leaned on two of Sir Amias Paulet’s guards, because of an infirmity in her limbs; and she followed the sheriff with a serene and composed aspect. In passing through a hall adjoining to the chamber, she was met by the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, Sir Amias Paulet, Sir Drue Drury, and many other gentlemen of distinction. Here she also found Sir Andrew Melvil, her steward, who flung himself on his knees before her, and, wringing his hands, cried out aloud, “ Ah! Madam, unhappy me! What man was ever before the messenger of such unhappy tidings as I must carry, when I shall return to my native country, and shall report, that I saw my gracious queen and mistress beheaded in England?” His tears prevented further speech; and Mary too felt herself moved, more from sympathy than affliction. “ Cease, my good servant,” said she, “ cease to lament: thou hast cause rather to rejoice than to mourn. For now shalt thou see the troubles of Mary Stuart receive their long expected period and completion. Know,” continued she, “ good servant, that all the world at best is vanity, and subject still to more sorrow

than a whole ocean of tears is able to bewail. But, I pray thee, carry this message from me, that I die a true woman to my religion, and unalterable in my affections to Scotland and to France. Heaven forgive them, that have long desired my end, and have thirsted for my blood, as the hart panteth after the water brooks. O God!" added she, "thou that art the author of truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart: thou knowest, that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. But recommend me, Melvil, to my son, and tell him, that notwithstanding all my distresses, I have done nothing prejudicial to the state and kingdom of Scotland." After these words, reclining herself, with weeping eyes, and face bedewed with tears, she kissed him. "And so," said she, "good Melvil, farewell: once again, farewell, good Melvil; and grant the assistance of thy prayers to thy queen and mistress."

"She next turned to the noblemen who attended her, and made a petition in behalf of her servants, that they might be well treated, be allowed to enjoy the presents which she had made them, and be sent safely into their own country. Having a favourable answer, she preferred another request, that they might be permitted to attend her at her death: in order, said she, that their eyes may behold, and their hearts bear witness, how patiently their queen and mistress can submit to her execution, and how constantly she

perseveres in her attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent opposed this desire, and told her, that they would be apt, by their speeches and cries, to disturb both herself and the spectators: he was also apprehensive, lest they should practise some superstition, unmeet for him to suffer; such as dipping their handkerchiefs in her blood: for that was the instance which he made use of. "My lord," said the queen of Scots, "I will give my word (although it be but dead) that they shall not incur any blame in any of the actions which you have named. But alas! poor souls! it would be a great consolation to them to bid their mistress farewell. And I hope," added she, "that your mistress being a maiden queen, would vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I should have some of my own people about me at my death. I know, that her majesty hath not given you any such strict command, but that you might grant me a request of far greater courtesy, even though I were a woman of inferior rank to which I bear." Finding that the earl of Kent persisted still in his refusal, her mind, which had fortified itself against the terrors of death, was affected by this circumstance of indignity, for which she was not prepared. "I am cousin to your queen," cried she, "and descended from the blood-royal of Henry VII. and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland." The commissioners, perceiving how invidious their obstinacy would appear, conferred a little together, and agreed that she might carry a few of her servants along with her. She made

choice of four men, and two maid-servants, for that purpose.

“ She then passed into another hall, where was erected the scaffold, covered with black; and she saw, with an undismayed countenance, the executioners, and all the preparations of death. The room was crowded with spectators; and no one was so steeled against all sentiments of humanity, as not to be moved, when he reflected on her royal dignity, considered the surprising train of her misfortunes, beheld her mild but inflexible constancy, recalled her amiable accomplishments, or surveyed her beauties, which, though faded by years, and yet more by her afflictions, still discovered themselves in this fatal moment. Here the warrant for her execution was read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent; but shewed, in her behaviour, an indifference and unconcern, as if the business had no wise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the dean of Peterborow stepped forth; and though the queen frequently told him, that he needed not concern himself about her; that she was settled in the ancient catholic and Roman religion; and that she meant to lay down her life in defence of that faith: he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations, and to endeavour her conversion. The terms, which he employed, were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities, to which she

had ever yet been exposed. He told her, that the queen of England had, on this occasion, shewn a tender care of her; and notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her, for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction, with which it was so nearly threatened: that she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition, but by repenting of her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: that the scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and, if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: that the hand of death was upon her, the ax was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: and that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice, either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father,' or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish; and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, 'Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.'

“ During this discourse the queen could not

forbear sometimes betraying her impatience, by interrupting the preacher; and the dean, finding that he had profited nothing by his lecture, at last bade her change her opinion, repent of her former wickedness, and settle her faith upon this ground, that only in Christ Jesus could she hope to be saved. She answered, again and again, with great earnestness, “trouble not yourself more about the matter: for I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and in this religion I am resolved to die.” Even the two earls perceived, that it was fruitless to harrass her any farther with theological disputes; and they ordered the dean to desist from his unseasonable exhortations, and to pray for her conversion. During the dean’s prayer, she employed herself in private devotion from the office of the Virgin; and after he had finished she pronounced aloud some petitions in English, for the afflicted church, for an end of her own troubles, for her son, and for queen Elizabeth; and prayed God, that that princess might long prosper, and be employed in his service. The earl of Kent observing, that, in her devotions, she made frequent use of the crucifix, could not forbear reproving her for her attachment to that popish trumpery, as he termed it; and he exhorted her to have Christ in her heart, not in her hand. She replied, with presence of mind, that it was difficult to hold such an object in her hand, without feeling her heart touched with some compunction.

“She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself, and the executioner

also lent his hand, to assist them. She smiled, and said, that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition, ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations: she turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips, as a sign of imposing silence upon them; and having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down, without any sign of fear or trepidation, and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood, and agitated with the convulsions of death: the dean of Peterborow alone exclaimed, "So perish all queen Elizabeth's enemies:" the earl of Kent alone replied, "Amen." The attention of the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them; and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess.*

Lest any should cavil at the term assassin being applied to the queen's officers, by their own acknowledgment they deserved that name. Carew, president of Munster, owns that he employed many assassins. Moryson says the same of Mountjoy, that he employed assassins to dispatch O'Neil. Both agreed not to admit any to submission until he had done service on some of his

* Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v.

party, and they give instances of those who murdered some of their friends to obtain pardon, or, to use their phrase, "Who put themselves in blood;" and Moryson has preserved Elizabeth's orders, "not to pardon any but upon service done, not only upon those whom particularly they hated but upon any other as they should be directed." Then only could they be admitted as loyal subjects when they were covered with the guilt of assassination and treason.

If the logical maxim be true, as it strictly is, *qui est causa causæ est causa causati*, i. e. who-so produceth a necessary cause is the author of all the consequences, the English forces drove the Irish to such extremities, as necessarily led to man eating, therefore they were themselves the real deliberate cannibals. But the English throw the odium of these horrors on, what they are pleased to call, the rebellion of the Irish. A war, in defence of hereditary rights, against the usurpation of tyrants, and in defence of civil and religious liberty, is a sacred duty, owned by protestants, and every where practised by them. The Hugonots fought seven-and-twenty pitched battles, besides numberless skirmishes, against their legal sovereign, in defence of what they conceived their civil and religious rights. The Lutherans, in Germany, waged a thirty years war against the emperor, in defence of their rights, real or imaginary. The English protestants beheaded one king, and expelled another, with his whole lineage, on the same grounds. They all agreed in scouting passive obedience and non-resistance,

as a damnable popish doctrine. The motives, that drove them to war, were but molehills to the mountains of oppression, treason and inhumanity, that goaded the unfortunate Irish to fight for their lives, and for all that makes life of any value; as may be seen in the foregoing pages. O'Neil, by shewing the numerous encroachments, perfidies, and spoliations, practised on his territory and people, by English officers and garrisons, convinced general Norris and his council, that he was goaded to resistance by these wrongs. He convinced the English council of the same, who transmitted directions to the government of the Pale, to desist from oppressing a potentate wishing to support the English connexion on supportable conditions. He convinced the earl of Essex of the same, who promised to use his interest with the queen, to grant the contents of their petition, which Leland had the impudence to call insolent. They probably were so called by Elizabeth's flatterers, her court and parliament, who worshipped her petticoat holiness with the most fulsome, servile and profligate adulation; allowing her plenipotentiary power over their lives, fortunes and consciences; and changing creeds and ceremonies with more arbitrary authority than ever popes or councils durst assume.

Terms or conditions will appear moderate or insolent, according to the temper and relative situation of the parties. To a tyrant, accustomed to give audience, even to officers of state, and members of parliament, on their knees, incensing

her fastidious ears with Blarney perfumes, in terms only appropriate to the Deity, every thing savouring of liberty and independence must appear shocking; a petition of rights must be frightful insolence. It must be observed, that the terms of that sort of alliance, or feudal subordination, acknowledged by the Irish chieftains to England, varied from the beginning, according to the relative strength of the contracting parties. Henry II. ratified the dominion of Roderick O'Connor, and the other kings and chieftains, as then established, in all their possessions, laws and usages. When these were grossly infringed on, they appealed to the king of England and the treaty of Windsor, from whom they sometimes obtained satisfaction. Yet Henry himself violated his own treaty, bestowing shortly afterwards the lands of his feudatory Irish allies to various English adventurers. About the middle of the fourteenth century, new infractions occasioned the war of Arthur O'Cavanagh, which, frequently suspended by truces, and as often renewed, during a long series of years, terminated in the complete humiliation of the Pale, which thenceforward became tributary to the house of O'Cavanagh. In the 28th year of Henry VIII. when the crown became absolute, on the extinction of the civil wars, by the reunion of the claims of the two rival houses in one man, the demand of the tribute appeared insolent, and met a refusal. The Milesian interest had declined, as the English had increased, during that period. The English executive had acquired additional

strength, by becoming absolute; and was dis-embarrassed from any necessity of continental wars, by the loss of the French domains. The earl of Kildare, at the head of the Pale government, hold in the alliance of his son-in-law, Conbaccagh O'Neil, could defy Mac Murchad. As the Milesian power was continually on the wane, they were lowering the terms of their feudal allegiance, agreeably to their condition. The terms, on which they would persevere in their allegiance, offered by O'Neil and the northern chieftains to the queen, were more meek and submissive than they were before, and far more advantageous to England, than the course she took with them.

In order to understand the greatness of the sacrifice O'Neil was willing to make for the preservation of peace, it must be remarked, that the northern Irish had hitherto been governed by their own laws and usages, administered by their own chieftains, invested with every right of sovereignty both for peace and war. Now they agreed to admit sheriffs into their countries, and let these be parcelled out into shire ground: to descend from the state of sovereignty, to that of subjects: to furnish certain contingents, for the support of government in war and peace, the maintenance of police, and the administration of justice: to become instrumental in reconciling the people to these changes. The conditions stipulated for these, to them unprecedented concessions, would appear to any, but the jaundiced eye of a party writer, very reasonable and mode-

rate. Liberty of conscience: to continue in the profession of the natural faith; support their clergy and seminaries for their education; and places for worship: that the sheriff should be a man of probity and property, known and resident in the country for which he should be appointed: that the depredations of garrisons should be restrained, and no new ones appointed: undertaking at their own expense to maintain such force of horse and foot as would suffice for the preservation of tranquillity, and be ready at a call for the queen's service: a general amnesty, and possession of their lands. But the temper and views of the queen, her council and officers, presented insuperable obstacles to any equitable settlement. Nothing but an unlimited, unqualified submission to her will, in all matters, civil and ecclesiastical, could satisfy a tyrant, corrupted by the base servility of her vile English slaves.* Head and foundress of a new sect, her passion for proselytism, for extinguishing by violence and persecution the catholic faith, and planting on its ruins her actual creed, or any she might afterwards devise, for she claimed, and was allowed, full power to change creed and ceremonies at her will,† amounted to a phrenzy. No degree of loyalty or merit could compensate with her, for the treasonable crime of attachment to the antient church. Hence her mortal aversion to the antient, especially the northern Irish. They could not be prevailed

* See Hume.—Elizabeth.

† Ibid.

upon to abolish popish seminaries, expel priests, introduce preachers of the new faith, renounce the pope, and turn converts to the doctrines of the female pontiff. Their ample landed patrimonies formed another heinous and irremissable crime. Greedy adventurers, relatives or dependants of her courtiers, her officers, their adherents, and the settlers, thirsted for the spoils of the Irish. Munster and Leinster had already been pretty well dissected, but Ulster continued entire, though many attempts had been made on it. There, still, seminaries were supported, the catholic faith preserved; the secular and regular clergy maintained possession of their livings, in unbroken communion with the see of Rome, to the great grief of the female pontiff and her proselyte counsellors. She was sensible she might command the homage and allegiance of Hugh O'Neil, in civil matters, and much complaisance to the converts to her new church; but while his tolerance, a quality unknown in that age of religious rage and persecution, was misinterpreted by his enemies as indifference to religion, and flattering Elizabeth with hopes of his conversion, she found, by long experience, that the favours she conferred on him, and the still greater proffers, on condition of yielding some points in religion, that on that nothing could be obtained from the northerns.

Leland boasts, that the persecuting laws against catholics were not enforced during Elizabeth's reign. First, it is not true. Wheresoever her power extended, persecution accompanied it.

Secondly, if she persecuted her English subjects for their faith, to whom she might feel some national attachment, some other principle, besides friendship or moderation, must have restrained her iron rod over the Irish, whom she hated as a nation and as catholics. If it was good policy to hide from them the view of imposing English government on them, as Essex advised, until they should be broken by their divisions, fighting the battles of England against each other, it was yet more necessary to conceal from them, the intention of extirpating the national catholic faith, and planting what they considered heresy in its place. Religion assailed, might give them a bond of union, a party badge, to which all, who would not adhere, would be regarded as abominable outcasts, execrable apostates. O'Neil knew the artifices of the hypocritical tyrant, and the perfidy of her councils, having personal knowledge of her court and counsellors. She gave abundant proofs of the fury of her zeal, for the extinction of popery, and the propagation of novel doctrines, in England, in Holland, and in France. She, in the beginning of her reign, deposed all the catholic bishops, fourteen in number, for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy and deformed religion, and incarcerated them for life. She punished recusants, i. e. those who refused to attend protestant worship, with fines, imprisonment; and, under various pretences, and fictitious crimes, not willing to own persecution for religion, they were pursued with torture, death, and confiscation of pro-

perty. The ordinary jails of the kingdom, unable to hold the victims of persecution, new jails were appointed all over the kingdom for their detention. Treason, sedition, or any thing else, formed the pretence; but religion was the cause. The profession and maintenance of the catholic faith was made treason.* The various instruments of her tyranny are related in the appendix to Hume's Elizabeth.† The different sorts of punishment, inflicted on those incarcerated for their religion, in the tower of London, are thus described by a prisoner, in the fifth year of his confinement. "Solitary confinement, without books, pens, ink, paper, or any intercourse with other prisoners, with a turnkey to watch every one at his peculiar cell. Seven kinds of punishment. 1. The black-hole; a subterraneous cavern, twenty feet deep, without light. 2. A most narrow cell, in which one can scarcely stand, called Little ease, on account of the uneasiness it gives. 3. The Rack; a machine impelled by wooden wheels, which violently pulls the limbs from each other. 4. The Scavenger's daughter; an iron wheel, by which the hands, head and feet are forcibly bent together. 5. Iron Gloves, grievously torturing the hands. 6. Chains on the arms. 7. Chains on the legs. When one computes the variety of tortures inflicted here during the last four years, one may easily guess the vast sufferings of the catholics in the ten other prisons of this city, and in the multiplied jails of the kingdom, during a reign of twenty-seven years."

* See ut supra, Vol. I. p. 455.

† Ibid. p. 458, &c.

She reigned fourteen years longer, the scourge of the catholics of Ireland.

From a view of all the measures, foreign and domestic, of this reign, O'Neil was justified in proclaiming to his countrymen, that Elizabeth's wars on the Irish were for displanting antient generation, and for planting heresy on their ruins. He was prophetic in announcing, that if they gave not their helping hands to national independence, they would bring great ruin and calamity on themselves. That extermination was their object, appears from their not accepting the homage of the Irish on any reasonable terms; such as, liberty of conscience, and security of property, being objects for the insurance of which governments are chiefly appointed and supported. From their forcing English laws, while they made them abominable instruments of rapine and cruelty, as we have seen, in the different Irish territories, to which they sent such profligate marauders as Willis, in quality of sheriffs. From the infernal means practised and avowed, for the reduction of Ireland; forgery, famine, treachery, assassination, and other diabolical stratagems. From their inhumanity, in admitting none to pardon, unless he first betrayed or murdered some of his friends; a condition more intolerable to a man of honor than death; they manifested their intention to go on with the work of death until extermination was accomplished. Consequently, all the odium of that detestable crusade against the religion, lives and properties of the Irish, and of

the hellish barbarities employed to subjugate them, lie at the door of that execrable fury, and her hardened infuriate counsellors and ministers. None of her apologists can justify or acquit her of the perfidious murder of Mary queen of Scots, over whom, as a foreigner and a queen, she had no jurisdiction, chiefly from her hatred to the catholic religion, after inviting her by letters, replete with insidious blandishments, and treacherous professions of friendship, to come to England, as to an asylum from the troubles which persecuted her in Scotland. Actuated by the same hatred, she deprived her of the rites of the church at her last moments; and, instead of suffering a catholic clergyman to attend her, sent an unfeeling, anti-christian brute, to torment and plague her with bigotted nonsense of denunciations, unless she recanted previous to her execution.

Thus miserably expired the Milesian power, after subsisting in Ireland three thousand years; sometimes struggling with difficulties, oftener in splendor, and the most honorable kind of glory; sanctity, learning, hospitality, charity, valor and honor; the merit of diffusing religion, learning and useful arts, among several barbarous nations, the English for instance, as Bede, Alfred, and Cambden testify.

Besides the forementioned causes of their decline, two others may be noticed, verifying the adage, "Pride will get a fall." It was the pride of the provincial kings, unwilling to acknowledge the controul of superiors, that pre-

vented the restoration of the monarchy and the states, during the long interregnum of 440 years. The pride of the house of Heber, opposed the patriotic efforts of O'Nial and O'Connor, for restoring the constitution, by crowning Edward Bruce, descended from Heremon, king of Ireland. The same spirit of pride made the Milesians averse to the mechanical arts and traffic, in general to all laborious occupations unattended by eclat or notice; consequently, the towns were always in the possession of foreigners, Phenicians, Carthaginians, Danes and English, one of the principal causes of their final overthrow. In music, poetry, and other branches of learning; in athletic exercises, and feats of arms; in all pursuits that draw attention, and lead to fame, their superior abilities of mind and body shone forth. In such pursuits they could display energy, perseverance and patience unequalled. The remaining history of Ireland, may justly be called the history of the English colonists; as taking the lead in every transaction of importance, and using the remains of the Milesians as instruments.

Hitherto Leland was partial enough to the settlers, but since the demon of discord forced religious parties on the Irish, the bane of Ireland, as lord Clare justly called it, the national partizan is lost in the protestant bigot. From the beginning of this reign, James I. they may expect to share his invectives along with the more antient natives. He begins by a false statement, that religion had no share in the wars of the Irish

with Elizabeth. That it was the policy of Elizabeth, and her Irish partizans, to hold that language, is true; but it is equally true, that the Irish, in all their treaties, insisted on a toleration of their religion, which was as constantly and obstinately refused them. Wherefore did Coke, in the prosecution of the earl of Essex, bring forward, as a treasonable act, the consent of that nobleman, when deputy of Ireland, to the demands of the Irish for liberty of conscience, which he calls tolerating an idolatrous religion? Persecution did not, indeed, because it could not, range so widely in Ireland as in England, until the subjugation of the northern Irish; plainly, because it would augment the numbers and strength of the confederates; and also, because what Leland calls the popish party was, the whole Irish nation of all races, with few exceptions; so few, as, without the aid of English forces, would only excite ridicule and contempt, by any attempt to enforce penalties. The case was soon altered, when the antient Irish were prostrate. The English settlers, who foolishly flattered themselves with an accession of strength by the depression of the Milesians, felt in their turn the baneful effect of national division, suffering for their religion along with those whom they assisted to hunt down. That Elizabeth was a stranger to toleration, is allowed by Hume. That she was a furious persecutress of catholics, wherever she could safely indulge her temper, is proved from undeniable authorities, even her acts of parliament, Saunders, Hume, &c.

The Dr. says, " The incessant diligence of the emissaries of Rome, infused the poison of religious rancour with too great success, and propagated such doctrines in this reign, as must ever be abhorred and execrated.....A virulent popish party was thus formed in Ireland, which the vigour of Elizabeth's government, and the success of her arms, had kept within some restraint, but which was secretly animated by the emissaries of Rome. If the laws were executed against recusants, they inveighed against the horrid and unchristian persecution; if government indulged them with lenity and connivance, they derided its fears, and affected to despise the temporizing policy. On the accession of James the first, they in some places encouraged their votaries, by assuring them that the new king was of the Romish religion; in others, they preached the infant's right of succession; and taught their ignorant disciples, that he could not be a lawful king, who had not been established by the pope, and had not sworn to defend the catholic religion. Such were the effects of these pestilent insinuations, that several cities of Leinster, and almost all the cities of Munster, now conspired to avow their contempt of penal statutes, and to restore the Romish worship in its full splendour. Disdaining to confine their devotions any longer to privacy and retirement, they ejected the reformed ministers from their churches, they seized those religious houses which had been converted to civil uses, they erected their crosses, they celebrated their masses pompously

and publicly, and their ecclesiastics were seen marching in procession, cloathed in the habits of their respective orders.

“ In Cork, the factious ecclesiastics were particularly numerous and turbulent. One of them had received, or pretended, a legantine authority from Rome; and the citizens paid a ready obedience to his commission. Their magistrates at first refused to proclaim the king, demanding time to consider of it; and when reminded that he had already been proclaimed in Dublin, they answered coldly, that “ Simnel also had been proclaimed in Dublin.” Yet, not daring to persevere in this insolent and dangerous opposition to authority, after some affected delay, they at length published the proclamation in their liberties; which they notified to the lord deputy Mountjoy, and at the same time demanded that Halbowling, a fort built in the late reign to protect the city against invasion, should be delivered into the hands of their mayor and citizens. The commissioners for executing the presidency of Munster on the departure of George Carew, and the officers of the army, were justly alarmed at their extravagances, and determined to strengthen every post in the neighbourhood of Cork, by which the seditious inhabitants might be kept in awe: and this was effected not without opposition and some bloodshed. To the remonstrances of the lord deputy, the citizens replied with little respect and reserve. As to the point of religion, in which they had been particularly offensive, they answered boldly, that

“ they only exercised now publicly that, which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately; and as their public prayers gave testimony of their faithful hearts to the king, so they were tied to be no less careful to manifest their duties to God, in which they would never be dissembling temporizers.”

“ The seditious spirit thus diffused through the cities of the south, was particularly provoking and distressing at a time when the whole attention of government was required to relieve the nation from those afflicting calamities, which a series of wars and devastations had produced. Mountjoy soon determined to march into Munster at the head of the royal army. At Waterford he found the gates shut against him, the citizens pleaded, that, by a charter of king John, they were exempt from quartering soldiers. Two ecclesiastics, in the habits of their order, and with the cross erected, presented themselves before the lord deputy in his camp, and insolently declared, that the citizens of Waterford could not in conscience obey any prince that persecuted the catholic faith. But although he condescended to listen to these ecclesiastics, and took the advantage of his theological studies to detect their false quotations from the fathers, yet he treated the citizens with the severity of an offended governour. He threatened “ to draw king James’s sword and cut the charter of king John to pieces,” to level their city with the ground, and strew it with salt: and his menaces were effectual. He was immediately admitted;

the inhabitants at once swore allegiance, and renounced all foreign jurisdiction; and a strong garrison was placed in their city, to deter them from future insolences.

“Cashel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, which had declared for the free and public exercise of popery, were intimidated by the spirit of Mountjoy, and reduced to the same compliances. Cork had been actually invested by the southern forces as a rebellious city; but on the first appearance of the lord deputy the gates were opened without treaty or stipulation.”*

How blind is bigotry! They were not the emissaries of Rome, but the emissaries of England, who created a virulent popish party here; and they were at work in the latter end of her reign. After the fatal siege of Kinsale, where the Irish interest received an irrecoverable blow, the reserve in the execution of the penal statutes was set aside. They were rigorously enforced, an anti-christian barbarous cruelty was aggravated by arrogant contempt of the persons and faith of the vanquished. That they were enforced before James’s accession is evident, even from Leland’s text; since catholic worship was before obliged to skulk in secrecy; and the public profession thereof, by the loyal English colonists of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Cashel, treated as rebellion against the king and laws, by deputy Mountjoy, who put some to death for the same.

* Leland, Vol. II. Book IV. c. vi. p. 412.

The Irish catholics, both of English and Irish race, had the first essay of James's duplicity; a failing which, unfortunately for themselves and their loyal subjects, infected his descendants. The catholics of the Pale, and the towns, steadfast partizans of England, who assisted in the wars against the old Irish with purse and hand, thought themselves entitled to some indulgence on the score of conscience, from their innovating rulers; as having a common interest with them. In the beginning of a new reign some acts of grace and conciliation would naturally be expected, especially from the son of the beautiful and accomplished Mary queen of Scots, whose zeal for the catholic faith was none of the least motives that induced her treacherous cousin to murder her with legal formality. It was insinuated to them, that James was secretly of their own communion, or was inclined that way; and the least hope held out to them was that of unlimited toleration of their faith and worship.

“ Some few years before queen Elizabeth's death, king James was at the utmost pains to gain the friendship of Roman catholic princes, as a necessary precaution to facilitate his accession to the English throne. Lord Home, who was himself a Roman catholic, was entrusted with a most secret commission to the Pope; the archbishop of Glasgow, another Roman catholic, was very active with those of his own religion. Sir James Lindsay made great progress in gaining the English papists.” And as it seems to have been part of that

king's policy, in order to pave the way to his succession, "to waste the vigor of the state of England by some insensible, yet powerful means," he had his agents in Ireland fomenting Tirone's war,* ("the Scots daily carrying munition to the rebels in Ulster.") So that the queen was driven to an almost incredible expence in carrying it on,† and her enemies still encouraged by James's secret assistance and promises.

"It is certain," says Mr. Osburne, "that the promise king James made to Roman catholics, was registered, and amounted so high at least as a toleration of their religion.

"Of these intrigues, queen Elizabeth received obscure hints from several quarters." Her majesty, in a letter to the king himself, in

* "And this wicked policy had its full effect; for we find that in the year 1602, "the queen had a sharp encounter with secretary Cecil, about the poverty of the state. She was made to fear all kinds of distress, that want in the subject, and excess of charges to the state, was likely to bring her to: they (Cecil's enemies) sought to make those suspected who persuaded the Irish war, and those either negligent or corrupt, who conducted it; putting a firm conceit, and not improbable, as it is set out in colors, that the Irish war, being the chiefest drain of her consumption, is fortified, and fed for other men's particulars."—Secret Correspondence, &c. p. 75.

"After Tirone's return from rebellion, he told Sir Thomas Philips and many others, that if his submission was not accepted, he had contracted with the Spaniards to fortify two or three places in the north, where his allies and friends in the Scottish isles should, and might with ease, relieve and supply him."—Harris. Hib. part i. fol. 130.

† "The queen's charge for Ireland," says Moryson,

1599, gave him to understand, "that there were many letters from Rome and elsewhere, which told the names of men, authorised by him (though she hoped falsely) to assure his conformity as time might serve, to establish the dangerous party, and fail his own."

"The catholics, in the different provinces of Ireland, were, on James's accession, so much elated with the hope of the abovementioned toleration, and had taken up such an opinion that the king himself was a catholic, that they ran into some excesses, which have been since unfairly represented by adverse historians, as so many overt acts of treason and rebellion. For, on that mistaken notion, they exercised their religion publicly, and even seized on some churches for their own use."*

"from the 1st of April 1600, to the 29th of March 1602, was two hundred and eighty-three thousand, six hundred and seventy-three pounds, nineteen shillings and four-pence halfpenny."—Hist. of Ireland, fol. 197.

* "There never was more glaring instances of royal hypocrisy exhibited by any prince, than frequently appeared in James I. through the whole course of his reign. His seeming favor towards, or enmity against, his Roman catholic subjects, was always regulated by some present interest in view. In the year 1616, in compliance with the request of his puritanical parliament, he thus ridiculously expresses his sentiments, with respect to the punishment he would have inflicted on popish priests: "I confess," says he, "I am loath to hang a priest only for religion sake, and saying mass: but if he refuses to take the oath of allegiance (which, let the pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet as you find by my book, is merely civil) those that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic, I leave them to the law: to them I join those that break prison; for

'Tis no way surprising, that a catholic nation should be elated by such encouraging, tho' fallacious appearances, should think themselves entitled to complete toleration, and the possession of churches built by themselves, at a time when there was scarcely one protestant to two hundred catholics, when the nobility and gentry, the parliament, and all the corporations of the kingdom, were almost all of that persuasion. 'Tis rather surprising, that the vain-glorious and foolish pedant could not see the expediency, as well as justice, of granting even to the loyal partizans of the pale and the towns, what Mountjoy and Bacon, converts to the new church, recommended as expedient to be extended to all the Irish. " Lord deputy Mountjoy, in a letter to the lords of the council in England, seems to impute to

such priests as the prison will not hold, 'tis a plain sign nothing will hold them but the halter."—Speech in the Star Chamber.

" Yet in the year 1622, when he had a favourite point to carry (the marriage of prince Charles) at a popish court, he told his council in a public speech, " that the Roman catholics of England had sustained great and intolerable surcharges, imposed on their goods, bodies, and consciences, during queen Elizabeth's reign, of which they hoped to be relieved in his: that now he had maturely considered their penury and calamities, that they were in the number of his faithful subjects, and that he was resolved to relieve them."—Sir Peter Pett. Oblig. of the Oath of Supremacy, fol. 338.

" In king James I's reign, even chief justice Coke maintained publicly at the trial of Mrs. Turner, that popery was one of the seven deadly sins. And Bacon on the same occasion, then attorney-general, and afterwards chancellor, took care to observe, that poisoning was a popish trick. Stowe tells us, that when this king came to Newcastle, on

fraud and severity, the continuance of the war even to this time. "All the Irish," says he, "that are now obstinate, are so only out of their diffidence to be safe in any forgiveness; and though they are weary of the war, they are unwilling to have it ended, for fear lest, upon a peace, there would ensue a severe reformation of religion. They have the ancient swelling, and desire of liberty, in their countrymen, to work upon; their fear to be rooted out, and to have their old faults punished upon particular discontents; and generally all over the kingdom, their fear of a persecution for religion; the least of which, alone, have been many times sufficient to drive the best and most quiet states into the greatest confusion." Nay, he even seemed to apprehend, that these fears, and their diffidence to be safe in any for-

his entry into England, he gave liberty to all the prisoners, except those confined for treason, murder, and papistry. Such, says my author, were the bigotted prejudices which prevailed in this age."—See Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. p. 84.

"Lord Mountjoy, in a letter to the sovereign of Wexford, acquaints him, "that whereas they excused their erecting of popish rites, by the report that they heard of his majesty's being a Roman catholic, he could not but marvel at their simplicity." *Morys. Hist.* fol. 287.—And in a letter to the mayor of Cork, he says, "I am given to understand that you have suffered the public celebration of the mass to be set up in your city, of your own fancies; and I assure you, contrary to the religion which his majesty zealously professeth." *Morys. ib.* fol. 288.

"Indeed his majesty's notions in that respect, seem to have been, on some occasions, perfectly wild and romantic: for in one of his public speeches we find the following strange declaration addressed to the papists: "Ye are intolerably

givenness, " would keep all spirits from settling, breed new combinations, and even stir the towns themselves to solicit foreign aid, with promise to cast themselves under their protection." In order to prevent which, he submits to their lordship's consideration, the following particulars:

" As all pain and anguish, impatient of the present, doth use change for a remedy, so (says his lordship) will it be impossible for us to settle the minds of those people into a peace, or reduce them unto order, while they feel the smart of these sensible griefs, and apparent fears, which I have remembered to your lordships, without some hopes of redress and security." After which he tells them, " that they should be advised how they punished in their bodies and goods, such merely for religion, as did profess to be faithful subjects, and against whom the contrary could not be proved." Lord Verulam, in a letter to secretary Cecil, about the same time,

silly," said he, " for thinking that the government of your souls was committed by God to the pope. For my part, I swear, and call God to witness, that if I had found out now, after all my deep study, daily reading, frequent conferences and disputations with learned men, and my most intense meditation on all I have read and heard, that the pope was Christ's vicar on earth, and that the same authority which Christ delegated to Peter descended to him, I would not only turn papist, but would also kill any king, whose subject I was, that persecuted or opposed the popish religion, if the pope commanded me to do so." Porter, p. 270.—Had his majesty been sincere in this speech, is it credible that he would have suffered any person to live in his dominions, who really believed the pope to be Christ's vicar on earth, (as all Roman catholics do) and who consequently must be sup-

earnestly recommended the same lenity and forbearance, with respect to these people. "I think," says he, "that much letting of blood in the decline of the disease, is against all method of cure; that it will but exasperate necessity and despair; and perchance, discover the hollowness of that which is done already; which none blazeth to the best shew. But of all other points, to my understanding, the most effectual is the well expressing or impressing, the design of England on that miserable and desolate nation; that the queen seeketh not an extirpation of the people, but a reduction; and now that she hath chastised them by royal power and arms, according to the necessity of the occasion, that her majesty taketh no pleasure in the effusion of blood, and the displanting of ancient generations."

King James ascended the throne, to the satisfaction of all parties, as uniting in his person every claim of descent or bequest. Tyrone he received graciously, and dismissed him with honour, to take possession of his estates in Ireland, forbidding, by proclamation, all manner

posed capable and ready to execute that, by the pope's command, which he himself thus solemnly declares he would do, in consequence of such belief.

In the eleventh year of this king's reign "John Boys, D. D. dean of Canterbury, gained great applause by turning the Lord's prayer into the following execration, when he preached at Paul's cross on the fifth of November. "Our pope, which art in Rome, cursed be thy name, perish may thy kingdom, hindered may thy will be, as it is in heaven, so in earth. Give us this day our cup in the Lord's supper,

of reproach for the rebellion. By another proclamation under the great seal, he published a general amnesty, whereby people were secured from prosecutions of law for offences against the crown of England, or for trespasses between subject and subject, during the troubles. On coming to the justices of assize during a given time, and claiming the benefit thereof, former misconduct was to be pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question, "This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued the calmest and most universal peace that was ever seen in Ireland."* Alas! these halcyon days were but of short duration, for the unfortunate nobles and gentlemen of Ulster, yea, for all Ireland, as we shall shortly see. In the second year of his reign, unmindful of all his former promises of favour to the catholics, he strictly prohibited the exercise of their religion to those of Ireland, banishing the clergy, and inflicting severe penalties on all such as would be found to harbour or entertain them, enjoining the immediate and strict execution of an act of uni-

and remit our monies, which we have given for thy indulgences, as we send them back unto thee, and lead us not into heresy, but free us from misery; for thine is the infernal pitch and sulphur, for ever and ever. Amen."—Grainger's Biograph. Hist. Eng. vol. i. p. 356.

Such was then, the almost incredible malignity and rancor against popery, that so prophane and ridiculous a travesty should be celebrated, as a performance of singular merit, in a dignified protestant divine.—Curry's Review.

* Dav. Hist. Rel.

formity, pretended to have been passed by the parliament of the Pale, in the second year of Elizabeth, though now first published in the second of James. For, first, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, a considerable majority of that assembly was catholic; nor is it credible, that they would pass that persecuting statute against themselves. Secondly, in a statute of the second of Elizabeth, some distinction would be perceivable, between the country subject to the jurisdiction of the provincial parliament, and the Irish countries not subject thereto. For at that time six counties only returned members to the colonial assembly, the rest of Ireland being governed by chieftains of English or Irish descent. Thirdly, it must have been enacted at a time when justices of assize could make circuits throughout the whole realm; because the only exceptions, mentioned in the act, are such towns corporate as they did not visit, where the power of enforcing the penal statutes is vested by this act in the mayors, bailiffs, or head officers in such places. Fourthly, the expression, peers of parliament of English blood, supposes peers of parliament of Irish blood in the colonial assembly, which was not the case at the pretended date of the act. Lastly, there is no possibility of clearing James from the base crime of forging this act, with all its penalties, in order to enforce it by proclamation in Ireland, except by supposing that the partizans of innovation framed and entered it on the journals of the colonial assembly clandestinely, where it must have lain un-

known to the catholic members, composing a great majority of both houses of parliament, during near half a century; if any one can suppose that none of them looked at the journals for so long a space of time. Lynch and Curry impute the forgery to Irish reformers in Bess's time. "By this act all catholics are obliged to assist at the protestant church service, every sunday and holiday on the penalty of twelve pence, and of what, indeed, was infinitely more grievous, the censure of the ecclesiastical courts, for each default. Roman catholics of condition, under the title of Inquisitors, were particularly appointed by the state, to watch and inform against those of their own communion, who did not frequent the protestant churches on these days; which, when through a scruple of conscience they neglected, or refused to do, they were grievously fined, and condemned to a long and irksome imprisonment."* In the proclamation to this forged statute, published July 4th, 1605, some consciousness of a breach of promise appears:" "that whereas his majesty was informed, that his subjects of Ireland had been deceived by a false report, that his majesty was disposed to give them liberty of conscience, and the free choice of a religion contrary to that which he always professed himself, by which means it has happened that many of his subjects of that kingdom had firmly resolved to remain constantly in that religion—wherefore he declared to all his

* Curry's Hist. Rev.

beloved subjects of Ireland, that he would not admit any such liberty of conscience as they were made to expect by that report. And then orders all, and each, of his subjects, for the time to come, to frequent their respective churches and chapels," &c. This persecution was not only lawless tyranny, but an affront to the reason, as well as the feelings of men, fitted to excite alternate laughter and contempt, alternate scorn and horror.*

Hitherto the policy of England willingly embraced every plan of treachery, and cruelty for the subjugation of the sister island, until it was accomplished by fire, sword, famine, pestilence, and infinite butcheries, scenes of horror, according to the confession of the perpetrators, unequalled in any history of human calamities they ever saw. Now the butchers having performed their part, and the carcase ready for dissection, James, and the puritan party whom he espoused, enjoyed an opportunity of slicing and carving at pleasure. Some formalities they deemed expedient to give the colouring of legal sanction to their proceedings. The introduction of English law, and justice, afforded a specious pretext for facilitating and mitigating the abominable plunder, shortly after committed and often repeated on Irish property. Sheriffs were appointed for the newly established divisions of the north into counties, and itinerant judges and lawyers made the northern circuit in 1604, (de-

* Burke.

puty Sussex, in company with the chancellor, attorney general Davies, and other crown officers) to SETTLE the subdued and wasted Irish countries, called M'Mahon's, M'Guire's and O'Reilly's countries; since then, the counties of Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan, for the purpose of dissolving the ties that connected those northern clans with their chiefs, by abolishing gavel-kind, by which a whole sept possessed a territory in fee, but subject to repartitions, except the portion allotted for the chief, the tanist, the church, and the hereditary brehons, antiquarians and bards. As the chief was advanced by election, and his heir inherited not the chieftainry nor its appurtenances, he was but a tenant for life, and therefore could by no act forfeit that for ever to the crown which he held by a life tenure. This was among the reasons for changing this tenure into hereditary, accepted as a grant from the crown, by a patent, with clauses and conditions of service and tribute, under the penalty of forfeiture. This smoothed the way for the confiscations that took place afterwards. Under pretence of civilizing the Irish, and reforming their religion, with the Mahometan arguments of fire, sword and famine, with fines, imprisonments and tortures, extermination and plunder were the objects of the invaders, both before and after their change of religion. First, they persecuted them for not yielding temporal power to the pope, and next for not renouncing his spiritual supremacy. James himself had no quarrel with the catholic faith, professing to condemn only the supremacy

assumed by them in civil matters. His persecution of Irish catholics, was the more inexcusable, as they cordially agreed with him in rejecting that arrogant usurpation of the pontiffs. With a perfidy and hypocrisy, degrading and fatal to the Stuart family, he sacrificed his duty as a sovereign, and his steadfast friends, to the secret enemies of the monarchy and of his house.

Arrived at Monaghan, among the M^cMahons, “the most proud and barbarous sept among the Irish, and do ever soonest repine, and kick, and spurne at the English government,”* the deputy proceeded on his business. “He first propounded to the inhabitants of the country two principal questions in writing, viz. First, what lands they were at that instant possessed of; and, secondly, what lands they claimed either by patent from the crown, or by promise from the state. When they had given their several answers to these questions, my lord deputy thought meet to inform himself of the particular estate of the country, by perusing the book of division made by Sir William Fitz-Williams, which remained among the rolls in the chancery, the lord chancellor had brought with him on purpose for this service. By that book it did appear, that the county of Monaghan was divided into five baronies, viz. Dartry, Monaghan, Cremorne, Trough, and Donamayne. That these five baronies, contain an hundred Ballybetaghs, viz. Dartrey 21, Monaghan 21, Cremorne 22, Trough

* Davis. Letter to the earl of Salisbury.

15, and Donamayne 21. That every ballybetagh* (which signifieth in the Irish tongue a town able to maintain hospitality) contain 16 taths, each tath containing 60 English acres, or thereabouts; so as every ballibetagh containeth 960 acres, the extent of the whole containing 100 ballibetaghs, is 96000 acres, besides the church lands. All this country, albeit it were resumed and vested actually in the crown by the act of attainder of Shane O'Neal, notwithstanding the M'Mahons being still permitted to hold the possession, no man sought to have any grant thereof, until Walter, earl of Essex obtained the whole barony of Donamaine (otherwise called the Ferly and Clankavel) to himself and his heirs; and afterwards upon the execution of Hugh Roe M'Mahon, chief of his name, Sir William Fitz-Williams divided and disposed

* Biatac, Entertainer, from biath, food, whence the name Beatty or Beatty's-town. According to this statement, there was a house of entertainment, established for the reception of strangers and travellers at the public expence, on every townland of one thousand acres. According to this proportion, on supposition that one half the kingdom were inhabited, the number of such Biatach-houses would amount to five thousand; a munificence unequalled in any other part of the world. The food, drink, and other accommodations to be furnished gratis, the duration of the hospitable reception, were ascertained by law. Not only necessities, but amusements were provided, such as chess, backgammon, and servants were to visit the roads, to direct travellers. What a pity the bountiful donors of comforts and hospitality to all strangers, travellers and distressed persons, and to none more than to English, should be starved by the ungrateful churls!

the other baronies in this manner. In the Dartrey five ballibetags were granted in demesne unto Bryon M'Hugh Oge M'Mahon, then reputed chief of his name, and the heirs male of his body, rendering 30l. rent, viz. 6l. for every ballibetagh, the other 16 ballibetags were divided among the antient inhabitants of that barony, some having a greater portion allotted, and some a less; howbeit every one did render a yearly rent of 20s. out of every tath, whereof 12s. 6d. was granted to Brian M'Hugh Oge M'Mahon, as a chief rent in lieu of all other duties, and 7s. 6d. was reserved to the crown; which plot was observed in every of the other baronies, so as out of every ballibetagh containing sixteen taths, the lord had 10l. and the king 6l.

“ In Monaghan, Ross Bane M'Mahon had likewise five ballibetags granted unto him, with the like estate, rendering to the queen 30l. rent, and the like chief rent, as aforesaid, out of nine ballybetags more, and in the same barony Patrick M'Art Moyle had three ballybetags allotted unto him with the like estate, rendering 18l. rent to the queen, and the like chief rent out of the other four.

“ In Cremorne, Ever M'Colla M'Mahon, who was the first of that name that entered into the late rebellion, and is now farmer to my lord of Essex of all his lands in that county, had five ballybetags in demesne granted unto him, and the heirs males of his body, rendering 30l. rent to the crown, and the like chief rent out of

twelve other ballybetaghs; and in the same barony one Patrick Duffe M'Colla M'Mahon had two ballybetaghs and a half assigned to him in demesne, rendering 15*l.* rent, and the like chief rent out of two other baronies and a half.

“ In the Trough containing only fifteen ballybetaghs, Patrick M'Kenna had three ballybetaghs, and twelve taths in demesne, given unto him, with the like estate rendering 22*l.* rent as aforesaid, and the like chief rent out of seven other ballybetaghs, and in the same barony one Bryan Oge M'Mahowne, brother to Hugh Roe, who was executed, had the like estate granted unto him in three ballybetaghs, rendering 18*l.* rent in like manner, and the like chief rent out of two other ballybetaghs, and under this condition, that if the patentees, or their assigns, did not within five years build a castle upon some part of this land, contained in the patents, their several grants to be void.

“ Thus it appeared, that these four baronies were then bestowed among the chief lords or gentlemen of that county, and as they had their demesne and rents allotted unto them, so the inferior inhabitants, which were so many in number, as it is not fit to trouble your lordship with the list of their particular names, were all named in the book of division, and had their several portions of land granted unto them, and to their heirs; howbeit the estates made to these petty freeholders were not subject to any conditions to defeat the same, but only to a nomine pene for non payment of their several rents;

whereas in every grant made to the lords, there was a threefold proviso, viz. that if any of them took upon him the name of M'Mahon, or did fail of payment of the queen's rent, or entered into rebellion, and were thereof attainted, their letters patent should be void.

“ Thus the temporal lands were disposed. For the church land, the abbey of Clunis, which was the only abbey of any value in that county, was formerly demised to Sir Henry Duke for years; but the rest of the spiritual lands, which the Irish call Termens, they were granted to sundry servitors rendering 10s. to the crown for every tath; which, out of all the church lands, amounted to 70l. per annum, or thereabouts; but as well these patentees, as the former, did all fail in performance of the conditions, whereupon their several estates depended; so as there wanted nothing but an office to be found thereof for the making void of all their patents; and therefore as soon as the state of the possessions of this country did appear unto my lord deputy to stand in such sort as is before expressed, his lordship forthwith commanded me to draw a special commission directed among others to the chief justice, and myself, to enquire as well of the breach of conditions contained in the grants before mentioned, as also of all escheated and concealed lands in the county. Accordingly the commission was drawn, and sealed in the hamper, in the execution whereof we impannelled as many of the patentees themselves as appeared at the sessions, to enquire of the articles contained in the

commission, so as they themselves found their own letters patents void, some for non-payment of the king's rent, and others for not building of castles within the time prescribed; besides they found divers of the inferior freeholders to have been slain in the late rebellion, whereby eight or nine ballibetags escheated to the crown, every ballibetagh (as I said before) containing 960 acres, or thereabouts; which office being found, there rested in the possession of the crown the greatest part of that county....

His purpose effected, Monaghan settled, Davis says, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants, the deputy proceeded to Fermanagh, and commenced in the following manner: "We called unto us the inhabitants of every barony severally, beginning with the barony of Magheryboy, wherein we camped, and so calling one barony after another, we had present certain of the clerks or scholars of the country, who knew all the septs and families, and their branches, and the dignity of one sept above another; and what families or persons were chief of every sept, and who were next, and who were of a third rank, and so forth, till they descended to the most inferior man in all the barony; moreover they took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of their country, which is of the nature of gavel kind, whereby as their septs or families did multiply, their possessions have been from time to time divided, and subdivided, and broken into so many small parcels, as almost every acre of land

hath a several owner, who termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country. Notwithstanding as M^cGuire himself had a chiefry over all the country, and some demesne that did ever pass to him only who carried that title, so was there a chief of every sept who had certain services, duties, and demesnes, that ever passed to the tanist of that sept, and never was subject to division. When this was understood, we first enquired whether one or more septs did possess that barony, which we had in hand, that being set down, we took the names of the chief parties of the sept, or septs, that did possess the barony, and also the names of such as were second in them, and so of others that were inferior unto them again in rank and impositions. Then whereas every barony containeth seven ballibetags and an half, we caused the name of every ballibetagh to be written down, and thereupon we made enquiry what portion of land or services every man held in every ballibetagh, beginning with such first as had land and services, and after naming such as had the greatest quantity of land, and so decending unto such as possessed only two taths. There we stayed, for lower we could not go, because we knew the purpose of the state was only to establish such freeholders as were fit to serve in juries; at least we had found by experience in the county of Monaghan, that such as had less than two taths allotted unto them, had not 40s. freehold per annum, ultra reprizas, and therefore were not of competent ability for that service. And yet the

number of freeholders named in this county was above two hundred; and in this order and method we digested the business touching the possessions and possessors of this county of Fermanagh, which we presented to my lord deputy upon his return from Ballyshannon; his lordship having received it, and taken some consideration of it, called the principal inhabitants before him in the camp, told them he came of purpose to understand the estate of every particular man in that country, to the end to establish and settle the same according to his majesty's directions out of England, and that he had received some information thereof, which gave him some good satisfaction; howbeit that he would not suddenly take any final order touching the same, but would resolve what was fit to be done, and finish his service the next term at Dublin. His lordship's speech, and good demonstration to the people, gave them great contentment.....

“ Having spent six or seven days in this waste country, we raised our camp, and returned the same way which we had passed before into the county of Monaghan; and lodging the second night not far from the abbey of Clonays, we came the third day to the Cavan, and pitched our tents on the south side of that poor Irish town. The appearance of this place was very full; for not only the natives of the county of Cavan, but also many inhabitants of Westmeath and other parts of the Pale bordering on this country, (whereof some pretended title to

land, others came to demand debts, and others to give evidence against felons,) repaired to this sessions; the chief of which was the baron of Delvyn, who came attended with many followers.

“ My lord deputy having a purpose to pursue the same course in the service here, which had been holden in the other two counties, caused forthwith a commission to be drawn and pass the seals, whereby the judges of assize and others were authorized to enquire of all lands escheated to the crown in this county by attainder, outlawry, or actual killing in rebellion of any person, or by any other means whatsoever. For the dispatch of this business, a jury was impannelled of the best knights and gentlemen that were present, whereof some were foreign inhabitants of the Pale, and yet freeholders of this country, and the rest were the chief of every Irish sept, natives of this country. We received two presentments from them: the first of sundry freeholders who were slain in the late rebellion, and of such lands as they were severally seized of at the time of their killings. The second was, that Philip O'Reilye, who was, according to the custom of the country, created O'Reilye, and was lord and chieftain of the whole country, being seized of all lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Breny O'Reilye, in dominico suo et de fædo et jure (for these are the words of the inquisition) was slain in actual rebellion; and again they found, that after the death of Philip, one Edmond O'Reilye was, after the like custom of the country, created O'Reilye, and was in like

man manner seized of the country, and being so seized, was slain in rebellion.* They found, lastly, that Sir John O'Reilye, who was chieftain and tanist of the country long before Philip and Edmond, did adhere to the earl of Tyrone, and other rebels, and died an actual rebel against the crown. This inquisition was found with some difficulty, because the jurors themselves, all claiming and pretending to be freeholders of the land within that county, were jealous lest their particular freeholds might be found escheated by this office; because in the time of rebellion these lords or chieftains, by their Irish cuttings and exactions took the profits of the whole country at their pleasure, and so might be said to be seized of all the country in demesne, when they were slain in rebellion. But some of the jury being learned in the law, informed the rest, that by the words (*in dominico suo et de fædo et jure*) not only lands in demesne or possession, but a signiory or chiefry may be understood, and thereupon they were content to put their seals to the inquisition, which being drawn and engrossed in parchment by one of the commissioners was presented unto them. By these two offices the

* This is flatly contradicted by the Annals of the Four Masters, which states, that in the April of 1601, Edmond O'Reilly, son of Moalmordha, son of John, son of Cathal, a superannuated, grey-headed old man, though very sound in his memory, and who was ready and active in his mind and senses to the time of his death, died, and was interred in the monastery of St. Francis in Cavan. And after his decease, his nephew, Eogan, son of Aodh Connallach, succeeded to the title.

greatest part of this county, (if not all) is vested in the possession of the crown...

“ My lord deputy having received the like survey of the lands and the like distinction or list of the freeholders in this county, as was presented to his lordship in M’Guire’s country, deferred the disposing and settling thereof until his return to Dublin, having a purpose in Michaelmas term, to make a perfect establishment of these three counties.

“ Now may it please your lordship, upon consideration of the whole matter, in my weak apprehension, I conceive thus much, that if my lord deputy do finish these beginnings, and settle these countries, as I assure myself he will, this will prove the most profitable journey for the service of God and his majesty, and the general good of this kingdom, that hath been made in this time of peace by any deputy these many years. For first, his lordship having gotten a true and clear understanding of the state of the clergy, in these parts, many will take a direct speedy course for the planting of religion among this rude people, who are apt to take any impression. For his lordship knowing the number and value of the benefices in every county, may cause a union, or rather a sequestration to be made of so many as will make a competent living for a sole minister; then may he give order for the building of many churches, as there shall be competent livings for ministers in that county; and this preparation being made, his lordship may lastly provide sufficient to serve in those

churches. Next for his majesty's profit, there will be revived and assured to the crown 500l. per annum, out of Monaghan; which though it was formerly reserved was never paid to the king's coffers; and out of the other two counties there will be raised 500l. a year now at least for rent and composition. Besides, the crown is restored to all the patronages of ecclesiastical promotions, which heretofore were usurped by the pope, and utterly neglected by the state here. Lastly, his majesty shall have wardships, escheats, fines, amercements, and other casualties, which were never had nor heard of in these parts.

“ Finally, for the common good not only of these parts, but of all the kingdom besides; his lordship in this journey hath cut off three heads of that hydra of the north, namely, M'Mahon, M'Guire, and O'Reilly; for these three names of chiefry with their Irish duties and exactions shall be utterly abolished.”*

Leland endeavours to palliate the persecution of Irish catholics, and to reprobate their energetic but constitutional efforts for liberty of conscience.

“ But whatever tenderness of indulgence James expressed for the religious tenets of Rome, he had a sincere abhorrence of those who taught the supreme authority of the pope, and what he called “ an imperial civil power over kings and emperours, to dethrone and decrown them at his pleasure,” and to sanctify the foulest acts of

* Davis. Letter to the earl of Salisbury.

treason and rebellion; and whatever were his private dispositions, he was obliged to keep some terms with the puritans, who whispered their suspicions of his being popishly inclined. As he had therefore published a proclamation in England, commanding all Jesuits and other priests, having orders from any foreign power, to depart from the kingdom, so, by a like proclamation, were the popish clergy of Ireland commanded to depart within a limited time, unless they consented to conform to the laws of the land. This ordinance was to be executed with equal lenity in both kingdoms; but in Ireland, instead of terrifying the delinquents, it enraged them. They, who exercised the most tyrannical dominion over the consciences of men, represented it as an horrid instance of implacable persecution. The chief governour and council were witnesses of the daring spirit of these recusants, and deemed it their peculiar duty to guard against their outrages; they determined to revive those statutes which were insulted with such confidence, and began by enjoining the magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin to repair to the established churches. Repeated admonitions and conferences served but to render them more obstinate. They were fined and committed to prison, when, in an instant, all the old English families of the Pale took the alarm, and boldly remonstrated against the severity of these proceedings. They denied the legality of the sentence, by which these severities were inflicted; and urged, that by the act of the second year of queen Elizabeth, the crime

of recusancy had its punishment ascertained; and that any extension of the penalty enacted by this statute was illegal and unconstitutional. Their remonstrance, and petition for the free exercise of religion, was presented to the council, by an unusual concourse, on the very day when intelligence was received of the gun-powder conspiracy, a circumstance which awakened the jealousy of the king's ministers, and made them suspect some concert between the conspirators of England and the popish party of Ireland. The chief petitioners were confined in the castle of Dublin, and Sir Patrick Barnevall, their great agent, was, by the king's command, sent in custody into England.

“ The confidence with which the recusants of the Pale had demanded the toleration of their religion, the assiduity, the apparent inveteracy and insolence of their party, together with a serious reflection on the influence of popish emissaries, and the disorders they had fomented in the late reign, tended naturally to keep the government in a state of perpetual alarm and suspicion; and gave weight to every rumour of insurrection and conspiracy.”*

How intoxicating are the noisome fumes of religious bigotry! Who are thus qualified ‘ an inveterate and insolent party?’ Are they a handful of dissenters? They are a whole catholic nation, both in cities, towns, and the whole country; a catholic parliament, peers and com-

* Leland, Vol. II. B. IV. c. vi. p. 420.

mons; and the great majority of the army catholics, contrasted with a few adventuring innovators from England and Scotland, who composed the ministry and offices of the crown, scarcely sixty of the natives having conformed to the new doctrines.* Would any man, possessed of sober reflection, stile their non-acquiescence to penalties, decreed by fraud, inflicted with violent acrimony, by a few insolent, upstart adventurers, of desperate fortune and character, thirsting for plunder and blood under the masque of reform, inveterate and insolent? Did any other protestant government ever attempt such odious and abominable tyranny on the persons, goods and conscience of a catholic nation? On the continent they durst not; for neighbouring powers would profit of their insanity, and the people themselves would emigrate; but the Irish, sequestered from the rest of the world, and confined by the sea, which ought to be their high road to all nations, as by the walls of a prison, became victims to the avaricious cruelty of insatiable, implacable tyrants. No wonder the Irish, and in general the English colonists, should be enraged at the insolent and contemptuous tyranny exercised on them under pretence of reform. They, who truly boasted, that their loyalty to England was registered in characters of blood. They, who considered themselves as a garrison, to maintain English power in Ireland, and who acted the part of one with constant bravery, even

* Geoghagan.

during all the wars of Elizabeth, the declared and persecuting enemy of their religion, should, for all their long services, be unexpectedly requited with persecution. They now had an experimental feeling of their error, when they stated 'that weakening the antient Irish would be strengthening them' (attainder of Shane O'Neill); for they did not share in the plunder of the north, which, on the contrary, was distributed among their inveterate enemies, the Puritans. Every day gave them new proofs of the truth of O'Neill's prediction, "that if they did not give their helping hands to the salvation of Ireland, they would bring on themselves great ruin and calamity; and that the wars of Elizabeth were for the extirpation of the catholic faith."

In order to have a complete view of the grounds for the great persecution carried on against the loyal Irish catholics, as well as against their subjugated countrymen, during the reign of king James, who was not a persecutor on principle, we must endeavour to unravel the great political juggle, called the Gun-powder Plot. Little indeed need be added to what Dr. Curry has judiciously collected and arranged from grave cotemporary authorities, many of them protestants. How long has this ministerial imposture imposed on the majority of the people of these two islands! Annually commemorated, as a festive day of solemn thanksgiving, by sound of bell, cannon, and other demonstrations of joy, for the glorious deliverance of king and parliament from unreal danger. On the 5th of Novem-

ber, the pulpits, 'drums ecclesiastic,' resounded with the war-whoop against popery, expatiating on its supposed diabolical principles, in the bitterest language of invective, to excite in the protestant audience, detestation and abhorrence of the catholic religion and people. The delusion is still cherished by malevolent policy, and has many believing dupes. Yet it could not, nor was not, nor could any such wicked contrivance be sanctioned by the catholic religion, nor permitted even for the best interest of that religion, not for its safety or preservation from utter ruin. That the juggle, for such indeed it shall be proved to have been, could not have been the contrivance of the catholic body of England, much less of the Irish, who knew nothing of the matter, will be clear, from the absurdity, and also from the impossibility of the supposition. First, it is not credible, that a numerous description of any persuasion, especially christians, would confederate against their lawful king and parliament for so hellish a purpose. Secondly, it is not credible, that they would consent, unanimously, to blow up the catholic peers, composing nearly one half the upper house, together with some avowed, and more concealed catholics in the lower. Thirdly, if any numerous description of people were acquainted with so horrid a secret, could they have kept it a secret nearly two years, as stated in the histories of the times? Would none be tempted to blab the burden of his secret, from natural weakness and propensity, confidence of friendship, seduc-

tion of love, or giddiness of intoxication? Would no timorous or scrupulous mind be seized with remorse of conscience, and reveal the plot? Besides, what benefit could the English catholic body expect to derive from the atrocious treason, that would expose them to certain destruction, and general abhorrence. Scarcely one-tenth of the nation, and disarmed; the protestant, nine-tenths, armed, and possessed of all the towns and forts, and all the castles, with few exceptions, besides the army and navy. Would they have exposed themselves to this inevitable ruin and infamy, for the sake of murdering their lawful king, from whom they expected toleration and favour? That James made professions of protection and favour to the catholics, while he was intriguing with catholic powers, even with the pope, and the catholics of England and Ireland, to secure his succession to the throne of Great Britain, is a truth, of which sufficient proofs remain, acknowledged by all writers on that period.*

“ Soon after his accession to the throne of England,† “ a rumour was raised by the Puritans, that the king intended to grant a toleration to the papists;” which caused much discontent. And indeed the English catholics, confiding in his majesty’s former promises, did, in the year‡ 1604, present a petition for redress of some of their grievances; wherein, after many warm pro-

* See p. p. 132, 183. Vol. II.

† Sir Peter Pett, *Happy future State of Eng.* f. 225.

‡ Id. ib. Preface.

fessions of obedience and fidelity, they gave unquestionable proofs of their sincerity, "by undertaking for their clergy, whose loyalty was most suspected, that they should not only swear allegiance to his majesty and the state; but also that they should give in sufficient sureties, one or more, who should stand bound, LIFE FOR LIFE, for the performance of that allegiance."* About the same time, but with greater hopes of redress, "no less than seven hundred and fifty Puritan clergymen signed a petition to the king, and many more seemed willing to adhere to it." But the petitions of both parties were equally unsuccessful."

The powder-plot is stated to have commenced in the beginning of Lent, 1603; consequently, a little before James came to London to take possession of the throne; it is, therefore, contrary to reason, and every principle of human nature, to suppose, that the catholic body would thus wickedly and foolishly plan infernal villany, to blast well-founded hopes, and ensure certain infamy and ruin, and that the horrid secret should be so long concealed by such multitudes. 'Tis an argument of the weakness of the charge brought forward against the catholic body and religion by Hume, de Thou, and others, that they assign as the cause of this monstrous conspiracy, that was contrived in 1603, "the rejection of the catholic petition in 1604."† Besides

* Hume, &c.

† Many, and miserable are the shifts of the adverse writers on this subject, to find out a cause capable of provoking the

the rejection of the petition was no adequate provocation even to disaffection, much less to a deed that nothing could justify. In other respects, they were treated with more lenity in the beginning of this reign, than in the preceding: "From James's accession to the English throne, in 1603, to the fifth of November, 1605, no material* provocation had been given to the papists, either by the court, or the parliament. Hardly any new penal laws had been enacted; nor do we find that the old were more rigorously executed, in any respect, against them, than they

Roman catholics of that time to this horrible undertaking. The bishop of Lincoln, in the preface to his history of this plot, alledges for that purpose, "a protestation made by his majesty on the twelfth of February 1604, in the star-chamber, which was publicly declared afterwards to the lord chancellor, all the judges, bishops, and great officers of the state, viz. That he never intended to give any toleration to popery: and that he would spend the last drop of blood in his body before he would do it." But besides the manifest insufficiency of such provocation, the bishop of Lincoln unhappily forgot, that, according to Faux's and Winter's confessions, quoted and avowed by himself, the design of blowing up the parliament-house, was previous, by many months, to this protestation; and had been resolved upon in the beginning of Lent 1603; and even some time before the king's arrival in England.

* "'Tis true king James's council, suspecting that he would be too favourable to catholics, which they judged from his behaviour towards them in Scotland, put him upon issuing forth a severe proclamation for banishing all Jesuits, and seminary priests. But it afterwards appeared by his speech in parliament, in March 1604, that he had no design to proceed to extremities; or to use the same rigour against the party, as had been used in the late reign." *Dod's Eccl. Hist. V. 2d. f. 326.*

were against the protestant recusants themselves. On the contrary,* “ the king had made it appear, on a thousand occasions, that he was far from being an enemy to their religion;† and at that very juncture, had suspended the execution of former laws against them; had remitted the arrears of what they owed queen Elizabeth, for pecuniary penalties; nay, and had given into their hands what money of theirs, his due, was left in the exchequer.” In his speech, at the opening of the session, in 1604, he mentioned them in such a manner as shewed his intention to bespeak, not the severity, but the lenity and indulgence of parliament towards them. He told that parliament, that‡ “ the Roman catholic church was the mother church, defiled indeed with some infirmities; but that, as he would not wish a sick man’s death, so he would not have the papists punished in their bodies, for the errors of their minds. That, for his part, he was ever averse to persecution, as he hoped those of that profession had proofs, since his first coming. That, instead of increasing their burdens, he had always lightened them, as far as either time, occa-

* Rapin’s king James.—“ In the begining of his (king James’s) reign, he set at liberty all Jesuits and priests that were imprisoned, &c. and as for other rescusant Papists, &c. he freed them from all pecuniary mulcts, imposed upon them by the law; honoured many of them with knighthood; gave them free access to his court and presence; bestowed equal favours upon them with their opposites in profession.” God and the king, published by his majesty’s command, p. 20. 21.

† Sir Peter Pett. Hap. &c. f. 14.

‡ Rapin’s king James.

sion, or law, would permit. That, even then, he had been careful to revise, and consider deeply, upon the laws already made against them, that some overture might be made to the present parliament for clearing those laws by reason, in case they had been in times past further, or more rigorously extended, than the meaning of the laws was."

Moreover king James acquitted the catholic body of any knowlege or participation in the dark transactions; for, in his speech to parliament, immediately after the discovery, " he took great care,* says Rapin, to clear the catholic religion, and ascribed the plot to such of its professors only, as were imbued with the detestable king-killing and deposing doctrine; of whom he said, there were not many; and that it would be extremely injurious to accuse the catholics in general on that account." After which he prorogued the parliament.† So that, it evidently appeared, says the same historian, " that he caused them to meet for one day only, on purpose to make known his thoughts of the conspiracy, and the manner he would have it enquired into, that is to say, with respect to such only as were concerned in it."

* " In that speech is the following remarkable passage, among many others of the same kind. " For my part," says his majesty, " I would wish with those antient philosophers, that there were a chrystal window in my breast, wherein all people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident," &c. Rap. king James.

† From the ninth of November till the twenty-first of January, for which prorogation he assigned a reason; which,

And he endeavoured to moderate the fury of protestants, wishing to decree fresh penalties, telling the parliament "that it might be possible, the zeal with which their hearts were burnt up, would make some of them, in their speeches, rashly to blame such as might be innocent of that attempt; but that he should be sorry, that any, being innocent; should receive blame, or harm, for the same." And that "that was not a place for every rash, and hair-brained fellow to propone new laws of his own invention; and that he wished the old Lacedemonian custom were revived; whereby, whoever came to propone a new law to the people, should present himself with a rope about his neck, that in case the law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith."

This lenity to the generality of his catholic subjects astonished and disgusted the public, and nothing can account for such unpopular conduct, but his consciousness of their innocence. It is trifling with mankind, to say, like Bolingbroke and Osborne, that "fear for his person, and little notions of policy, were the motives." Did he think them really guilty, what had he to fear from pro-

indeed, shews that he had this matter very little at heart; and even, I think, that he did not regard the conspiracy as real. "First," says he, "neither I nor my council, are at leisure to take order for the apprehension and tryal of these conspirators." He afterwards tells his parliament, "it may be, that I shall desire you at your next session, to take upon you the judgment of this crime, &c. that the same place, and persons, whom they (the conspirators) thought to destroy, may be the just avengers of their so unnatural a parricide," &c. *id. ib.*

secuting, with all legal severity, a poor disarmed handfull, assisted with the zealous concurrence of protestants of every denomination, to whose fiery tempers, in those days, their destruction would be a delicious repast. Had he not much more to apprehend from the public discontents raised by his lenity, and from the formidable, fanatical body of armed Puritans, who destroyed the king of Scotland his father, and afterwards his son Charles, “ whose successful rebellions against the queen his mother, and whose former frequent attempts on his own crown and life were always remembered by him: some of these people had made themselves formidable in Scotland, long before, by this very species of treason; I mean the blowing up with gun-powder; and our English conspirators seem only to have copied their example; a treason, on the part of the Puritans, not designed or intended, only, and by a few obscure, and desperate men, as was the case of the popish conspirators in 1605; but actually, and fatally* executed on their king, his majesty’s father, and by persons not less eminent than the earls Morton, Murray, Bothwell, and other ruling chiefs of that party. And yet it is on all hands agreed, that he afterwards ventured to

* “ Their design was to blow him up with gun-powder, which had been actually laid for that purpose; but the king, and Sir Roger Aston, who lay in the same chamber with him, smelling the fire of a match, leaped out at the window into the garden, where he (the king) was murdered, after which the house immediately blew up: this account Sir Roger afterwards gave to king James. Saund. king James p. 48.

treat the puritans in England with a great deal of unjust, and impolitic rigor, through the whole course of his reign; and that, at the very beginning of it, he was not afraid to declare, even in that speech to parliament, wherein he makes such favourable mention of Roman catholics,* “that they were insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth.” By which severe censure† “he put them all out of his protection,” and set them at open defiance. On the other hand, we are told that‡ “the catholics were then so few, that they were not to be feared on any terms.”|| The number of protestants in England, in that reign, was generally reckoned greater, by ten to one, than that of the papists.§ Even in the year 1604, the latter were but as a handful to the former.” And among these protestants,¶ “the Puritans were thought to be more vigorous than any others; that is, (says my author) more ardent, quick, bold and resolute; and to have a great part of the best captains and soldiers on their side.” It

* Rapin. king James.

† Lord Bolingbroke’s remarks on the history of England.

‡ See B. of Lincoln’s Hist. Append.

§ See Sir Peter Pett. Hap. fut. &c. 145. Doctor Donne, dean of St. Paul’s, who flourished in the beginning of that reign, mentioning, in one of his satires, the low condition of the poets of his time, says,

“ Their state

Is poor, disarmed, like Papists not worth hate.”

|| Sir Peter Pett, ubi supra. The lieutenant of the tower told Sir Everard Digby in 1605, “that, to his knowledge, there were not then four thousand papists in all England.” B. of Lincoln’s hist. &c. Append. p. 246.

¶ See Sir Peter Pett ubi supra.

must surely appear a very strange sort of cowardice or policy in a prince, to proscribe and abuse the more powerful party of his supposed enemies, and, at the same time, to flatter and favour the weakest and most insignificant!" His lenity towards the feeble persecuted class must be attributed to their submissive demeanor, their general loyalty, their innocence of the plot, a circumstance unknown to the public, with which he was perfectly acquainted.

There are many weighty reasons to conclude, that artful Cecil, earl of Salisbury, tutored by his father, lord Burleigh, in all manner of court intrigue and political finesse, qualities denominated in common life, sharpening, swindling, trepanning, was the real father of this plot, worthy offspring of the Cecils! The king wished for some lucky occurrence to disengage him from his promises to the catholics, i. e. to foreign princes and his own subjects. To gain the good will of the puritans, whom he had disobliged, through any plausible pretext for renewing and enlarging the persecution against papists; and some expedient to work on the parliament, having experienced them very niggardly in their grants. The minister undertook to make him easy on these points, and framed the plot. "Cecil's chief and leading tool in this business seems to have been Tresham. This unhappy gentleman had too many temptations to this baseness, and too little integrity to resist them. He was not unknown to that minister; had been at some* private

* See Dodd's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II.

meetings with him on the affairs of the catholics ; had more than once received his pardon* for a capital offence under his administration ; and but a few hours before his death confessed, † that, “ in consideration of that pardon, and to satisfy the lords of the council, he had given in examinations against Garnet which were not ‡ true.” While matters were preparing for the intended discovery of this plot, he§ often visited Cecil at midnight : and when that business was compleated, and there was no further occasion for his services, he was, it is said, carried off by a strangury, in the tower ; a disease seldom mortal, unless, perhaps, to those who happen to

“ * Sir Everard Digby in one of his private letters from the tower, says, “ I have not named any either living or dead that should hurt my Lord Salisbury.” (Cecil) B. of Lincoln’s Hist. Append.

“ He was thought to have been concerned in the Earl of Essex’s and Sir Walter Raleigh’s plots. B. of Lincoln’s Hist. &c. p. 95. 220.

“ † This he did in a letter to Cecil, to whom, he desired that such his retraction might be delivered after his death. id. ib. p. 177. The following short extract is all we have of that letter, viz. “ That, whereas, since the king’s time, he had his pardon, and to satisfy the lords of the council, who heretofore examined him, he had accused Garnet ; that now, he being weak, desired that his former examinations might be called in, because they were not true.” B. of Lincoln’s History of the Gun-powder, &c. p. 220.

“ ‡ Even now (says the earl of Salisbury at the tryal of Mr. Garnet) there is current throughout the town, a report of a retraction under Bate’s hand, of his accusation of Greenwell,” (another of the conspirators.) B. of Lincoln’s Hist. of the Gun-powder Treason. p. 221.

“ § Advocate for Conscience Liberty.”

be entrusted with a dangerous court-secret, and are, at the same time, at the absolute disposal of a wicked first minister.

The most authentic accounts of this conspiracy confirm this denouement of the mystery. "Winter, one of the conspirators, declared, that Tresham only was suspected by them. This is also confessed by Saunderson* and others; nay, so great was this man's confidence and self-security, even after the plot was publicly known,† "that he hankered about the court, when all his fellow-conspirators were fled and gone." And as for the manner of his death in the tower, doctor Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, avers‡ that "he was carried off by poison;" alledging the testimony of William Butler, doctor of physic, by whom he was visited in his last sickness.

Against the genuineness of James's letter to Clement VIII., containing expressions of regard and respect for his holiness and the catholic church, and large promises of favour and toleration to his catholic subjects, 'tis urged, 1. That his secretary, Balmerino, was accused, and convicted on his own confession, of having surreptitiously obtained his majesty's hand to it, and that he was sentenced to die for it. But notwithstanding Elizabeth's resentful remonstrance on that occasion, instead of suffering, on James's accession shortly after, he was added to his privy

* King James.

† Baker, King James, p. 433. How. King James p. 880.

‡ Review of the Court of King James, MSS.

council, continuing in his majesty's favour for several years. It was the publication of the letter by cardinal Bellarmine, in answer to James's apology for the oath of allegiance, where he taxes him with inconstancy and a breach of promise towards his catholic subjects, induced him first to accuse him, in 1690, with a fault supposed to have been committed seven or eight years before.* Balmerino, unexpectedly questioned about it, at first honestly answered, that he sent it by his majesty's own commands;† until seeing the king knit his brow, either through fear or favour, he prudently took the blame on himself. After conviction he was pardoned, and restored to liberty, as was his son to his blood. Nevertheless, neither he or his family could ever forgive the prosecution. Bishop Burnet, an unexceptionable author in this case, states the collusion at Balmerino's tryal, and the reality of the king's having sent that letter to the pope. "A letter," says he, "was also writ to the pope by him, (K. James) giving assurance of this (that he would connive at the papists) which, when it came to be published by Bellarmine, upon the prosecution of the recusants, after the discovery of the Gun-powder Plot, Balmerino did affirm, that he, out of zeal for the king's service, got his hand to it, having put it into the bundle of papers, that were signed in course, without the king's knowing any thing of it. Yet, when that discovery drew no other severity but the turning him out of his office, &c.

* Saunderson's king James.

† Id. ib.

all men believed that the king knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the king's favouring popery.* Had this letter to the pope contained nothing but a bare compliment, or declaration of James's lenity to the papists, without any further effect that was to result from it, it might, perhaps, have been easily counterfeited, and the secret kept; but, as its main tendency and purport was to fix a popish bishop of his own, as his majesty's agent with the pope, (and to request a cardinal's hat for him too) by whom his holiness might be truly informed of his majesty's conduct in that respect; and by whose means his majesty was likewise to receive the pope's opinion and directions, as occasion should happen; in this case, I say, such a fraud would never have been attempted, because it must have been quickly discovered."

2. That the pope published two briefs, forbidding the catholics to acknowledge any successor to Elizabeth, who would not grant a free exercise of their religion. This rather proves for the king's authenticated epistle to the pope, promising favor and indulgence; since the pope, and the English as well as Irish catholic, having received similar promises from him, the briefs were to promote his succession in opposition to English competitors, particularly lord Hertford, whose title was often cried up to tumults in the streets; he being, after the Stuarts, next heir to the crown.*

* Burnet's History of his own Times, f. 7.

† Lord Castlemain. Cath. Ap. p. 364.

That king James, both before and after his coming to England, shewed great indulgence to catholics, and on all private, and many public occasions, spoke favourably of their religion, Bolingbroke avows.* Which sentiments were not only well known and agreeable to pope Clement; but even queen Elizabeth was well acquainted with them.†

“Many concurring circumstances clearly evince, that this powder-plot was, originally, a contrivance of Cecil’s. The English catholics of that time accused him publicly,‡ “as the first mover of it, on purpose to root out all memory of their religion, by banishment, massacre, or some such insupportable pressure.” To which accusation§ he returned an answer so trifling and evasive, and at the same so peevishly abusive, that it really argued more guilt in him, than his silence would have done. This charge hath been since revived, and enforced, by several protestant writers, and particularly by the author of *A View of the English History*. King James himself used, jestingly, to call the fifth of Novem-

* Rem. on English hist.

† See ut supra, p. 132.

‡ “There was much ascribed,” says Saunderson, “to the king’s wisdom, in the discovery of this powder-treason; but the Jesuits had a note of Cecil’s name in their register; not against them, as a day-labourer, that carried some few stones, or sticks; but as the master-workman, whose foreign and domestic engineers wrought in this mine of discovery. And therefore was he calumniated with many contumelious papers and pasquils, dispersed, like Job’s messengers, one at the other’s heels.”

§ Saunderson’s King James.

ber, Cecil's holiday;* "as Lord Cobham and others protested to have heard from his own mouth." And Saunderson, when he mentions the statute, for the anniversary commemoration of it, as a thanksgiving to God for that deliverance,† says (what, surely, he never would have said, had the deliverance been real) "of which a man may hardly assure any long continuance;" and then tauntingly asks, "Are we bound more to obey it, than the statutes of God Almighty for the solemnity of several festivals, which all christians observe, and we only neglect?" Certain it is, that the fifth of November was not observed as an holiday in Ireland, for many years after. For when‡ a motion was made for that purpose, in the Irish House of Commons, an. 1615, it appears to have been so much disliked, that the

* Adv. for Consc. Liberty. Could his majesty be really serious, when, in his speech to parliament on this occasion, he tells them, "one thing, for my own part, have I cause to thank God in, that, if God, for our sins, had suffered their (the conspirators) wicked attempts to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken, or written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an ale-house, a stews, or such vile place, but mine end should have been with the most honourable and best company," &c. B. of Lincoln's history, &c. p. 8. Is not this, if understood, as seriously spoken, a confession of some sort of obligation to the conspirators, for having laid the scene of their intended villiany in the place they did? Whereas, in truth, that very circumstance of their having designed to destroy his majesty in that place, together with that most honourable and best company, of all the lords and commons, is what enhances the guilt of their conspiracy, beyond all expression, and almost beyond conception.

† King James, p. 229.

‡ Carte's Life of the duke of Ormond, &c. Vol. I. f. 22.

king thought fit to have it laid aside; "not caring to do any thing," says Mr. Carte, "to sour or alienate the minds of any part of his subjects." But had the danger of that conspiracy to the king and parliament been then thought real, and not feigned for a certain ministerial purpose, what subject would have ventured to oppose so openly, an annual commemoration and thanksgiving, for their signal and happy deliverance?

Mr. Saunderson, after informing us that the English parliament had, on this occasion,* "given to the king three intire subsidies, and six fiftcenths," (one of the greatest supplies, says lord Bolingbroke,† which had been ever granted in parliament) immediately adds, "and Cecil, for his good service, was made earl of Salisbury." Now, as this good service was neither his having discovered the conspiracy, nor his having explained the dark meaning of the letter to lord Mounteagle, (for the merit of the first was confessedly his lordship's, and that of the latter the king's only) it is plain, that Cecil's good service, in this instance, was nothing else but his having contrived a scheme, whereby his majesty had a plausible pretext given him for breaking his promise to the papists, and for passing new and severer laws against them; by which means, he, for that time, became intire master of the affections and purses of his puritan subjects. For in 1604,‡ "the parliament abso-

* Saunderson's History of King James.

† Remarks on Engl. Hist.

‡ Hume, &c.

lutely refused him a supply, and the smallest demand, however requisite, appeared in their eyes unreasonable and exorbitant." But in 1605, says Sir Peter Pett,* "after the discovery of this popish gunpowder-plot, the parliament's belief of it fired the zeal of their supplies, and made the money burn in their pockets, and pass speedily into the exchequer." And thus, that great protestant, "who (says How)† had more, or not much inferior knowledge of this plot, than some that were put to death for concealing it," did, like the devil, first tempt these miscreants to the sin, and afterwards punish them for committing it.

For further proof of this, if further proof be necessary, let us consider the circumstances of the letter‡ to lord Mounteagle, before-mentioned; the pretended design of which was, to

* Happy future state of England, f. 194. This writer, touching upon the objection of this plot's being a contrivance of Cecil's, does not deny, or disprove the fact, but rather apologizes for it, by saying, "That the papists in such a case, would have no cause to complain of the minister, for bringing them into this decoy of a plot, to serve his own purpose; since, adds he, according to some of their own casuists, 'tis lawful, for a good end, to ensnare men to acts of sin, so that, if a protestant statesman had inveigled them into a plot, and then hanged them for it, his politics had squared exactly with their morals." *ib.* f. 241. If such popish casuists there be, (which I cannot believe) yet Cecil's politics in this respect, were not, surely, the less odious, and diabolical, on that account,

† King James,

‡ The letter was as follows. "My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your pre-

prevent his lordship's going to parliament on the fifth of November, the day appointed for the mischief. This letter was supposed to have been sent by one of the conspirators, and was delivered to his lordship full ten days before the fifth of November. The scheme of so early a warning did, indeed, well answer the minister's Machiavilian purpose; by affording him time, as it were, to pry into, and gradually clear up, this intricate affair; and was, therefore, deemed proper, to give some appearance of likelihood and reality to the plot. And thus we find the farce was acted: for although Cecil had got that letter on the twenty-sixth of October; yet he pretended to be so much puzzled about its meaning, and was so long in finding it out, that the cellars under the parliament house were not searched until the fourth of November following

servation: therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety; for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm, for the danger is past, so soon as you have burnt the letter, and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you." Saund. K. James p. 323. Upon which letter, I shall only observe, that, as it does not caution lord Mounteagle against going to parliament particularly on the first day of its meeting (when the mischief was to have been done) but only in general dissuades his

at midnight;* which was but a few hours before the mischief was to have been perpetrated. But, surely, the giving such early intimation of the design, on any account whatever, would have argued the greatest infatuation and stupidity in persons really intending to execute it; as it manifestly tended to its discovery, and prevention; which accordingly happened, by means of it: whereas, if we suppose that the mischief was really intended, and that friendship to lord Mounteagle was the true motive of sending that letter, one day's, nay one hour's precaution, would have been sufficient for the purpose, and much more consistent with the characters, and designs of these conspirators.

But that was not all: after lord Mounteagle had delivered this important letter to Cecil, (which he did† immediately after he had read it) that minister was in no haste to communicate it to his majesty; but kept it quietly by him for several days, until he returned to London from a hunting-match; when his majesty‡ instantly

attendance during that session: his lordship might for shew, form's sake, or curiosity, have gone to parliament on the first day, notwithstanding the warning contained in this letter: from whence it follows, that it was not sent by any of the conspirators, or any friend of lord Mounteagle's; for either of these would have certainly cautioned his lordship against going to the parliament house, particularly on the fifth of November, which, they knew, was the day agreed upon for the perpetration of their design.

* Saunders, K. James, p. 323, Baker, &c.

† B. of Lincoln, &c.

‡ Ibidem.

discovered gun-powder in it, to the great amazement of all his courtiers, who, until then forsooth, were totally ignorant of its meaning.* And for his Majesty's divine spirit in interpreting it," says Saunderson, "the sums already mentioned were given by parliament." But, in truth, it was an easy matter for his majesty, without the help of a divine spirit, to interpret a letter, which (if Welwood† rightly informs us) "was contrived by himself."

"There is not, perhaps, in this whole mystery of iniquity, any one circumstance that has been so artfully and industriously perplexed, as the writing and sending this letter to lord Mounteagle: and this must have proceeded from an apprehension in the writer, that the knowledge of that particular would have led to the knowledge of other things, which it was thought necessary to bury in darkness and oblivion. The conspirators themselves, upon the first rumour of such a letter being sent, absolutely disclaimed,‡ and forswore it to each other; nor did any of them, after their conviction, confess, or claim it; tho' such confession might have been then useful, or, at

* Saunders, K. James.

† Memoirs. Dr. Carleton, bishop of Chichester, tells us very gravely, that Cecil, the lord admiral, the earls of Worcester and Northampton, upon consultation had on this letter, resolved to shew it to his majesty, for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment in clearing and solving of obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." Thankful Rememb. &c. p. 196. B. of Lincoln's History of this Plot.

‡ Saund. K. James, p. 320.

least, could not have been hurtful to them. For, in the supposition that there was originally a real intention of blowing up the king and parliament, this letter-writer, at the same time that he meant only to preserve lord Mounteagle, was the happy instrument of preserving his majesty, the royal family, and the state, from impending destruction: nor could his private friendship to lord Mounteagle, (joined as it was with the public deliverance accidentally wrought by it) have, in any degree, enhanced his crime: on the contrary, the manifest risque which he thereby ran of a discovery, seemed to carry with it some title to favour or mercy. There was, therefore, no reason for such impenetrable secrecy in this respect, on the part of those conspirators who were taken alive: and as for those who were killed in the pursuit, it is plain, from previous circumstances, that they had no manner of concern in it: for although they had heard on Sunday* (about nine days before the public discovery) that the letter was in Cecil's hands, and that their plot was thereby discovered, yet they attempted not to make their escape,† until

* B. of Lincoln's Hist. p. 57. The discovery by the letter, was made to Cecil and others of the council, on Saturday, and not communicated to the king till Friday following in the afternoon. Bishop of Lincoln's History of the Plot, p. 28, 29. Nor were the cellars under the parliament house examined, until the Monday after that, id ib. p. 33.

† Id. ib. p. 58. Hume p. 361. Nay, "Winter and Catesby, upon getting intelligence of this letter, resolved to see further as yet, and would needs abide the uttermost trial." Id. ib.

Tuesday se'nnight following; which, doubtless, they would immediately have done, had they been conscious of having written, or sent that letter: for, in that case, the known truth, and certainty of the report and discovery, would have instantly determined their flight.* And although such of the conspirators as were taken alive, did freely acknowledge both their own, and their associates' guilt, nevertheless there appears not any glimpse of intelligence from that quarter concerning this letter; nor do we meet with the least hint or ground for surmise in any of their declarations, which were full and particular, that it came from them. Should it be suggested, that this letter might have been written or sent by some benevolent person, not engaged in the plot; who, either through confidence, or by chance, had got notice of the design; I would fain know, what possible motive could have with-held such benevolent and unengaged person from warning the king and the parliament, as well as lord Mounteagle, against that execrable design? Upon the whole, besides that these conspirators had all from the beginning bound themselves by solemn oaths never to reveal their plot, "which,"

* Especially that of Guido Faux, who was to have perpetrated the horrid deed; and who was taken on the spot, and almost in the fact; this man, I say, in particular, the other conspirators would, for their own sakes, have caused to abscond; because he was fully acquainted with their design, their persons, and places of abode; nor were they afterwards apprehended, or even sought after, until he had particularly informed against them. See Hume, &c.

says Mr. Hume, "they religiously kept for the space of near a year and a half;" the great but studied obscurity of the letter itself, and its not giving the least hint of the particular day on which the mischief was to happen, is a plain indication that it never was dictated by real friendship; nor intended as a caution against real mischief. For then some clearness, not a total obscurity, would have been aimed at: and this letter was deemed so dark and unintelligible, that his majesty was thought to have had the assistance of a divine spirit to come at its meaning.

We must, therefore, look elsewhere for an explanation of the mystery of this letter. Many writers of that time, protestants as well as papists, have given broad hints, that Cecil* himself was either privy to, or the writer of it. Osborn† expressly says, that "it was a neat device of his." And, indeed, if so, he could have had no other motive for concealing it so artfully, but the conscious fear of being suspected to have carried his

* The forfeiture of the six counties in the province of Ulster in Ireland, on account of a supposed secret conspiracy of the noblemen and gentlemen thereof, which was ever believed to have been a contrivance of Cecil's, was brought about by the very same means; "Anno 1607, says the bishop of Meath, was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the Lord Chichester being deputy: the discoverer not being willing to appear, a letter from him not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, and dropt in the council chamber, then in the castle of Dublin; in which was mentioned a design for seizing that castle, murdering the deputy, &c." (This was all the proof.) Borl. hist. of the Irish rebellion. Pref.

† Works, p. 437.

device much further than the letter itself. This consciousness of Cecil's seems evidently to appear from his shuffling and contradictory behaviour concerning it. For when the letter was first shewn to him by Mounteagle,* "he greatly encouraged, and commended his lordship's discretion; telling him, that it put him in mind of diverse advertisements sent from beyond seas, wherewith he had acquainted, as well the king himself, as diverse of his privy counsellors, concerning some business the papists were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for some combinations amongst them against this parliament time;" and yet, but a few days afterwards, when he himself communicated it to the king, who apprehended danger from it, "he thought good," say the same historians,† "to dissemble his thoughts; insisting to his majesty, that there was no just cause of such his apprehension; that the letter seemed to him to have been dictated by some madman; and, in short, turned the whole matter into a jest:" yet this he did in such a manner as made it answer his purpose of discovering the plot,‡ "by leading the king in his conjectures

* B. of Chichester's Thank. Rememb. p. 194. B. of Lincoln's Hist. of this plot.

† Id. ib. De Thou.

‡ Hume. Cecil knew, that the finding of the gunpowder under the parliament house (where he was before apprised it was laid) would clearly prove the justness of the king's construction of the letter; and therefore cunningly affected to differ from his majesty in that construction; that the subsequent discovery might appear to be the sole effect of the king's wonderful sagacity and penetration.

about its meaning; while he, like an artful courtier, gave his master the praise of the whole discovery." "'Tis pleasant," says lord Castlemain,* "to observe, in most of the accounts of this business, how the letter appeared nonsense, forsooth, to Cecil; and yet with what particular adulation he all along seemed to admire the king's exposition and comment upon it." In short, he that could have gathered from that letter, any thing like a popish conspiracy to blow up the king and parliament, must either have known, before-hand, all the preparations that were made for that horrid purpose; or must have been really assisted by a supernatural power, (as his majesty was sillily supposed to have been) on that occasion.

"I do not pretend to infer any excuse, or alleviation of these conspirators guilt, from their not having been the first to contrive this treason; or from their having been seduced by others into a resolution to execute it. Such a resolution, however entered into, cannot, I own, be sufficiently detested. All I contend for is, that this detestation should light only on its proper object, the mad enthusiasm of the few miscreants engaged in the design; who, though they had originally planned it, could not, in the eye of impartial reason, have brought any real disgrace on the religion they professed; as that religion utterly condemns such impiety; and much less in the present case, when it has been made so manifest, that it was contrived and fomented by one of a quite different per-

* Cath. Apol. p. 410.

suasion. Indeed, if treason must be always characterized from the religious profession of the persons concerned in it, one would think, that such a distinction should be taken, rather from the religion of the principal* projector, than from that of the deluded tools and underlings employed by him; and consequently, that this gunpowder-plot ought rather to be called a puritan, than a popish conspiracy.

“ The principal ends of this Cecilian scheme being now fully answered, the malice of its contrivers seemed somewhat to abate: for the new† penal laws, enacted against Roman catholics on that account, were, soon after, tacitly dispensed with. Mr. Osborne, a cotemporary writer, expressly says,‡ that “ the king only suffered that parliament to meet, to sharpen laws against papists, that they might be the more obliged to him for stopping their execution.” And this appeared manifestly, not only from his lenity towards them in all the ensuing parts of his reign; but also from his proclamation§ of the tenth of June immediately following; wherein he declared,

* What Sir Edward Coke says, in his prosecution of Garnet, seems pretty applicable here. “ In such crimes, the author, or procurer, offendeth more than the actor, or executor; as may appear by God’s own judgment, given against the first sin in paradise, where the serpent had three punishments inflicted upon him, as the original plotter; the woman two, as being the immediate procurer; and Adam but one, as the party seduced.” Bp. of Linc. Hist. &c. p. 151.

† Sir Peter Pett’s Hap. fut. St. of Eng. f. 126.

‡ Works, p. 440.

§ Sir Peter Pett. Obligation of Oaths.

“ that he still desired to make it appear, through the whole course of his government, that he was far from accounting all his Roman catholic subjects disloyal: that the supreme dispensation of clemency, and moderation of the laws was, proper for him to use, whensoever he should find it reasonable: that mercy was praised in the Almighty, whose lieutenant on earth he was, as his highest attribute, and above all the rest of his works: and that, therefore, as aftertimes should give him trial of all men’s behaviour; so must all men expect that their own deserts must be the only measure of their future fortunes at his hands, one way or another.” Now, what greater lenity than this, could Roman catholic subjects have expected from a protestant prince, even though there never had been a suspicion, that any of their persuasion had formed this, or any other, conspiracy against him?

“ Nor was his majesty’s* ensuing kindness to these people less in effect, than what he had so graciously promised in that proclamation.† “ In the year 1607, a petition was moved in parliament for a more rigorous execution of the laws

* “ Upon the discovery of the gunpowder-plot, there was a general prosecution of all papists set on foot; but king James was very uneasy at it, and did immediately order all that prosecution to be let fall; I have the minutes of the council-board of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge, and transport priests, sometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day, he continued always writing and talking against popery, but acting for it.” Burnet’s Hist. of his own Times, f. 9.

† Hume,

against papists, and an abatement towards protestant non-conformists; but both these points were equally unacceptable to his majesty; and he sent orders to the house to proceed no farther in that matter.”* “In 1610, the regard he shewed for Roman catholics; the access and credit they had at court, even to their being admitted to the most important offices, and into the ministry itself, begot strange fears in the minds of the people.”† In 1614, “upon the house of commons representing to him, among other grievances, that of the increase of popish recusants, and of his admitting into his council, popish lords, publickly known to be such; he was so much offended, that he dissolved the parliament, and committed to prison several members, who had spoken most freely on that occasion.”‡ In 1618, “the people again complained, that the number of papists increased daily, and that even one§ of the two secretaries of state was a papist.”|| It was counted even shameful, about that time, to put the laws in force against popish recusants; and such of the magistrates as officiously did so, were branded with the odious name of puritans.¶ In

* Rapin's K. James.

† Id. ib.

‡ Id. ib.

§ Sir Giles Calvert, whom Wilson (K. James p. 79) calls not only a papist, but an Hispaniolized papist.

|| Sir Peter Pett's Hap. fut. St. of Eng. f. 146.

¶ Id. Oblig. of Oaths, f. 97. “The number of priests and popish recusants, enlarged out of duress by K. James, (if we may believe Gondamar's letters from hence to the king of Spain; or the letter of Serica, that king's secretary, from

1622, the king told his council, in a set speech, "that the Roman catholics in England had sustained great and intolerable surcharges, imposed upon their goods, bodies and consciences, during queen Elizabeth's reign, of which they hoped to be relieved in his: that he had maturely considered their penury, and calamities: that they were in the number of his faithful subjects: and, therefore, that he did, from thence-forth, take them all into his protection: permitting them the liberty, and intire exercise of their religion, without any inquisition, process or molestation, from that day forward." In short, both his majesty and privy-council were, in 1623, so thoroughly reconciled to these people; so fearless of their principles, or rather so confident in them, that, in the treaty of marriage between prince Charles, and the Infanta of Spain, they solemnly bound themselves by oath,* in case that treaty succeeded, not only that the new penal laws against papists should not be put in force; but also, that there should be a perpetual tole-

Madrid, July 7th, 1622, to Mr. Cottington, was no less than four thousand." See Sir Peter Pett, *Obl. of Oaths*, f. 145. The same writer tells us, "that there were in offices, and places of trust, in 1624, eleven popish lords, and eighteen popish knights, besides many other persons of quality, who were in places of charge and trust in their several countries." *Ib.* f. 90. 100.

* *Id.* *ib.* "Among other members of the privy-council, who signed these articles, says Sir Peter Pett, were these great names. viz. Abbot, archb. of Canterbury; John, bishop of Lincoln, keeper of the great-seal; Lionel, E. of Middlesex, lord high treasurer of England; Edwd. E. of Worcester, lord privy-seal; Lewis, duke of Richmond and Lenox, lord

ration of their religion, in all the three kingdoms; and that his majesty would use his utmost endeavours, to induce the parliament to revoke, and abrogate whatever laws of that kind were formerly enacted against them.

“ King James had received his education from the puritans, and was always, speculatively at least, attached to their principles: yet it is well known, that notwithstanding this bias in their favour, he never forgave them the troubles, which they had formerly excited against him, in Scotland; and that he persecuted their persons in England, to the last hour of his life. But this king had no such cause of prepossession in favour of papists. On the contrary, their different imputed treasons against queen Elizabeth should, equally at least, have prejudiced him against them: and this gupowder treason against himself, which, in guilt and horror, exceeded all former treasons, would, surely, if real, have increased that prejudice to a proportionable degree of hatred, and persecutiou of their persons.*

high steward of the household; Henry, visc. Mandeville, lord president of the council; James, marquess of Hamilton; James, earl of Carlisle; Lancelot, bishop of Winchester; Oliver, visc. Grandison, Arthur Chichester, baron of Belfast, lord treasurer of Ireland; Sir Thomas Esmond, knight, treasurer of the household, &c. The articles afterwards descended to in the French match, were almost verbatim the same with those formerly agreed to, in the Spanish treaty.” *Hap. fut. St. of Eng.* f. 209.

* Yet, on the contrary, it seems to have increased his tenderness for them: for in his speech to parliament, on the discovery, he expressly says, among other kind things, “ and therefore we justly confess, that many papists, laying their

What then, but his consciousness, or conviction, that the papists were not, originally, concerned in this conspiracy, could have induced so vindictive a prince to treat these people with so much lenity, and kindness, through the whole course of his government, notwithstanding the frequent and earnest remonstrances of his parliament on that account, which he always suppressed, and sometimes punished?"*

The forgery of popish plots was a common state engine in the reign of Bess.† The same was repeated, with improvements, at different periods since the restoration; as shall appear in the sequel of this history.

To force men by pains and penalties to embrace even the truth, is odious tyranny; because

only trust upon Christ and his merits, may be saved; detesting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of the puritans worthy of fire, that will allow no salvation to any papist." Bp. of Lincoln's hist. of the gunpowder treason. Upon which Rapin observes, "That the people considered with grief and astonishment, the tender regard the king expressed for the catholics in general—they observed also the difference the king put between the Romish religion, and that of the puritans: the first hindered not its professors from being looked upon as faithful subjects; but the last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed commonwealth, as he expressed himself in his former speech. In this here, (on purpose to turn the hatred of the good protestants from the papists, upon the puritans,) he was not contented with detesting an opinion indifferent in itself, &c. but thought it worthy of fire, &c. whilst he calls the doctrine of transubstantiation, a meer school question." King James, p. 281.

* Essay towards a new History of the Gunpowder Treason.

† Doctor Carleton, bishop of Chichester, plainly tells us, "that it was thought, at that time, (queen Elizabeth's reign)

truth will appear as error to one unacquainted with, or prepossessed against it, without the aid of other means of information and conviction, than violence and punishment. To attempt arbitrary dominion over men's opinions, is not only tyrannical, but foolish and absurd; because 'tis a power not granted by heaven to any mortal; because no man is able to exercise such discretionary authority over his own opinions. Opinion cannot be changed but by the preponderance of motives from reason, authority, or both. Inclination, certainly, may influence the determination of the mind for or against an opinion, but cannot absolutely decide, unassisted by instruction. Much, consequently, depends, for the success of any mission, on the morals and manners of the missionaries, as well as on their learning and abilities, to merit the esteem and good-will of the people, as auxiliary means to operate conviction on their minds by their arguments. If the new doctrine pretended to be that of pure reformed christianity, it should come recommended with purity of life, suavity of manners, charity,

that some cunning was practised, to feel men's affections; and that counterfeit letters were written in the name of the Scots' queen, and of some fugitives known traitors to the state; which letters might be left in the houses of recusants." Such was the similarity of the methods of discovering plots in that, and the following reign! "And that spies were sent abroad to gather rumours, and catch suspicions. Diverse (adds he) were drawn into these snares, among the rest, Henry, earl of Northumberland; and his son, Phillip, earl of Arundel, was commanded to keep his house; and his wife was committed to Sir Thomas Shirly, to be kept, &c." Thank. Rememb. p. 68.

humility, meekness, patience, forgiveness of injuries, among its votaries and teachers. It should be introduced by christian means, and not by sacrilege, robbery, theft, murder, and such infernal means as would disgrace a Turk or a heathen. If it came from government, its administration should be distinguished by wisdom, moderation, equity, and a paternal care of every good institution, beneficial to the public, favourable to learning, piety, morality, industry, and security for person and property. But the new faith was forced on the Island of Saints, accompanied with so detestable a train of sins, persecution, robbery, sacrilege, corruption, as would discredit truth itself. It came from a government, rapacious, tyrannical, plundering, and hypocritical. Fines, imprisonments, torture, and the gallows, were their arguments to prove the divinity of their faith. Plundering churches, and stripping them bare of all their valuables and ornaments, in their zeal for reforming, rather deforming the church. The Irish must believe the great zeal of the puritans for the good of their souls, while a star-chamber inquisition was established in the castle, against the damnable heresy of Irish property; where it was decreed a state crime, for an Irish catholic to keep possession of his own estate, or to refuse sanctioning the robberies of the crown with perjury.

Besides prepossession in favor of the old, a double prejudice existed against the innovation in religion. Its novelty, and the country whence it was obtruded; on a people, taught by

sad experience to expect no intentional kindness or blessing from that quarter. The ministers, employed for their conversion, were described by protestant cotemporaries, ignorant, profligate, rapacious, careless of attempting what they were incapable of performing, the conversion of the Irish to the worship of pope petticoat; unacquainted with the language of Ireland, and destitute of every other qualification. Had Christianity been introduced in such bad company, it had not succeeded as it has done; and there would be ample apology for resisting it. Add to this, the havock made of libraries, antiquities, &c. the destruction of bards, antiquarians, of seminaries of learning, schools of physic, and you will find the pretended civilizers and reformers of the Sacred Island to be arrant Goths and Vandals, destroyers of literature, of every thing useful and ornamental to this long suffering nation.

We have it from English historians, who relate, that “ abbeys falling into hands who understood no farther than the estates, their libraries were miserably disposed of. The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown into the grantees; as things of slender consideration. Now these men oftentimes proved a very ill protection for learning and antiquity. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, throw away

the books, or turned them to waste paper.*” Thus many noble libraries were destroyed. Nay so great a spoil was made in the republic of learning, that John Bale, sometime bishop of Ossery in Ireland, a man remarkably averse to popery, and the monastic institution, gives this lamentable account of what he himself was an eye-witness to. “ I know a merchant, who shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings a-piece; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff has been occupied instead of grey-paper by the space of more than these ten years. A prodigious example this is, and to be abhorred of all men, who love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame, than to have it noised abroad, that we are depisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness, that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our time.”

“ But Bale is not alone in this charge; Fuller breaks out into a passionate declamation upon this occasion, and complains “ that all arts and sciences fell under the common calamity. How many admirable manuscripts of the fathers, schoolmen and commentators were destroyed by this means? What number of historians of all ages and countries? The holy scriptures themselves, as much as these gossellers pretended to

* Collier. Eccl. Hist. Vol. 2. b. 1. p. 19.

regard them, underwent the fate of the rest. If a book had a cross on't, it was condemned for popery; and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring. And thus, as Fuller goes on, divinity was prophaned, mathematics suffered for corresponding with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and riot committed on the law itself."

"Luxury, oppression, and hatred to religion, had over-run the higher rank of the people, and countenanced the reformers, merely to rob the church."* When the famous Angervillian library, a choice collection of books, first compiled by Angerville bishop of Durham, was destroyed: when the two noble libraries of Cobham, bishop of Winchester, and that of duke Humphrey, underwent the same fate. "These books were many of them plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed. This, as far as we guess, was the superstition which destroyed them. Here avarice had a very thin disguise, and the courtiers discovered of what spirit they were, to a very remarkable degree. Merton College had almost a cart load of manuscripts carried off, and thrown away to the most scandalous uses. This was a strange inquisition upon sense and reason, and shewed, that they intended to seize the superstitious foundations, and reform them to nothing."†

"The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame and remorse, gave great occasion

* Echard. Hist. Engl. Vol. 2. p. 312.

† Collier. Eccl. Hist.

to their adversaries to say, they were in the right to assert justification without works, since they were, as to every good-work, reprobate: when their gross and insatiable scrambling after the goods and wealth that had been dedicated with good designs—without applying any part of it to the promoting of the gospel, the instruction of youth, and the relieving the poor, made all people conclude that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active: when the irregular and immoral lives of many of the professors of the gospel gave their enemies great advantage to say, they ran away from confession, penance, fasting and prayer, only that they might be under no restraint, but indulge themselves in a licentious and dissolute course of life: when, by these things that were but too visible in some of the more eminent among them, the people were much alienated from them; and as much as they were formerly against popery, they grew to have kinder thoughts of it, and to look on all the changes that had been made, as designs to enrich some vicious courtiers, and to let in an inundation of vice and wickedness upon the nation.’*

“ A commission being granted to reform the university of Oxford, the visitors were so fond of novelty, that they ridiculed the university degrees, and discouraged the exercises. They called the universities the seats for blockheads, and the stews of the whore of Babylon; and the

* Burnet. Hist. Reform. Vol. III. p. 216. Heylin. Hist. Reform. p. 217.

schools had commonly no better name, than the devil's chapel; when, in fine, sacrilegious avarice ravenously invaded church livings, colleges, chantries, hospitals, and places dedicated to the poor, as things superstitious; ambition and emulation among the nobility, presumption and disobedience among the common people, grew so extravagant and insolent, that England seemed to be in a downright frenzy.* Thus do English historians describe the havock made even in England at this period.

The methods, adopted to reform the Irish, would provoke ridicule, if the horrors and anxiety, occasioned by the tragic persecutors, did not effectually quench all sensations of mirth. First, a bible and common-prayer book were sent to the Irish, in a strange tongue; and "sorry curates," ignorant and profligate, to catechize and exhort them in a language they did not understand. They could not better reply to their own accusations of the catholics, for having divine service read in an unknown tongue, only they made the matter worse. A smattering of Latin was familiar to a great portion of the Irish at that time, whereas very few out of the Pale understood English. What did these ingenious deformers of religion, to repair their first mistake? As an amendment of their first blunder, they committed a second: they sent Irish bibles and books of common-prayer, in the hands of those, who could neither read nor understand a

* Collier. Camden. Introd. Annals Eliz.

word in them. How could it be expected, that a spirited, sensible, and religious people, would accept such a deformed scheme of religion, which all its concomitants presented to them as irreligion. Is it to sacrilege and robbery they would look for a reform of the church? to rapacity, fraud, and profligacy, for religious and moral instruction? Accordingly, their perplexity, in not being able to find people, who would preach and pray in Irish, demonstrates the general rejection of the new system; which compelled them to look to the followers of a different belief in Scotland, who would consent, for lucre, to read a liturgy and creed materially different from what they believed. This also confirms the authority on which Geoghagan wrote, that sixty natives had not conformed at that time. The persecution for compelling conformity, very naturally encreased the detestation in which the Anglican system was held.

It cannot but appear evident, to any dispassionate observer of these things, that it was not the conversion of the Irish to any system of religion they sought for, but insurrection and confiscation; in which being disappointed, by the wonderful patience of the sufferers, they had recourse to their usual expedients of sham plots, in order to take the lives and properties of catholics by fraud and perjury. The catholics of English descent now learn to their cost, that the overthrow of the ancient Irish did not "strengthen them;" but weakened, and left them exposed to similar hardships as they assisted to inflict on

their ancient countrymen. O'Neil's prediction they felt now fully verified, "That if they did not lend their helping hands, they would bring great ruin and calamity on themselves." While the Northerns were formidable, the Pale was managed with some delicacy; but after their downfall, it was no longer of that importance, and persecution burst on them at once like a torrent.

James, under colour of Cecil's powder-plot, sent orders to his Irish deputy, Chichester, an arch puritan, to minister the oath of supremacy to the catholic lawyers and justices of the peace; and strictly to execute the laws against the recusants (the catholics). Accordingly,* "of sixteen aldermen and citizens of Dublin, summoned before the privy council, nine were censured in the castle chamber; and six of the aldermen were fined, each in one hundred pounds; and the other three, in fifty pounds each; and they were all committed prisoners to the castle, during the pleasure of the court. It was at the same time ordered, that none of the citizens should bear offices until they had conformed. For which reason the cities and towns were obliged to take up with very unfit persons for magistrates. "In the year 1614, Edward O'Molownie, an alderman of Dublin, was chosen to be mayor of that city, but because he would not go to church, nor take the oath of supremacy, he was laid aside, and Richard Foster, a young

* *Analecta Sacra.*

man, was permitted to take the office upon him. And when, on the accustomed day, he was presented at the exchequer bar, sir William Methold, lord chief baron, in his speech on that occasion, said among other things, "that this mayor had leapt a salmon-leap, for that he saw many grave and grey-headed men there standing about him, whose turn was to have been mayors before him; but he said the cause of their not being mayors, in plain terms was, because they would not take the oath of supremacy, which he was sorry for."* This conduct of Chichester was so pleasing to James, that he wrote to him, "he thought both the order he had taken for reformation, and the punishment he had inflicted upon some of the aldermen of Dublin, and certain others whom his letters mention, for their contempt, to be not only just, but necessary. And that he conceived hope, that many, by such means, will be brought to conformity (in religion) who perhaps hereafter will find cause to give thanks to God, and him, for being drawn by so gentle a constraint to their own good."†

"Hard as this treatment of the catholic laity was, amidst "the calmest and most universal peace that was ever known in Ireland," that of their clergy was still more rigorous. To omit many other instances, the case of Robert Lawler deserves particular notice. When this poor man was thrown into prison for exercising the function

* Desid. Cur. Hib. Vol. II. p. 284-5.

† Desid. Cur. Hib. I. p. 465.

of a Roman catholic priest, he,* in order to remove all suspicion of his maintaining, or teaching any seditious doctrines, made the following confession, before the lord deputy and council, and afterwards confirmed it on oath, viz. "That he did acknowledge his sovereign king James to be his lawful chief, and supreme governor, in causes as well ecclesiastical as civil; that he was bound in conscience to obey him, in all said causes; and that neither the pope, nor any other foreign prelate, or potentate, had power to control the king in any causes ecclesiastical, or civil, within that kingdom, or in any other of his majesty's dominions." Yet this extreme condescension could not, it seems, prevent his condemnation. The only pretence for this severity was, his having denied privately to some of his friends, who visited him in prison, that he had ever made such confession as was derogatory to the spiritual authority of the Roman pontiff; for, he told them, "that he had not acknowledged that the king was supreme governor in spiritual causes, but in ecclesiastical." Whether this distinction, calculated for the private satisfaction of his friends, was well or ill founded, I shall not take upon me to determine; but certain it is, that it cancelled all the merit of his public confession.

"Cnohor O'Duana, bishop of Down and Connor, was apprehended in July, 1612, and committed to the castle of Dublin, wherein he

* Sir J. Davis's Reports in fine.

lived in continual restraint many years; but having at last escaped out of prison, and having been afterwards taken, he was hanged, drawn and quartered, on the 1st of February. His chaplain, Bryan Carrulan, John O'Onan, Donoghoe M'Reddy, and John Luneas, priests, suffered also, in Ireland in this reign."*

The dissection of property in the north, and religious persecution, having failed of their desired effect, an insurrection and confiscation, rapacity and religious intolerance seized on the old expedient of plot-making. A fac simile of the discovery of the powder-plot, most probably contrived by the same artist,† was acted upon in Dublin. An anonymous letter was dropt in the castle, giving notice of an intended insurrection in the North, by O'Neil and O'Donnel, in substance as follows: "That he was called into company by some popish gentlemen, who, after administering an oath of secrecy, declared their purpose to murder or poison the deputy, to cut off Sir Oliver Lambert, to pick up one by one the rest of the officers of state, to oblige the small dispersed garrisons by hunger to submit, or to

* Theatre of Cath. and Prot. Religion.

† "Cecil was an adept in framing fictitious plots, and has left instructions behind him to succeeding ministers, when and how to make use of them against catholics. The original of these instructions, in Cecil's own hand-writing, was formerly in the keeping of the infamous judge Bradshaw, by whom it was shewn to Sir William Percival, who communicated it to a gentleman of great worth, who died anno 1697, and left it among other papers of remarks upon the times." Dodd's Ecclesiast. Hist. vol. iii. fol. 196.

penn them up as sheep to their shambles. That the castle of Dublin, being neither manned nor victualled, they held as their own, that the towns were for them, the country with them, the great ones abroad and in the North prepared to answer the first alarm, that the powerful men in the West are assured by their agents to be ready as soon as the state is in disorder. That the catholic king had promised, and the Jesuits from the pope had warranted men and means to second the first stirs, and royally to protect all their actions. That as soon as the state is dissolved, and the king's sword in their hands, they will elect a governor, chancellor and council, dispatch letters to king (James I.) trusting to his unwillingness to embark in such a war, and to his facility to pardon, would grant their own conditions of peace and government, with toleration of religion: that if the king listen not to their motions, then that the many days spent in England in debates and preparations would give them time enough to breathe, fortify and furnish the maritime coasts; and at leisure call to their aid the Spanish forces from all parts." 'The writer of the letter declares, " That he interposed some doubts on them, which they readily answered, and he pretended to them to consent to further their projects, and that he took the method of this letter, to give notice of their designs, though he refused to betray his friends, in the mean time he would use his best endeavours to hinder any further practices." And he concludes, " That if they did not desist, though he revered the

mass and catholic religion equal to the devoutest of them, yet he would make the leaders of that dance know, that he preferred his country's good, before their busy and ambitious humours."

No proofs of such conspiracy have ever appeared, notwithstanding king James boasted in a proclamation,* that he and his deputy were possessed of such documents as would make it as clear as the sun. The circumstances of the times, and the state of parties, strip the fiction of all credibility. The north was utterly wasted and depopulated, by famine, fire and sword, and by charitable transportations.† It could not be, that in the short interval of four years, from the peace to the confiscation, the remnant would be able to repair the mortal breaches, made on the population, agriculture, and manufactures of the province, or recover spirits enough to meditate a new war. Mountjoy, who, by methods not human, brought them to that abject state, must be a competent judge of the natural and moral effects of his exterminating discipline, refutes the idea. He declared, that he would bring the province of Ulster to be the most obedient part of Ireland; and that if the Spaniards should land, after he brought them to subjection, they would not join, but resist the invaders. For this opinion he assigns a very strong physical reason, "that the invaders cannot raise the dead;" meaning,

* This proclamation will be found in the succeeding pages.

† After the treaty of 1603, numbers of the northerns were removed into the Pale from the wasted countries, and great numbers conveyed to the Low countries.

that he would exterminate the great majority of the people, with fire, sword and famine: for the performance of which charitable operation, he demanded less than twelve months, and he had two years and a half to complete it; consequently, it was the opinion of that general, with which every impartial examiner will agree, that the broken and dispirited remains of the once powerful North, would most gladly enjoy repose, and not madly risque, under every disadvantage, the loss of all. The treaty of 1603 was more favourable than they could expect, from their forlorn situation in the last winter of the war, owing to the death of queen Elizabeth, and the eagerness of Mountjoy to have the honour of finishing the war. The survivors were, in fact, possessed of more lands than they held before; more than they had hands to cultivate. O'Neil was old, and wearied of war. He did not want penetration, to observe the vast alteration in the relative situation of the contending parties. When at war with Elizabeth, he was at war only with England. In Ireland he had respectable allies: from Spain and the pope he had big promises, and some actual supplies: from Scotland he had secret encouragement, and some succours in men and ammunition. All was now reversed. Spain and the pope dropt the connexion; the two kingdoms of Great Britain were now united under one monarch; and Ireland was so completely subjected, that the viceroy could, by its internal resources, crush the enfeebled Northerns, had they madly attempted an impotent rising. No traces

of any preparation, or proofs of combination, could be found. But the ruling party eagerly longed for the destruction of catholicity, and of its Milesian adherents, to gratify two violent appetites for plunder and religious intolerance. There was, 'tis true, an unrepealed act of attainder, passed in the second year of Elizabeth, confiscating the North. But then there was a treaty of peace, since then concluded and ratified, which rendered that act of no effect. Nothing could so commodiously liberate them; from the odious burden of keeping faith with the Irish, as to father a plot on them.

The contradictory accounts, left us of this sham plot, are a sufficient conviction of its authors. The first, taken from Dr. Henry Jones, bishop of Meath, scout-master general to Cromwell's army, runs thus: "Anno 1607, there was a providential discovery of another rebellion in Ireland, the lord Chicheter being deputy; the discoverer not being willing to appear, a letter from him, not subscribed, was superscribed to Sir William Usher, clerk of the council, and dropt in the council-chamber, then held in the castle of Dublin; in which was mentioned a design for seizing the castle, and murdering the deputy, with a general revolt, and dependance on Spanish forces; and this also for religion: for particulars whereof, adds the bishop, I refer to that letter, dated March the 19th, 1607."* From hence it appears, that the

* Preface to Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion.

first discovery of this conspiracy arose from the anonymous letter above-mentioned.

“ Doctor Carlton, bishop of Chichester, a contemporary writer, has left us a prolix but different account of the discovery of this conspiracy, in which there is no mention made of this anonymous letter. The substance of his account is what follows.

“ Montgomery,* bishop of Derry,” says he, “ suspected, or was told, that Tirone had gotten into his hands the greatest part of the lands of his bishoprick; which he intended, in a lawful course, to recover; and finding there was no man could give him better light or knowledge of these things than O’Cahane (who was great with Tirone), made use of such means that he (O’Cahane) came to him of his own accord, and told him, he could help him to the knowledge of what he sought, but that he was afraid of Tirone; yet he engaged to reveal all that he knew of that matter, provided the bishop would promise to save him from Tirone’s violence, and not deliver him into England, which the bishop having promised, he brought O’Cahane to the council in Dublin, to take his confession there. Upon this, processes were sent to Tirone to warn him to come up to Dublin, at an appointed time, to answer the suit of the lord bishop of Derry. There was no other intention but in a peaceable way, to bring the suit to a trial; for the council then knew nothing of the plot. But Tirone

* Thankful Remembrance, &c. p. 168.

having entered into a new conspiracy, of which O'Cahane knew, began to suspect, when he was served with a process to answer the suit, that this was but a plot to draw him in, and that surely the treason was revealed by O'Cahane. Upon this bare suspicion, Tirone with his confederates fled out of Ireland, and lost all those lands in the North." Dr. Carlton adds, "that he had this account of the discovery of the conspiracy from the bishop of Derry himself." The reader will please to recollect that, according to the bishop of Meath's story, the first discovery of this plot was made to the council by an anonymous letter dropt in the council-chamber; but, by the bishop of Derry's account, the actual flight of the earls and their confederates, out of the kingdom, was what alone excited in them the first suspicion of the conspiracy.

"But let us reflect a moment on the obvious incredibility of this latter bishop's tale. O'Cahane, a prime catholic gentleman, possessed of a very large estate, enters into a conspiracy with Tirone against the protestant religion and government of Ireland; and yet, at the same time, he comes "of his own accord," to a protestant bishop, to put him in a way to deprive the person who was to be his chief leader in that conspiracy, of a great part of his estate, the loss of which must have proportionably lessened that leader's power to carry it on; and this he does for no other recompence, but a promise from the bishop that he will save him from Tirone's violence; that is to say, from the violence of a man, with whom he

was not only great, but also joined in a plot against the government. Now supposing that O'Cahane only knew that Tirone was engaged in such a conspiracy, without being himself an accomplice in it, would he not have thought such knowledge of his guilt a much better security and defence against Tirone's violence, (as it put him absolutely in his power) than any promise of protection from the bishop could be? But as it is supposed, that he was actually concerned with Tirone in that conspiracy, what can be more absurd than to imagine, that he would, of his own accord, and without any suitable recompence, have thus provoked his leader to seek revenge, and his own pardon by revealing his (O'Cahane's) guilt? For it is not even pretended that O'Cahane had any thoughts, all this while, of discovering this plot; and how he could have expected to carry it on in concert with Tirone, after having thus provoked and injured him, is, indeed, a mystery not easily unravelled.*

“ Sir John Temple's account of this conspiracy is much shorter than that of either of these bishops, but equally incoherent and absurd. “ In this state,” says he, “ the kingdom conti-

* “ Incredible as these things are, yet in order to carry on the farce thoroughly, and to garble up O'Cahane's great estate among the rest, O'Cahane himself was afterwards seized as one of the conspirators, and forfeited like the other gentlemen of Ulster. The king and council, however, discovered some tenderness with respect to him, before his actual seizure. For they desired the deputy “ to bring him to conformity, by shaking the rod over him; but if that would not

nued under some indifferent terms of peace and tranquillity, until the earl of Tirone took up new thoughts of rising into arms. And into this rebellious design he drew the whole province of Ulster, then entirely at his devotion. But his plot failed; and finding himself not able to get together any considerable forces, he, with the principal of his adherents, quitting the kingdom, fled into Spain."

"The contradiction of Tirone's having drawn the whole province of Ulster into his rebellious designs, and at the same time, his not being able to get together any considerable forces, is too glaring to need any further animadversion.

"The traditional account of this forged conspiracy is adopted and thus related by that learned English divine James Anderson, D. D. in his book, entitled *Royal Genealogies*, and dedicated to his royal highness the late prince of Wales, p. 786. &c. published anno 1736: "Artful (secretary) Cecil employed one St. Lawrence to entrap the earls of Tirone and Tyrconnel, the lord of Delvin, and other Irish chiefs into a sham plot, which had no evidence but his. But those chiefs being basely informed, that witnesses were to be hired against them, foolishly

do, his majesty was pleased, that he should use his discretion in drawing down some force upon him." This letter is dated January 24th, 1607. And in another letter of the 20th of November following, they say, but for O'Cahane, whom it seemeth you have imprisoned, we like well of the course you have taken with him. And we allow also very well of your placing his son in the college."—*Desiderata Curiosa Hibern.* p. 508-13.

fled * from Dublin, and so taking guilt upon them, they were declared rebels, and six entire counties in Ulster were at once forfeited to the crown, which was what their enemies wanted."†

To all these reasons may be added one, of itself decisive of the question, that Tyrone was so well beset with spies, even in his own house, that he could do nothing without the knowledge of government. Tyrone was at this time so closely looked after, that he was heard to exclaim, "That he had so many eyes watching over him, as that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertized thereof within a few hours."‡

Here, indeed, was a real plot; but it was a plot against the persons, property, and religion of the northern Irish. Wherefore, then, the precipitate flight of the earls? Several motives determined them to escape with their lives. The reader will have perceived, in the preceding part of this history, that O'Neil constantly complained of plots and attempts on his life. That his apprehensions were not groundless, must appear, from the treacherous methods employed by the invaders to trepan the natives to destruction. By invitations to banquets, to

* Tirone fled privately into Normandy, in 1607, thence to Flanders, and then to Rome; where he lived on the pope's allowance, became blind, and died in the year 1616. His son was, some years after, found strangled in his bed at Brussels; and so ended his race." Borlase's Reduct. of Ireland, p. 184.

† Curry's Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

‡ Davis hist. relat. p. 117.

negotiations, and after partaking their hospitality, destroying or ruining them, as in the case of O'Reilly of Cavan, M'Mahon of Monaghan, and O'Byrne of Wicklow. That long experience had taught them, that no reliance could be placed on the honor or public faith of their enemies, with whom it was a settled maxim, that no faith should be kept with Irishmen. When Tyrone, on the protection of the state, ventured to Dublin, to confer with deputy Sussex, part of the council were for detaining him, in violation of the public faith; when the majority were against the breach thereof, allowing him to return home, they were sharply reprimanded by Elizabeth, for suffering him to slip out of their hands, from a vain scruple of the public faith.* They must have considered this sham, as a serious plot against their lives and fortunes; and where such vast property was in question, unprincipled plunderers would not fail to suborn false witness, ready to swear any thing, without boggling at perjury.

Whoever considers the notorious duplicity of James, would think him capable of abusing the confidence of these people in his fair professions, on account of the secret encouragement, and assistance he sent them, during the Elizabethian wars. He might have sent them verbal or written notice, to get out of the way, untill the storm was abated, and the falsehood of their anonymous accusation sifted to the bottom, when they would

* Leland.

be recalled and reinstated. Among many instances of his hypocrisy, one towards his favorite Carr, raised by him to the earldom of Somerset, may suffice. "Somerset was in his presence at the time the officer of justice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended that minister's presumption for daring to arrest a peer of the realm before the king. But James being informed of the cause, said with a smile, 'Nay, nay, you must go; for if Coke should send for myself, I must comply.' He then embraced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and assured him he could not live without his company: yet he had no sooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, 'Go, and the devil go with thee, I shall never see thy face again.'"* As for O'Neil's not publishing any justification of himself on the continent, his silence would only prove the sterility of the subject; anonymous charges deserving no reply. It was time enough for him to publish his defence, when specific charges were brought against him. The best refutation he could then bring forward would be a history of his own times, a task for which few men at eighty, worn out by long and severe military service, under the pressure of which he saw numbers of his antagonists and commanders sink successively, would have inclination or ability. In any point of view, silent acquiescence, in a charge, however false, of over zeal for the catholic religion, was more suitable to the situation of an old man, subsisting

* Goldsmith, James I.

on the pope's allowance, than a printed disavowal, unnecessary on the continent, and useless in his own country, where the plunder was too vast to be surrendered to innocence, and where Milesian blood and property were such enormous offences, as no merit, honor or loyalty could expiate.

The plantation was retarded and increased by a real insurrection. Its cause may be very different from the "pride of youth, and the barbarous prepossessions of an Irish chieftain," which Leland assigns. Witness to the contrivance to dispossess his compatriots, conscious of their innocence, O'Dogherty might easily suppose, that British and Scots could be found to inhabit the peninsula between lough Swilly and lough Foyle. In arms, in 1608, the youthful knight, Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, proprietor of Inisoeen and the adjacent territory, placed his dependence. By stratagem he gained possession of Culmore, by force of Derry. The garrisons he put to the sword; Derry burned. His successes drew the deputy to the support of Wingfield, who commanded in Ulster. More courageous than cautious, he attacked the lord deputy, when a musket bullet terminated his life, and an insurrection which lasted five months. His territory was given to the deputy Chichester.

Now, by a double fraud, a specious pretext was found, to gratify the passion of James for planting Scotch and English, together with new modes of faith, in Ireland; to displant the ancient natives, from whose monarchs he boasted his descent. The first robbery was, the disinheriting

the tribes of their hereditary estate, and vesting the same, as an inheritance, in a few families, that there might be colour for confiscating the whole. Now he gratified the greedy expectants of Irish plunder, determined enemies of church and state, the puritans, whom yet he hated. But, with the detestable policy of the Stuarts, fatal in the end to themselves, he sacrificed his friends to the fear of his enemies. This was among the capital errors of his reign, which brought about the downfall of his son Charles, and of the monarchy with him; as shall appear in the course of this history. Meanwhile, James set about dissecting the North, expelling the antient proprietors without pity or remorse.

One observation more, before we view the royal anatomists. I cannot believe that the amount of the plunder or confiscation, as they chuse to call it, was limited to 520,000, or 530,000 acres, for two reasons. First, six counties are mentioned as confiscated, and those the largest of the eight counties of Ulster, Cavan, Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Derry. Ulster, being the fourth part of Ireland, contains upwards of three million acres; now allowing too much, one million, for mountains, lakes, bogs, marshes, there would remain two million acres; of which the six confiscated counties contained six parts out of seven at least. (Tyrone had not then been divided in two, as at present; the county of Antrim then forming a part of Tyrone, O'Neil's territory.) Secondly, by the computation of English writers, and their

Irish partizans, the confiscation of Desmond exceeded that of Ulster, by near 40,000 acres; a thing utterly incredible. Were that the case, that the proprietors of a lesser territory, in the north, waged war with England and her Irish allies; not only incomparably more formidable than the Desmonian insurrection, but the severest and most destructive ever waged by Elizabeth, making this island often the grave of her best troops, often on the eve of extinguishing English dominion here, did not some fatality or misconduct interfere, the inequality of the Ultonians and Momonians, for virtue and valor, would be set up too high. If they confiscated no more, they must have left one million of good ground, besides half a million of every sort, in the possession of the natives, which they were far from doing.

In the scheme of this plantation, "it was resolved, that the persons to whom lands were assigned, should be either new undertakers from Great Britain, and especially from Scotland, where it was supposed, that the inhabitants might be readily tempted to remove, by a short and easy passage, into a country more fertile than their own; or servitors, as they were called, that is, men who had for some time served in Ireland, either in military or civil offices: or old Irish chieftains and inhabitants. In the last sort were included even those Irish who had engaged in the rebellion of Tirone, and still harboured their secret discontents. To gain them, if possible, by favour and lenity, they were treated with particular indulgence. Their under-tenants and ser-

vants were allowed to be of their own country and religion; and while all the other planters were obliged to take the oath of supremacy, they were tacitly exempted.* The servitors were allowed to take their tenants either from Ireland or Britain, so that no recusants were admitted; the British undertakers were confined to entertain English and Scottish only.

“The original English adventurers, on their first settlement in Ireland, were captivated by the fair appearance of the plain and open districts. Here they erected their castles and habitations; and forced the old natives to the woods and mountains, their natural fortresses: thither they drove their preys, there they kept themselves unknown, living by the milk of their kine, without husbandry or tillage; there they encreased to infinite

Leland is here in direct opposition to truth. From Sir Thomas Philips’ account, which is unquestionable, it appears, “that the fundamental ground of this plantation was the avoiding of natives, and planting only with British.” Harris’s *Hibern.* fol. 131.—“It is true,” says the same Sir Thomas, “that, after a prescribed number of freeholders and leaseholders were settled upon town-land, and rents therein set down, they might let the remainder to natives for lives, so as they were conformable in religion, and for the favor, to double their rents.” MSS. fol. 108.—For which reason it probably was, that of about two hundred undertakers in the whole plantation of these six escheated counties, there were not, in the year 1608, more than about ten or twelve Irish.—See Pinnar’s List, Harris’s *Hibern.* fol. 127.

The O’Farrels of the county of Longford, in their remonstrance, November 10th, 1641, set forth, among other grievances, “that the restraint of purchase, in the mere Irish, of lands in the escheated counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterities, did more discontent them, than

numbers by promiscuous generation.† But now, the northern Irish were destined to the most open and accessible parts of their country. To the British adventurers were assigned places of the greatest strength and command; to the servitors, stations of most danger, and greatest advantage to the service of the crown: but as this appeared a peculiar hardship, they were allowed guards and entertainment, until the country should be quietly and completely planted.

“ The lands to be planted were divided in three different portions; the greatest to consist of two thousand English acres, the least of one thousand, and the middle of fifteen hundred. One half of the escheated lands, in each county, was assigned to the smallest, the other moiety divided between the other proportions: and the general distributions being thus ascertained, to prevent all disputes between the undertakers, their settlements in the respective districts were to be determined by lot.

“ Estates were assigned to all, to be held of them and their heirs: the undertakers of two thousand acres were to hold of the king in capite; those of fifteen hundred, by knight's service; those of a thousand, in common socage. The first were to build a castle and enclose a strong

that plantation-rule; for that they were brought to that exigence of poverty, in these late times, that they must be sellers and not buyers of land.”—*Borl. Ir. Rebel. fol. 53, note.*

† What a calumny this, on a people distinguished for chastity; and most jealous of the nuptial bed!

court-yard, or bawn, as it was called, within four years; the second, to finish an house and bawn within two years; and the third to enclose a bawn; for even this rude species of fortification was accounted no inconsiderable defence against the incursions of an Irish enemy. The first were to plant upon their lands, within three years, forty-eight able men of English or Scottish birth, to be reduced to twenty families; to keep a demesne of six hundred acres in their own hands, to have four fee-farmers on a hundred and twenty acres each; six lease-holders, each on one hundred acres; and on the rest eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The others were under the like obligations, proportionably. All were, for five years after the date of their patents, to reside upon their lands, either in person, or by such agents as should be approved by the state; and to keep a sufficient quantity of arms for defence. The British and servitors were not to alienate their lands to mere Irish, or to demise any portions of them to such persons as should refuse to take the oaths to government: they were to let them at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years, or three lives: their tenant's houses were to be built after the English fashion, and united together in towns or villages. They had power to erect manours, to hold court-baron, and to create tenures. The old natives, whose estates were granted in fee-simple, to be held in socage, were allowed the like priviledges. They were enjoined to set their lands at certain rents,

and for the like terms as the other undertakers, to take no Irish exactions from their inferiour tenants, and to oblige them to forsake their old Scythian custom of wandering with their cattle from place to place for pasture, or creaghting, as they called it; to dwell in towns, and conform to the English manner of tillage and husbandry. An annual rent from all the lands was reserved to the crown, for every sixty English acres, six shillings and eight pence from the British undertakers, ten shillings from servitors, and thirteen shillings and four pence from Irish natives. But for two years they were exempt from such payment; except the natives, who were not subject to the charge of transportation.

The corporation of London had large grants in the county of Derry, or London-Derry (for that was the new title both of the county and its capital city.) They engaged to expend twenty thousand pounds on the plantation, to build the cities of Derry and Colerain, and stipulated for such priviledges as might make their settlements convenient and respectable. As a competent force was necessary to protect this infant plantation; the king, to support the charge, or at least with this pretence, instituted the order of Baronets, an hereditary dignity, to be conferred on a number not exceeding two hundred: each of whom, on passing his patent, was to pay into the exchequer such a sum as would maintain thirty men in Ulster, for three years, at eight pence daily pay.

“ But scarcely had the lands been allotted to

the different patentees, when considerable portions were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property.* And so far had the estates of the northern bishopricks been embarrassed, both by the usurpations of the Irish lords, and the claims of patentees, that they scarcely afforded a competent, much less an honourable provision for men of worth and learning; while the state of the parochial clergy was still more deplorable. Most of the northern churches had been either destroyed in the late wars, or fallen to ruin: the benefices were small, and either shamefully kept by the bishops in the way of commendam or sequestration, or filled with ministers as scandalous

* “ They were reclaimed by the title of Termon, Corbe, and Herenach lands. In the northern parts of Ireland, which had not been completely reduced, and where the pope still disposed of clerical dignities, the antient ecclesiastical institutions remained unaltered. And these terms were strange and inexplicable to English government. Jurors in the several inquisitions were required to give such information about them as they could obtain. Sir John Davis endeavoured to investigate the nature of the lands called Termon, and of the persons styled Corbes and Herenachs; and it appears from his letter to lord Salisbury, among the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, that he thought them peculiar to the mere Irish countries of all other parts of Christendom. The learned doctor James Usher employed his abilities on this occasion with more success, investigated their nature and origin, and demonstrated the similitude of the antient ecclesiastical institutions of Ireland, to those of other countries of Europe. The original of his tract, on this subject, still remains in the same repository of papers relative to Irish affairs.

“ The following is the substance of it, omitting the learned authorities produced by the author.

as their income. The wretched flock was totally abandoned; and for many years divine service had not been used in any parish church of Ulster, except in cities or great towns. To remedy these abuses, and to make some proper provision for the instruction of a people immersed in lamentable ignorance; the king ordained, that all ecclesiastical lands should be restored to their respective sees and churches; and that all lands should be deemed ecclesiastical, from which bishops had in former times received rents or pensions: that compositions should be made with the patentees for the scite of cathedral churches, the residences of bishops and dignitaries, and other church-

“ In old times it was provided, that whoever founded a church should endow it with certain lands, for the maintenance of divine worship therein. The founder was to deliver to the bishop an instrument of such donation before the church could be dedicated: and from thenceforward the ordering and disposing of these lands pertained entirely to the bishop.

“ In consequence of such donation these lands became exempt from all charges of temporal lords, were entitled to the right of sanctuary and other immunities. Hence they were called *Tearmuin* or *Termon*, that is privileged lands. They were occupied by laymen, both villains and free tenants, who husbanded the same, both for the behoof of themselves and families, and likewise for the use of the church: and were called ecclesiastical tenants. *Servi et homines ecclesiastici*.

“ To receive and to apply the rent, paid by such tenants, it was thought necessary that every church should have its *œconomus* or archdeacon, called by the Irish *eireinneach* or *herenach*. “ I mean,” saith the author, “ the antient archidiaconi, who, in degree, were inferiour to the presbyteri, not the archdeacons of higher rank that exercise jurisdiction under the bishop; and to that former kind of archidiaconi de

lands, which were not intended to be conveyed to them; who were to receive equivalents, if they compounded freely: else, to be deprived of their patents, as the king was deceived in his grant; and the possessions restored to the church.

“To provide for the inferiour clergy, the bishops were obliged to resign all their impropriations, and relinquish the tythes paid them out of parishes, to the respective incumbents, for which ample recompence was made out of the king's lands. Every proportion allotted to undertakers was made a parish, with a parochial church to each. The incumbents, besides their

I refer the herenachs; who therefore were so many in number in every diocese, and, for ought I can learn, were wont to be admitted *ad primam tonsuram, et diaconatum*, and not promoted *ad presbyterium*.”

“A number of these Herenachs were again superintended by an officer of greater dignity, called Corbe, Corbah, or Comhurba; whom the author supposes to be the same with chorepiscopus or archpresbyter. The Irish clergy called him, in Latin, *plebanus, quia plebi ecclesiasticæ matricis ecclesiæ præfuit*. The name comhurba, he observes, occurs frequently in the early annals of Ireland. But it is no impeachment of the learned prelate's accuracy to observe, that in these annals the word is taken evidently in another sense, and signifies the prelate himself, or successor of the first Irish saint who presided in his diocese. Thus the comhurba of Saint Patrick means the then archbishop of Armagh, the comhurba of Kiaran, the bishop of Clonmacnoise. And so the word is explained by Colgan in his *Trias-Thaumaturga*.

The herenachs, under the direction and care of the corbes, or chorepiscopi, resided on the termon lands, and distributed their profits to the bishop, the inferiour clergy, to the repairs of churches, and the maintenance of hospitality, in the proportion established in each diocese.

tythes and duties, had glebe-lands assigned to them of sixty, ninety, or one hundred and twenty acres, according to the extent of their parishes. To provide for a succession of worthy pastors, free-schools were endowed in the principal towns, and considerable grants of lands conferred on the university of Dublin, together with the advowson of six parochial churches, three of the largest, and three of the middle proportion, in each county.”*

Such was the general scheme of this iniquitous northern plantation, formed for the avowed purpose of excluding the old inhabitants, and introducing a new religion; in which not even a labourer would be allowed to dwell, unless he took the oath of supremacy.† Too sad, too dismal to dwell upon, is the reflection, of the multitude thus forcibly dispossessed, deprived of even the means of subsistence in the lowest employment of their new lords and masters, unless they abjured what their conscience required them to obey. Fatally true was the prophetic reply of O’Molloy, “Since you have come among us we will not fail of martyrs.” At the moment when the crowns of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, centered in James, instead of admitting Ireland to an equal participation of rights and privileges with England, he “dispeopled one-fourth of the kingdom, and doled out a large extent of the most ancient inheritances in Europe (or the universe) to strangers, adventurers, and oppres-

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vi. p. 430, &c.

† Cox.

sors.”* Full of the fiery spirit of the Scottish reformers, these enthusiastic followers of Calvin viewed the natives, who remained firm to the faith of their forefathers, as the imps of Anti-christ; while the Irish, who saw their progress marked with violence and rapine, considered them as the children of perdition, the blind ministers of Satan. During the three succeeding reigns, this colony took an active part in the tragic affairs which disfigure the Irish historic page. The small number of the Irish, who acquiesced in the religious innovations of James, tacitly or actually, may be estimated from the small portion of lands allotted to them, which is preserved by Sir Richard Cox, in the following statement of the general distribution.

To the Londoners and other Undertakers	209,800
The Bishops Mensall Lands	3,413
The Bishops Termon and Erenachs	72,780
The College of Dublin	5,600
For Free Schools	2,700
To Incumbents for Glebe	18,000
The Old Glebes	1,208
To Deans and Prebends	1,473
To Servitors and Natives	116,330
The Impropropriations and Abbey Lands .	21,552
The Old Patentees and Forts	38,214
To New Coporations	8,887
Restored to M'Guire	5,980
Restored to several Irish	1,458

In the further progress of history, the Milesians no longer appear as principal figures, or leading characters, on the blood-stained theatre

* Plowden.

of this unfortunate island. Their inhuman enemies swept away millions, with fire, sword, famine and pestilence. Now they divide the spoils, and plant the thorn of religious difference in the heart of Ireland, as a lasting plague, to divide and waste the people. Now they demolish and lay waste the venerable institutions of antiquity, for civil and religious purposes; for education, and improvement of learning. Dreadful was the havock of books, especially in the Phenian and Gathelian languages. The destroyers were eager to abolish the language, and every vestige and memorial of antiquity, reflecting honour on this once renowned and esteemed people. They wished to substitute calumny, lies and defamation, for historical truth; conscious, that their abominable crimes here needed such palliation, however unavailing. Let us exterminate them, say they, and blot out their names from the face of the earth, that the contrast of the former and present state of Ireland may not confound us with shame and reproach. Let us extinguish their bards, lest they record, in plaintive notes, their mournful calamities, occasioned by our excessive cruelty, and long unabating inhumanity. Vain are all your endeavours. You must first destroy all the libraries of Europe, in which the bright fame of Inisfail is treasured among the illustrious ranks of the holy and learned, of the sages and heroes, who were eminent benefactors to mankind. You must do more: you have still to destroy innumerable monuments, in temples, altars, sacred offices, consecrated to their memory. Nay, if you

covered Europe with ruins, as you have Ireland, the very ruins, and names of places, would retain their memory. St. Gall, in Switzerland; Malmesbury, from Maildupsburg, &c. Hosts of evidence could be brought from all Europe, and arrayed against your defamatory libels. Even from your own country, we could cite venerable Bede, the two Alfreds, Oswald, Nennius, of Briton, and the thousands of Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, &c. who resorted to this island, as to a school of morality and religion, a mart of literature and the most civilizing arts.

If the Irish be what their defamers report, from their insolent libels, incessantly published on the fallen people of Ireland, and through their means circulated through Europe, their coming to the island of saints was a dreadful visitation indeed, worse than a flight of locusts, a troop of wolves; yea, worse than the plague itself. What was it, but the visitation of Satan to the garden of Eden, to corrupt the innocence, and destroy the happiness, of that blissful abode?

A Milesian might plead powerfully, on their own accounts of the actual state of Ireland, in favour of the antient institutions. Under them we were a very different people from what you describe us now. Our learning, religion, moral virtues, were extolled by the consenting voice of Europe. The comforts and substantial wealth of this island were attested by cotemporary writers; abundant proofs of which may be seen in the latter pages of the first volume.

The eulogy of Burke on English institutions;

a real caricature, since they are no way applicable to a nation of changelings like them. The most servile of slaves under the Tudors; the most stubborn and rebellious under the Stuarts; and the most inexorable tyrants to the best of them. From popery to schism under Harry; to heresy under Edward; to popery again under Mary; to heresy again under Elizabeth. To claim a constant succession of inheritance, to their institutions, after all their transmutations in faith and civil polity, was arrant nonsense, and justified the severe censure passed by Mirabeau on the book, "That it was the incomprehensible farrago of a madman." To the civil and religious institutes of the Milesians it applies, as if they sat for the picture.

"A spirit of innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors. Besides, the people of England well know, that the idea of inheritance furnishes a sure principle of conservation, and a sure principle of transmission; without at all excluding a principle of improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a state proceeding on these maxims, are locked fast as in a sort of family settlement; grasped as in a kind of mortmain for ever. By a constitutional policy, working after the pattern of nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property

and our lives. The institutions of policy, the goods of fortune, the gifts of Providence, are handed down, to us and from us, in the same course and order. Our political system is placed in a just correspondence and symmetry with the order of the world, and with the mode of existence decreed to a permanent body composed of transitory parts; wherein, by the disposition of a stupendous wisdom, moulding together the great mysterious incorporation of the human race, the whole, at one time, is never old, or middle-aged, or young, but in a condition of unchangeable constancy, moves on through the varied tenour of perpetual decay, fall, renovation, and progression. Thus, by preserving the method of nature in the conduct of the state, in what we improve we are never wholly new; in what we retain we are never wholly obsolete. By adhering in this manner and on those principles to our forefathers, we are guided not by the superstition of antiquarians, but by the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of polity the image of a relation in blood; binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties; adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars.

“ Through the same plan of a conformity to nature in our artificial institutions, and by calling in the aid of her unerring and powerful instincts,

to fortify the fallible and feeble contrivances of our reason, we have derived several other, and those no small benefits, from considering our liberties in the light of an inheritance. Always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers, the spirit of freedom, leading in itself to misrule and excess, is tempered with an awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of habitual native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors. It has its bearings and its ensigns armorial. It has its gallery of portraits; its monumental inscriptions; its records, evidences, and titles. We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age; and on account of those from whom they are descended. All your sophisters cannot produce any thing better adapted to preserve a rational and manly freedom than the course that we have pursued, who have chosen our nature rather than our speculations, our breasts rather than our inventions, for the great conservatories and magazines of our rights and privileges.”*

How exactly does this pompous eulogy apply to the institutions of the Gathelians. Institutions,

* Reflections on the Revolution in France.

descending without interruption from Noah and Japhet, to the reign of Elizabeth. Institutions, founded not on an image of blood relation, but on the reality; transmitting landed property, office and station, hereditary in clans and families, which every generation held by life tenure, inalienable from the sept, but the first liable to revision, and renewed division; the latter the prize of merit in the same family. Thus were the acquisitions of every age, not as it were, but in truth, locked fast in a family settlement, descending with the various improvements of every generation to posterity. Their institutions they viewed with reverence, in the presence of their canonized forefathers; a people, and island, declared sacred, by the unanimous suffrage of Christendom. Their constitution, and their other institutions, had surely their monumental inscriptions, records, and evidences, derived from the first patriarchs. It is with pride they can look back to one of those revered ancestors, who produced two most splendid monuments of his genius, and communicated them to his children, as the means of preserving the memorials of events, dates, discoveries, and improvements of every kind. It was before the death of Noah, Japhet and Sem, that Phenius, that truly divine genius, invented the alphabet, and executed the gigantic plan of forming, from the radicals of all the dialects produced through the miraculous confusion of tongues, one language, as a perpetual testimony of the miracle; a clue to prove, by analyzing them, their original from one common

language. Through these invaluable organs, they have preserved to their institutions, a noble and majestic aspect; pedigree and illustrating ancestors, ensigns armorial and galleries of portraits, compared to which, the English, like other European nations, can produce nothing but as the mushroom growth of yesterday. While the monarchy and Irish independence existed, they were esteemed and respected by all Europe, by none more than the English; since their fall, Ireland has lost rank and respectability among the nations. She is hated, envied, and despised by her modern masters. Must it not be acknowledged, that the change has not proved very fortunate to the land, or people?

Let us now turn to the colonists, and see what harvest they had to reap, from the tares they sowed in exulting hope. Like their predecessors, they were fed with hopes of sharing the plunder of the antient proprietors. Alas! poor deluded loyal catholics! how sore was their disappointment. Repentance came, indeed, but too late. Not an acre for them; but, to embitter their sorrow, the whole spoil of the north was given to religionists of a new fashion, bitter enemies to them and their religion. The popish Pale, notwithstanding their boasted services to English government, recorded, as they said, in chronicles of blood, is discarded, confounded with the Irish enemy, and, like them, persecuted for their property and religion. The law of retaliation operated severely; not enforced by the injured natives, but by their masters, now meta-

morphosed into propagandists of a new faith, and persecutors of the old. Now the protestant Pale snatch the iron rod of lawless domination out of their enfeebled hands, and turn its blows on themselves. What is singular, the same sentence of proscription, uttered by themselves against the antient natives, was, some time after this period, pronounced verbatim, by one of the new Pale, only changing the word Irish to papist. Jones, bishop of Meath, scout-master-general to Cromwell, declared, " That the only way to reform and civilize the papists, was, to kill them and seize their property. The old, like the late partizans, were blind to the consequences of their furious zeal against their countrymen. They did not perceive, that prostrating their fellow-citizens, treating them as enemies, was preparing their own downfall. That a divided house cannot stand; and that they must share in the humiliation and impoverishment to which they were auxiliaries. James and his puritanic deputy, Chichester, soon undeceived them.

With fines and disabilities they were constantly assailed. The oath of supremacy was an indispensable qualification for any office, civil or military; even to be lawyers, to enter the university, or take possession of a paternal estate, must be accompanied with it. The fines were enforced, and jurors, in the star-chamber, met summary punishment, for acquitting the catholics. Adventurers, countenanced by the state, encouraged by the numerous donations of estates, and the easy attainment of affluent fortunes, ransacked old

records, dispossessed the old inhabitants, or obliged them to compound with a part of their property, being vested with portions of their lands, and other rewards.

'Midst this war against property and conscience, the intention of convening a parliament was announced. The provision of Poyning's law being neglected, the number of representatives considerably increased, by the addition of seventeen counties, and the creation of forty boroughs, whose deputies were appointed by Chichester, the temper of those in power furiously persecuting, the catholics feared* it would be productive to them of new and more oppressive injuries. This was stated to the throne, by the peers Gormanston, Slane, Kileen, Trimbleston, Dunsany and Louth, in the following address, dated the 25th of November, 1612.

" Most renowned and dread sovereigne.—The respective care of your highness's honour, with the obligation that our bounden duty requireth from us, doth not permit, that we, your nobility of this part of your majesty's realme of Ireland, commonly termed the English Pale, should suppress and be silent in ought, which in the least

* These fears were not groundless. Knox, a Scotch puritan, bishop of Raphoe, suggested to the deputy, the death or banishment of the persons, and the confiscation of the properties of papists, as the only sure means of extirpating popery out of Ireland.—Curry. The government, however, deemed it not prudent then to increase the penalties against the catholics, recalling all the bills which had been sent from England, " that the bill against the Jesuits, &c. might be taken away from the rest."—Des. Cur. Hib. vol. i. p. 325,

measure might ymport the honour of your majesty's most royal person, the reputation of your happy government, or the good and quiet of your estates and countryes; and therefore, are humbly hold to addresse these our submissive lynes to your highness, and so much the rather, till that of late years it hath been a duty specially required the nobility of this kingdom to advertise their princes your majesty's most noble progenitors, of all matters tending to their service, and to the utility of the common-wealth.

“ Your majesty's pleasure for calling a parliament in this kingdom hath been lately divulged, but the matters therein to be propounded not made known unto us, and others of the nobility; we being, notwithstanding, of the grand council of the realme, and may well be conceived to be the councell meant in the statute made in king Henry the seventh's time, who should join with the governour of this kingdom, in certifying thither, what acts should passe here in parliament; especially, it being hard to exclude those that in respect of their estates and residence, next your majesty, should most likely understand what were fittest to be enacted and ordeyned for the good of their prince and country.

“ Yet we are for our own parts well persuaded they will be such as will comport with the good and reliefe of your majesty's subjects, and give hopeful expectation of restauration of this lately torn and rended estate, if your majesty had bene rightly enformed, they having (as it is said) passed the censure of your highness's most rare

and matchlesse judgment. But th' extrene and public course held (whereof men of all sorts and qualities do take notice for the management thereof) hath generally bred so grievous an apprehension, as is not in our power to expresse, arising from a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations in places that can scanty passe the rank of the poorest villages, in the poorest country of Christendome, do tend to nought else at this time, but that by the voices of a few selected for the purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreame penal laws should be ymposed upon your subjects here, contrary to the natures, customs, and dispositions of them all in effect, and so the general scope and institution of parliaments frustrated, they being ordeyned for the assurance of the subjects not to be processed with any new edicts or laws, but such as should pass with their general consent and approbation.

“ Your majesty's subjects here in general do likewise very much distaste and exclayne against the deposing of so many magistrates, in the cities and boroughs of this kingdom, for not swearing th' oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all of kingly jurisdiction and authority in your highness; which course, for that it was so sparingly and myldly carried on in the time of your late sister of famous memory, queen Elizabeth, and but now in your highness's happy reign first extended unto the remote parts of this country; doth so much the

more affright and disquiet the minds of your well affected subjects here, especially, they conceiving, that by this means, those that are most sufficient and fit to exercise and execute those offices and places are secluded and removed, and they driven to make choice of others conformable in that point, but otherwise very unfit and incapable to undertake the charges, being generally of the meaner sort. Now whether it conduceth to the good of your estate, hereby to suffer the secret, home, evil affected subjects (of whom we wish there were none) to be transported with hope and expectation of the effects, which a general discontentment might in time produce, and to give scope to the rebels discontented of this nation abroad, to calumniate and cast an aspersion upon the honour and integrity of your highness's government, by displaying in all countries, kingdoms, and estates, and inculcating into the ears of foreign kings and princes, the foulness (as they will term it) of such practizes, we humbly leave to your majesty's most sacred, high, and princely consideration. And so, upon the knees of our loyal hearts do humbly pray, that your highness will be graciously pleased not to give way to courses, in the general opinion of your subjects here so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corporations of places consisting of some few poor beggarly cottages, but that your highness will give direction, that there be no more created, till time, or traffick and commerce, do make places in the remote and unsettled countries here fit to be incorporated, and that your

majesty will benignly content yourself with the service of understanding men to come as knights of the shire out of the chief countries to the parliament. And to the end, to remove from your subjects hearts those fears and discontents, that your highness further will be graciously pleased to give order, that the proceedings of this parliament may be with the same moderation and indifferency as your most royal predecessors have used in like cases heretofore; wherein moreover, if your highness shall be pleased, out of your gracious clemency, to withdraw such laws, as may tend to the forcing of your subjects consciences here in matters concerning religion, you shall settle their minds in a most firm and faithful subjection. The honour, which your majesty, in all your actions and proceedings, hath hitherto so well maintained, the renown of your highness's transcendant understanding in matters of estate and government, and in particular the exemplary president of your majesty's never-to-be-forgotten moderation, in not condescending to such extraordinary courses for effecting the union of both kingdoms so much desired, doth give us full hope and assurance, that your highness will duely weigh and take in good worth these considerations by us layed down, and most graciously grant this our humble submissive suit, in which hope we do, and will always remain, your majesty's most humble and dutiful subjects,

Gormanston, Chr. Slane, Kileen, Rob.
Trimblettstown, Patrick Dunsany,
Ma. Lowth.

This respectful memorial the haughty James stigmatized rash and insolent; and the elections proceeded, in which the government and the people made the most strenuous exertions. In most of the counties the court candidates were foiled. Two hundred and thirty-two were returned for the commons: of these, six were absent, one hundred and twenty-five were protestants, one hundred and one catholics. Of the house of lords, of fifty members, twenty-five were protestant prelates, sixteen temporal barons, five viscounts, four earls. The sessions was appointed to be held in Dublin-castle; and Chichester prepared for its meeting, by drawing the army from distant garrisons into the city.

On the 18th of May, 1613, this memorable parliament was opened with great pomp, "the lord deputy, with all the peers of the realm, and the clergy, both bishops and archbishops, attired in scarlet robes very sumptuously, with sound of trumpets; the lord David Barry, viscount Buttevant, bearing the sword of state, and the earl of Thomond bearing the cap of maintenance; and after all these, the lord deputy (now baron of Belfast) followed, riding upon a most stately horse, very richly trapped, himself attired in a very rich and stately robe of purple velvet, which the king's majesty had sent him, having his train borne up by eight gentlemen of worth. They rode from the castle of Dublin to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, to hear divine service, and a sermon preached by the reverend father in God, Christopher Hampton, archbishop of Armagh,

and primate of all Ireland. But as many of the nobility of Ireland as were recusants, went not into the church, neither heard divine service or sermon, notwithstanding that they were lords of the parliament house; but they staid without during the time of service and sermon. Now when service was done, the lord deputy returned back to the castle, these recusant lords joining themselves again with the rest of the state, and rode to the castle in the same manner as they came from thence."* After the usual speech from the throne, the commons were directed to appoint a speaker. Sir John Davis, then attorney-general, was proposed; when Sir James Gough said, "that he observed many persons in the house who had no right to sit there as members; and therefore moved, that their votes might be for a time suspended, until a speaker was chosen; after which the legality of their elections should be duly enquired into." This was rejected, and Sir James, urged to proceed directly in the choice of a speaker, named Sir John Everard, who had been a justice of the king's bench, but resigned rather than take the oaths. A scene of confusion ensued, the votes could not be collected: to ascertain them, the supporters of Sir John Davis withdrew to another room, when the friends of Everard placed him in the chair, considering him elected by a majority of legal voices, which was the fact. But the court members forced him out, and fixed Davis in his place. A band of soldiers,

* Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 166-7.

posted at the entrance into parliament, with lighted matches, emboldened them to commit this outrage. The catholic members then seceded, and protested against the authors of these violent acts, as invaders of the liberties of their country, and of the rights and privileges of parliament. The catholic peers followed the example of the commons, and Chichester, unable to induce them to return, prorogued the parliament. The next day this remonstrance from divers lords of the Pale was sent to his majesty.

“ May it please your majesty, such is the excessive grief and anxiety of mind and conscience, which we, the nobility of this your highness’s kingdom, whose names are here underwritten, do conceive, by the more preposterous courses holden in parliament, as we must be enforced, before we descend further, most humbly with tears, to implore your gracious favour, that if the due regard of your majesty’s sacred honour, the careful consideration of the good peace and tranquillity of this your realm and country, the tender and feeling respect of our bounden and obliged duty to both, to carry us in aught beyond the limits of a well-tempered moderation, your highness will be graciously pleased to pardon our excess herein, so far as *pius dolor* and *justa iracundia*, do in themselves deserve. It would far pass the compass of a letter, if we should insist to particularise the manifest, old, precedent disorders, and such as still do accompany this intended action; only your highness shall understand, that many knights from coun-

ties, and citizens and burgesses from cities and towns, have, contrary to the true election, been returned; and in some places force, and in many others fraud, deceit, and indirect means have been used for effecting of this so lawless a course of proceeding. Neither can we but make known unto your majesty, that under pretence of erecting towns in places of the new plantation, more corporations have been made since the beginning of last month, or a little more, than are returned out of the whole kingdom; besides, the number whereof (as we conceive it) contrary to your highness's intended purpose, are dispersed throughout all parts of this kingdom; and that in divers places, where there be good ancient boroughs, and not allowed to send burgesses to the parliament; and yet these new created corporations, for the most part are so miserable and beggarly poor, as their tuguria cannot otherwise be holden or denied than as tituli sine re, et figmenta in rebus; for divers of which (their extreme poverty being not able to defray the charges of burgesses, nor the places themselves to afford any one man fit to present himself in the poorest society of men) and others, we must confess, that some of great fashion have not sticked to abase themselves to be returned: the the lord deputy's servants, attornies, and clerks, resident only in the city of Dublin, most of them having never seen or known the places for which they were returned, and others of contemptible life and carriage. And what outrageous violence was offered yesterday to a grave gentleman, whom

men of all sorts that know him, do and will confess to be both learned, grave, and discreet, free from all touch and imputation, and whom those of the lower house, to whom no exceptions could be taken, had chosen to be their speaker, we leave, for avoiding tediousness to your highness, to their own further declaration. And forasmuch as, most renowned and dread sovereign, we cannot in any due proportion of reason expect redress in these our distressed calamities, where many of those who represent the body of your estate were the chief authors of them, upon the knees of our royal and submissive hearts, we humbly pray, that it would please your majesty to admit some of us to the access of your royal presence; where, if we fail in the least point of these our assertions, and declarations of other evils, which do multiply in this estate, we willingly submit ourselves to any punishment, as deserved, which it shall please your highness to lay and inflict upon us. For we are those, by the effusion of whose ancestors blood, the foundation of that empire, which we acknowledge your highness by the laws of God and man to have over this kingdom and people, was first laid, and in many succeeding ages preserved. To us it properly appertaineth, both in the obligation of public duty and private interest, to heed the good thereof, who never laid the foundation of our hopes upon the disturbance of it, garboils and dissensions being the downfall of our estate, as some of us now living can witness; and therefore, we cannot, but out of the consideration of our bounden duty and allegiance,

make known unto your highness the general discontent which those strange, unlooked for, and never heard of courses particularly have bred; whereof, if the rebellous and discontented of this nation abroad do take advantage, and procure the evil-affected at home, which are numbers, by reason of that already settled, and intended plantation, in any hostile fashion to set disorders at foot, and labour some underhand relief from any prince or estate abroad, who peradventure might be inveigled, and drawn to commiserate their pretended distresses and oppressions; however, we are assured the prowess and power of your majesty in the end will bring the authors thereof to ruin and confusion; yet it may be attended with the effusion of much blood, exhausting of masses of treasure, the exposing of us, and others your highness's well-affected subjects, to the hazard of poverty, whereof the memory is very lively and fresh among us; and finally, to the laying open of the whole commonalty to the inundation of all miseries and calamities, which garboils, civil war, and dissensions do breed and draw with them, in a rent and torn estate. For preventing whereof, we nothing doubt but your majesty will give redress, by the equal balance of your highness's justice, which we beseech the Almighty, with your royal person, ever to maintain and preserve, your majesty's most faithful subjects,

David Buttevant. Gormanston. D. Roche,
Fermoy. Montgarret. Killine. Delvin.
C. Slane. R. Trymbleston. J. Dunboyne,
Matthew Louth. Thomas Cahyr.

The commons, in the following petition, stated their grievances, by Sir James Gough, William Talbot, P. Hussie, and T. Lutterell, four of the most considerable of their body. These were accompanied from the house of lords, by D. Roche, viscount Fermoy; Christopher Plunket, lord baron of Killeen, afterwards earl of Fingall; the lord baron of Delvin, afterwards earl of Westmeath; together with Sir Patrick Barnwell and four lawyers.

“ To the right hon. the lords of his majesty’s most honorable privy council, the humble petition of the knights, citizens and burgesses of the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of Ireland.

“ Most humbly declaring to your lordships, that the assurance of his majesty’s most princely inviolable justice, whereof your lordships, in matters of state and government, are the high and supreme distributors, doth embolden us, in our oppressions, to address these our submissive lines to your honours; wherein our purpose is, not to be pleaders, the strangeness of our extremities finding no fit words to express them; and therefore, in declaration of the naked truth, your lordships shall understand that we, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of this realm, coming, according to our bounden duties, into the parliament house, we find there fourteen counsellors of state, three of the judges, having before received writs to appear in the higher house, all his majesty’s council at law; and the rest of the number, for the most part, consisting of

attornies, clerks in courts, of the lord deputy's retinue, and others his household-servants, with some lately come out of England, having no abiding here; and all these, save very few, were returned from the new corporations erected, to the number of forty or thereabouts, not only in places of the new plantation, but also in other provinces, where there be corporations of antiquity; few or none of them having been ever resident, and most of them having never seen these places: the rest, who possessed the rooms of knights of shires, save four or six, came in by practice, and dishonest devises, whereunto themselves were not strangers; and some there were from antient boroughs, who intruded themselves into their places, by as undue and unlawful means: as the knights and burgesses duly elected were ready at the parliament door to prove and avouch. For redress whereof, we of the ancient shires, cities, and towns, to whom no exceptions could be taken, being desirous to take the usual and accustomed course, what outrageous violence ensued, by the fury of some there, we humbly leave to your lordships to be informed by our declarations; whereunto a schedule, by direction of my lord deputy, subscribed with our hands, is annexed. And forasmuch, right honourable, as the strangeness of these proceedings in a christian commonwealth is such as we think his majesty and your lordships will hardly be induced to believe; they being in the likelihood of impossibility, equal to that of Messalino, unto the emperor Claudius in ancient Rome; or to any

other accident, how rare soever, transmitted to posterity in modern or ancient shires, we humbly pray that your lordships, in commisseration of our distress, will be a mean to his highness that some of us, with some of our nobility, may be licenced to present ourselves there, for the proof of our assertions; wherein if we fail in any one point, we utterly renounce all favour; and that in the mean time his majesty will be pleased to suspend his gracious judgment, in the apprehension of what to our prejudice may be informed here; those from whom his highness doth usually receive information, being the authors of the carriage of what is done amiss.

To counteract their measures, the deputy sent the earl of Thomond, Sir John Denham, chief justice of the king's bench, and Sir Oliver St. John, master of the ordnance. The Catholic agents were received most ungraciously; two of them, Talbot and Lutterell, imprisoned, one in the Tower, the other in the Fleet. Still they persevered, and laid before the king nineteen additional articles of grievance, in the military and civil administration of Ireland, which they humbly besought his royal grace and equity to redress, intreating indifferent commissioners to be sent to enquire into them. This was complied with. Commissioners, accompanied by some of the catholic agents, repaired to Ireland. They were followed by Sir James Gough; who, landing at Waterford, "spread the joyful news, that the king commanded him to assure the Irish subjects, that they should be free in the exercise of

religion, provided they entertained no priests who should preach the deposing power of the pope.”* The glad tidings reached the capital; a general joy was diffused; Gough, in the presence of the principal recusants, told Chichester, that he was commissioned to make those assurances he had already notified to his countrymen, and to inform the lord deputy of his majesty’s pleasure. But Chichester, better acquainted with James’s real intentions, publicly reprov’d Sir James Gough for, as he termed it, this insolent falsehood, and committed him close prisoner to the castle of Dublin. “His party expressed the less resentment at this severity, as they expected speedy redress. The deputy was summoned to attend the king in England, which they conceived to be the prelude to his disgrace: and Jones, the chancellor, and marshal Wingfield, the new lords justices, conducted the administration with the greater ease, as the principal scene of Irish affairs now lay at the court of England, and the discontented waited for the final triumph of their agents.”*

Two of their members imprisoned; the voluntary contribution for defraying their expences stopped by proclamation, the Catholic agents found themselves compelled thus to petition his majesty: “Your petitioners having so long expected your gracious pleasure and resolution concerning the affairs of their complaints, as their means are altogether spent, and the supply

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vii. p. 453.

of their wants become hopeless, by means of a proclamation lately published in your majesty's realm of Ireland, straightly inhibiting any collection or voluntary contribution to be levied or sent, to defray their necessary charges, towards the attendance of your princely pleasure, as by the tenor of the said proclamation, extant to be seen, appeareth; which courses enforce your petitioners, beyond all willingness, to importune your royal majesty, to vouchsafe so speedy a dispatch, as the necessity of their wants greatly urgeth..... They further pray, that his majesty would be pleased, out of his matchless clemency, to accept their unfeigned protestation of their bounden fidelity and loyalty to his highness, which freely proceedeth from undoubted true hearts, without equivocation or mental reservation, that neither the pope, nor any other potentate whatsoever, hath authority to put your highness from the crown, deprive you of your kingdoms, or commit so horrible an act as to bereave your majesty of your life, which we ever held, and do hold, most odious to be thought of or spoken: for the defence whereof your petitioners' lives, lands and goods shall be always ready, as becometh true subjects; wherein we are assured, your majesty's poor subject, William Talbot,* now a prisoner in the tower, will join; the confidence of whose unfeigned thoughts therein moveth us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty's

* Under the pretence of his maintaining these so solemnly disclaimed opinions, this gentleman suffered a long imprisonment, and was fined ten thousand pounds.

feet, humbly desiring a commiseration of his restraint.... There was not any speedy answer made to this petition, by reason his majesty was not then at leisure.”*

At length, on the 21st of September, 1613, before the lords of the council at Whitehall, James dismissed the catholic agents, in a formal speech, which as it places the conduct of the monarch, on this remarkable occasion, in the clearest point of view, is here inserted.

“ My Lords, These noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland are called hither this day to hear my conclusion and determination in a cause of great consequence, which hath depended long in trial. Thus far it hath had formality; for it is a formality, that kings hold in all processes of importance, to proceed slowly, to give large hearing, and to use long debate, before they give their sentence. These gentlemen will not deny that I have lent them my own ear, and have shewed more patience and a desire to understand their cause at full: it resteth now, that we make a good conclusion, after so long a debate.

“ It is a good rule to observe three points, in all weighty businesses; long and curious debate, grave and mature resolution, and speedy execution. The first is already past; the second is to be performed this day; and the last must follow as soon as conveniently may be.

“ I promised to these noblemen and gentlemen of the recusant party of parliament, justice with

* Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 236.

favour; let them see whether I have performed my promise: sure I am, but for performance of that promise, I should not have given such patient hearing, nor made such a curious search into the causes of their complaints, neither should I make such a conclusion as I am now like to make of this business.

“ In the search (though I doubted not of the honour and justice of the lord deputy’s government) yet I dealt not with him as with my servant, not as with one the most unreprieveable governor, that ever was in that kingdom (as some of yourselves have acknowledged him to be to myself) but as with a party: but after the commissioners had heard all that could be alleged, I found him indeed a faithful servant by their certificate, which was conclusio in causâ.

“ The gentlemen I sent were such as no exception could be taken against them, some were never there before; some, so long sithence, that rerum facies fuit mutata, since they lived in that kingdom.

“ It rests me now to set down my conclusion; but before I declare my judgment, I will speak of some things offered by you the recusant half-body, which are called parliament-recusants. I have heard of church-recusants, but not of parliament-recusants; this difference was never before heard of.

“ First, the letter you sent unto me the beginning of the parliament was full of pride and arrogance, wanting much of the respects, which subjects owe their sovereign.

“ Now if I should do you justice, I should take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles, which my attorney laid open unto you, then shall you see your case.

“ For you made offer, that if you failed to prove any one point of that, which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all ; yet have you scarce proved a word true ; but, on the other side, almost every point hath been proved contrary.

“ Of fourteen returns whereof you complain, but two have been proved false, and in the government nothing hath been proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven.

“ But commonly offenders are most bold to make offers of their innocency ; for they (being in a passion) begin in heat, and continue in heat, but when they see themselves in the glass of their own vanity, they find their error. And this I have found in my own experience in Scotland, and since my coming hither.

“ Now I will divide my speech in two parts, touching the offences done by you, and your complaints against the state and government.

“ To the first, an unusual favour was offered you by my deputy, for he sent for you, and advised you to consider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your answer should have been humble thanks on your knees, but you neglected that favour, and answered by your agent in the name of the rest, that you would first be

made acquainted with such bills as the deputy and council there had resolved to transmit.

“ Before the parliament, there was sent to me by a few men a letter, rash and insolent, that nothing should be pursued in parliament, but you should be acquainted with, and withal threatening me with rebellion in a strange fashion, with similitudes unsavourily and unmannerly, and unfit to be presented to any monarch; and after that, you did nothing but heap complaint upon complaint, till the parliament was sat down.

“ The parliament being sat, you went on with a greater contempt: there were in the lower house two bodies, and but one head, a greater monster than two heads upon one body. And whereas you should have made an humble and dutiful answer to the commendation, which I made of a speaker, you the recusant-party (being the fewer) when the greater number went out to be numbered, shut the door, and thrust one into the chair as a speaker *manu forti*. After this, the recusants of both houses depart from the parliament. The like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any other kingdom of Christendom.

“ Then came petitions to the deputy of a body without a head, a headless body: you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets: a body without a head to speak, nay, half a body; what a monster were this, a very bug-bear! Methinks you, that would have a visible body head of the church over all the earth, and acknowledge a temporal head under Christ, he may likewise

acknowledge my viceroy or deputy of Ireland.

“ Then did the deputy give you warning to come to the parliament, to pass the bill of recognition, but that you put it off with tricks and shifts, which thing I will urge no farther; but why should the lords refuse to come? They had no colour of absenting themselves, having nothing to do with the orders or disorders of the lower house; the lords here, and the lower house, are as great strangers in these matters, as the parliament houses of Spain and France; neither had the recusants of the lower house any just cause of defection, since an indifferent committee was offered to them.

“ This was such an ill example, and such a crime, to refuse to appear at the king’s summons, as if you should advise with lawyers upon it, I know not what it may impart: after this, hither you came, and only your appeal to me hath inclined me to mercy, yet I speak not this to encourage your complaints to be brought hither, when the deputy and state may determine them, though this being a matter of parliament, was fit for the king’s hearing, and your appeal hath been heard and heard usq; ad nauseam.

And whereas it should have wrought humility and thanks, the fruit hath been, that (I will not say in a preposterous, but) in a rebellious manner, you have heaped complaints upon complaints, and petitions upon petitions, not warranted with any truth, to make the more noise; whereas you should have looked back to your own miscarriages.

“ Then I sent commissioners to examine, as well the by as the main business, which you first presented to be the cause of your appealing to me, but, instead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which, because the council here have already answered, I will not speak of.—Now if you look back to your own miscarriages, and my lenity, you shall find, that your carriage hath been most undutiful and unreasonable, and in the next degree to treason, and that you have nothing to fly to but my grace.

“ The lower house here in England doth stand upon its privileges as much as any council in Christendom, yet, if such a difference had risen there, they would have gone on with my service notwithstanding, and not have broken up their assembly upon it. You complain of fourteen false returns. Are there not many more complained of in this parliament, yet they do not forsake the house for it? Now, for your complaint's touching parliament matters, I find no more amiss in that parliament, than in the best parliament in the world; escapes and faults of sheriffs there may be, yet not proved; or if it had been proved, no cause to stay the parliament, all might have been set right by an ordinary course or trial, to which I must refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs, therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not where the shoe wrings. For, first, you question the power of the king, whether he may lawfully make them? And then you question the wisdom of the king and his council;

in that you say, there are too many made. It was never before heard, that any good subjects did dispute the king's power in this point. What is it to you, whether I make many or few boroughs; my council may consider the fitness, if I require it; but what if I had made forty noblemen, and four hundred boroughs, the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer. But this complaint, as you made it, was preposterous, for in contending for a committee, before you agreed of a speaker, did put the plough before the horse, so as it went on untowardly like your Irish ploughs; but because the eyes of the master maketh the horse fat, I have used my own eyes in taking a view of those boroughs, and have seen a list of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs, except one or two, to be as good as the old, comparing Irish boroughs new with Irish boroughs old (for I will not speak of the boroughs of other countries); and yet, besides the necessity of making them, like to increase and grow better daily; besides, I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and those erected in fit places near forts or passages for the safety of the country: methinks you, that seek the good of the kingdom, should be glad of it.

“ I have caused London also to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted, will be a great security to that part of the kingdom; therefore you quarrel with that, which may bring peace to the countrey, for the persons, returned out of those boroughs, you complain

they have no residence, if you said they had no interest, it had been somewhat; but most of them have interest in the kingdom, and qui habent interesse, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

“ I seek not emendicata suffragia, such boroughs as have been made since the summons are wiped away at one word for this time, I have tried that, and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only Law-makers; you are but half subjects, should have but half privilege; you that have an eye to me one way, and to the pope another way, the pope is your father in spiritualibus, and I in temporalibus only, and so have your bodies torn one way, and your souls drawn another; you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects, that you may have cor unum, and viam unam, and then I shall respect you all alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrine, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.

“ Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loath to spend breath in them; if you charge the inferior ministers of the country, all countries are subject to such grievances; if you charge the deputy and state, nihil probatur. Indeed I hear (not from you, but from others) there is one thing grievous to the country; that notwithstanding the composition established in the province, the governours there do

send out their purveyors, who take up their âchates, and other provision upon the country: if this had been complained of to the deputy, or to me, it had been reformed, the deputy himself at Dublin doth not grieve the country with any such burden.

“ Another thing there is, that grieveth the people, which is that in the country, where there is half peace and half war, the sheriffs and soldiers in their passage do commit many extortions.

“ For these grievances, I myself will call the deputy unto me, and set down such orders in this time of vacation, as these abuses shall be redressed and clear taken away; and if any such disorder be suffered hereafter, it shall be only be for fault of complaining; and because the meaner sort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have such gentlemen of the country, as are of best credit, to present complaints, which they may do in such manner as the parties who prefer the complaint may not be known.

“ There is a double cause, why I should be careful of the welfare of that people: first as King of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land; and also as King of Scotland, for the ancient Kings of Scotland are descended of the Kings of Ireland, so as I have an old title as King of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, so as you will proceed without clamour. Moreover, my care hath been, that no acts should be preferred that should be grievous to the people; and to that end I

perused them all except one, that I saw not till of late, that is now out of door, for I protest I have been more careful for the bills to be passed in that parliament, than in the parliament of England.

“ Lastly, for imputations that may seem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him, but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath discharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confessed so to me, and I find your complaints against him, and the state, to be causeless expostulations.

“ To conclude, my sentence is, that in the matter in parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuarily and undutifully, and that your proceedings hath been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament; where by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your by-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve not only pardon, but favour and cherishing.”

Thus James dismissed those, by the effusion of whose ancestors' blood the foundation of the English dominion in this island was first laid, and for many ages preserved. The influence of his tyrannical proceedings was visible on the meeting of parliament, the proceedings of which were perfectly agreeable to him. The exceptions against the elections, it was agreed should be for

the present suspended, "for the better expedition and furtherance of the service (raising the supplies, &c.) with caution, that the proceeding to the passing of any bill, or other affair of the house, shall no way be a precedent or conclusion, whereby the benefit or advantage of such like exceptions, may not at any time hereafter be taken and had, so far forth as the law, or allowable precedent before this parliament will warrant or approve."* This order was repeated in the following session; and James sent orders to the deputy, "that the burgesses returned upon the new charters from Tallagh, Lismore, Caterlogh, Clonakilty, Fethard, Augher, Belfast, and Charlemont; as also those from Kildare and Cavan, being falsely returned, should forbear to sit in that house, unless they should be again duly elected." And also that "the burgesses returned from the towns of Clogher, Athlone and Gowran, should forbear to sit in the house of parliament."† Although in his speech to the Catholic agents he averred, that only two returns had been proved false; and the deputy, in reply to them, had confidently stated, "that he knew not any false or undue return made, and that he did verily think all the returns of protestants would fall out to be legal, without any just exception."‡

In this parliament, thus composed, the following acts were passed. An act, called an act for general pardon, which in the recital states, "that

* Comm. Journ. Vol. I. p. 45-7.

† Desid. Curios. Hibern. Vol. I. p. 324.5.

‡ Ib. p. 269.

all the subjects of the realm of Ireland shall be acquitted, pardoned and released, of all manner of treasons, felonies, &c. paynes of death, paynes corporal and pecuniarie, &c. and generally of all other things in this present act not excepted, &c. unto the first day of this session of parliament."

It then proceeds to except "all manner of high treasons, misprisions of treason, counterfeiting the privy seal, murder, piracies, house-burnings, witchcrafts, depriving the king of any goods, &c. of any traytor, &c., forfeitures, authors or printers or consenters to the making or publishing of any false seditious or slaunderous booke or libell in any wise against the king's majesty or the present government of this realme in cases either ecclesiastical or temporal, or against any person whatsoever, intrusions upon or wastes of the king's lands, alienations of lands without licence, fines to the king from such alienations, concealed wards and their lands, sithence the beginning of his majestie's raigne: all burglaries, robberies, rapes, committed within one year before the beginning of the session of that parliament: all persons imprisoned by the lord deputy or privy council: all persons which at at any time sithence the beginning of his majesties raigne have fled or remained out of Ireland without licence;" and a long et cetera of exceptions in this 'free and general pardon.'

An act of recognition of his majesty's title, which states, that "the records of former parliaments contain grievous complaints of the miseries and calamities of this land and people, but

we have more just cause to record our joy and comfort than our predecessors ever had to express their grievances: for as by the singular providence of God even at this very time when the crown of this realm descended unto your majesty, the most dangerous and universal rebellion that ever was raised in this kingdom was quenched and appeased, in the suppressing whereof the unreformed parts of this land, which being ruled only by Irish lords and customs, had never before received the laws and civil government, were so broken and reduced to obedience, as that all the inhabitants thereof did gladly submit themselves to your highness ordinary laws and magistrates, which gave unto your majesty a more entire, absolute and actual possession of this whole realm than ever any of your noble progenitors had before you." Thus does this act stigmatize the legitimate war of O'Nial, against the tyrant Elizabeth, rebellion; although it immediately after allows the independency of that prince. It proceeds extolling the measures and "princely wisdom of his majesty; who, by an act of oblivion, charters of pardon, remitting many arrears of rents and forfeitures, strengthening many defective titles, accepting surrenders, and regranting estates unto many of the meer Irish and others, who could derive no other title to their lands than a long continuance of possessions, (can a better be shewn, than possession time immemorial?) hath secured the lands, lives and goods of the greatest part of your subjects, to their unspeakable joy and comfort, whereupon hath ensued

that universal peace and obedience as the like thereof hath not been seen in Ireland." It proceeds to state that the crown and kingdom of Ireland did by inherent birth-right and lawful and undoubted succession descend to him, "and thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige us our heirs and posterities for ever, untill the last drop of our blood be spent."

The act of attainder and outlawry, against the noblemen and gentlemen of six entire counties of Ulster, was introduced by Sir John Everard, leader of the catholics in this parliament. In its progress, a committee of the commons was appointed to wait on the lord deputy, "to acquaint him with a scruple that was moved, whether that attainder did look back to treasons committed before the king's time, or only since."* To this no answer appears from the deputy, only the passing of the following bill.

"In most humble manner beseechen your most excellent majestie your most loyal, faithfull and true hearted subjects the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, that whereas

Hugh late earle of Tyrone,

Rory late earle of Tyrconnell,

Hugh Oneyle late baron of Dungannon and eldest sonne of the said earle of Tyrone,

Henry Oneyle, second sonne of the said earle of Tyrone,

* Comm. Jour. Vol. I. p. 45, 47.

Sir Cahir Odogherty late of Birtecastle in the county of Dunegall knight,

Coconnaught Magyre late of Inniskillen in the county of Farmanagh esquire,

Ogby Oge Ohanlon eldest sonne of Sir Ogby Ohanlon knight late of Tovergy in the county of Armagh esquire,

Caffer Odonell brother to the late earle of Tirconnel late of Caffersconse in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Caffer Oge Odonel late of Starfollis in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Donel Oge Odonel late of Dunegal in the said county of Dunegal esquire,

Brean Oge Mac Mahowne, alias Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahowne late of Clonleege in the upper trought in the countie Monaghan gentleman.

Art Oge Mac Cormocke Oneyle late of Clogher in the countie of Tirone esquire,

Henry Hovenden late of Dungannon in the countie of Tirone gent.

Mortogh Oquyn late of the same, gent.

Richard Weston late of Dondalke in the countie of Lowth merchant,

John Bath late of Donalonge in the countie of Tyrone merchant,

Christopher Plunket late of Dungannon in the said countie of Tyrone gent.

John Opanty Ohagan late of the same, gent.

John Rath late of Drogheda merchant,

Hugh Mac Donell Ogallachor late of Dunegal in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Terrelagh Carragh Ogallochor late of the same gent.

Phelim Reagh Mac David late of Eloagh in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

John Crone Mac David late of the same gent.

Edmond Grome Mac David late of the same, gent.

Matthew Oge Omultully late of Dunegal in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Donogh Mac Mahowne Obrian late of Rathumlin in the said countie of Dunegal gent.

Teige Okenan late of the same, gent.

Henry Ohagan late of Dunganan in the said countie of Tyrone, gent.

Teige Ohanan late of the same, gent. and

Teige Modder Oquine late of the same, gent. Most falsely and trayterously as well by open rebellion in divers parts of this your majesties realm of Ireland, as by sundry treacherous confederacies and abominable treasons against your majestie, tending to the utter subversion and ruine of the state and commonwealth of this kingdom, of which treasons, the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, &c. have been indicted, and by process of outlawrie attainted according to the course of the common lawes of this realm, the said Sir Cahir Odogherty and Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahowne have been slaine, being in actual rebellion against your majesty, and whereas Sir Hugh Maguire late of Iniskillin in the county of Farmanagh knight, Sir John Oreilly late of the Cavan in the county of Cavan knight, Philippe Oreilly late of the same esquire, and Ed-

mond Oreilly late of the same esquire, being in open action of rebellion against the said queen Elizabeth of famous memorie, the said Sir Hugh Maguire, Philippe Oreilly and Edmond Oreilly were slain in their said action of rebellion, and the said Sir John Oreilly adhering to the said traytor late earle of Tyrone dyed in rebellion against the said late queen Elizabeth, as by sundrie inquisitions remaining of record in your highness court of chancery in this your realm of Ireland doth and may appear: it may please your most excellent majesty of your gracious disposition which your highness doth bear towards the settling of this unreformed kingdom, and as well for the comfort of your true and loyal subjects, as for an example and terroure to all rebellious and trayterous persons, that all and every the attaindours of the persons above named be approved and confirmed by the authority of this present parliament. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that as well the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, Rory late earle of Tirconnel, &c. as also the said Sir Cahir Odogherty knight, Sir Hugh Maguire knight, Sir John Oreilly, Philip Oreilly, Edmond Oreilly and Bryan ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, and every of them stand and be adjudged persons convicted and attainted of high treason, and that as many of the said offenders and persons before named as be yet in life and not pardoned for the same offences shall and may at your highness will and pleasure suffer pains of death as in his cases of high treason, and that all and every the said

offendors by this present act attainted for their said treasons, shall be declared and adjudged to have lost and forfeited to your highness and to your heirs and successors from the time of their several treasons committed, all and every such honors, territories, countries, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, possessions, rights, conditions, interests, offices, fees, annuities, and all other their hereditaments, goods, chattels, debts, and other things, of whatsoever names, manners or qualities they be, which they or any of them had to their or any of their uses, or which any other had to their or any of their uses, or any the dayes of their said several treasons committed perpetrated or done, or at any time sithence. Provided always and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act or any thing therein contained shall not in any wise extend to make void any grant, gift, lease or demise made by our sovereign lord the king of any of the said honors, countries, territories, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements or hereditaments to any person or persons by letters patents under the great seal of Ireland, or under the great seal of England at any time or times sithence the said treasons committed..... Provided nevertheless that this act shall not extend to ratifie, confirm or make good any letters patents heretofore made to the said Hugh late earle of Tyrone, Rory late earle of Tirconnel, Coconnaght Maguire deceased father of the said Coconnaght Maguire above mentioned, the said Sir Cahir Odogherty knight, and

the said Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, or to either or any of them, or to any person or persons to whom any estate is limited in and by the said letters patents. But any or either of them be utterly repealed and from henceforth deemed and adjudged void to all intents constructions and purposes, any thing in this present act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

It is well worthy of notice, that this act does not specify any particulars of the conspiracy imputed to them; not even their flight, which was the only proof, and that merely presumptive, that was alleged for it. It barely recites, in general, as the grounds of that attainder, these noblemen's having committed and perpetrated acts of treason against his majesty (which, as has been seen, they were only suspected or accused of having intended to commit) and their own ancestors' former rebellion against queen Elizabeth. When Chichester was appointed deputy, James instructed him, "that one of his first works should be, to secure that people, who generally have conducted themselves as becometh natural and loving subjects, from ever being called in question for any offence done, either before or in the precedent rebellion."* The justificatory proclamation of James, on the flight of these earls, it now becomes necessary to insert.

"By the king. A proclamation touching the earles of Tirone and Tirconnel. Seeing it is common and natural in all persons of what con-

* Desid. Curios. Hib. Vol. I. p. 448.

dition soever, to speak and judge variably of all new and sudden accidents; and that the flight of the earles of Tirone and Tirconnel, with some others out of the north parts of our realme of Ireland, may haply prove a subject of like discourse: we have thought it not amiss to deliver some such matter in publique, as may better cleare men's judgements concerning the same; not in respect of any worth or value in these mens persons, being base and rude in their originall, but to take away all such inconveniences as may blemish the reputation of that friendship, which ought to be mutually observed betweene us and other princes. For although it is not unlikely, that the report of their titles and dignities, may draw from princes and states some such courtesies at their first coming abroad, as are incident to men of extraordinary rancke and qualitie: yet, when wee have taken the best meanes wee can to lay them open in every condition, wee shall then expect from our friends and neighbours all such just and noble proceedings as stand with the rules of honour and friendship, and from our subjects at home and abroad, that duety and obedience (in their carriage towards them) which they owe to us by inseperable bonds and obligations of nature and loyaltye, whereof wee intend to take streight accompt. For which purpose, wee do hereby first declare, that these persons abovementioned had not their creations or possessions in regard of any lineall or lawfull descent from ancestors of blood or vertue, but were onely preferred by the late queene our sister

of famous memory, and by our selves, for some reasons of state before others, who for their qualitie and birth (in those provinces where they dwell) might better have challenged those honours which were conferred upon them. Secondly, wee doe profess, that it is both knowen to us and our counsell here, and to our deputie and state there, and so shall it appeare to the world (as cleare as the sunne) by evident proofes, that the onely ground and motive of this high contempt in these mens departure, hath been the private knowledge and inward terrour of their owne guiltinesse: whereof, because wee heare that they doe seeke to take away the blot and infamie, by divulging that they have withdrawn themselves for matters of religion (a cloake that serves too much in these dayes to cover many evill intentions) adding also thereunto, some other vaine pretexts of receiving injustice, when their rights and claims have come in question betweene them and us, or any of our subjects and them, wee think it not impertinent to say somewhat thereof.

“ And therefore, although wee judge it needlesse to seeke for many arguments to confirme whatsoever shall be said of these mens corruption and falshood, (whose hainous offences remaine so fresh in memorie, since they declared themselves so very monsters in nature, as they did not only withdraw themselves from their personall obedience to their soveraigne, but were content to sell over their native countrey, to those that stood at that time in the highest terms

of hostilitie with the two crowns of England and Ireland) yet, to make the absurditie and ingratitude of the allegations abovementioned, so much the more cleare to all men of equall judgement, wee do hereby professe in the worde of a kinge, that there never was so much as any shadowe of molestation, nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against them for matter concerning religion. Such being their condition and profession, to thinke murder no fault, mariage of no use, nor any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glorie in rapine and oppression; as we should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation, that they made truely conscience of any religion. So do wee also for the second part of their excuse affirme, that (notwithstanding all that they can claime, must be acknowledged to proceed from meere grace upon their submission, after their great and unnaturall treasons) there hath never come any question concerning their rights or possessions, wherein wee have not bene more inclinable to do them favour then to any of their competitours, except in those cases wherein wee have plainly discerned that their onely end was to have made themselves by degrees more able than now they are, to resist all lawfull authoritie (when they should returne to their vomit againe) by usurping a power over other good subjects of ours, that dwell among them, better borne than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependencie upon them.

“ Having now delivered thus much concerning these mens estates and their proceedings, wee will onely end with this conclusion, that they shal not be able to denie, whensoever they should dare to present themselves before the seate of justice, that they have (before the running out of our kingdom) not only entred into combination for stirring sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priestes as others, to make offers to foreine states and princes (if they had bene as ready to receive them) of their readinesse and resolution to adhere to them whensoever they should seeke to invade that kingdome. Wherein, amongst other things, this is not to be forgotten, that under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are now remayning alive within that kingdome, formerly descended from the English race. In which practices and propositions, followed and fomented by priestes and Jesuites (of whose function in these times the practise and perswasion of subjects to rebell against their soveraignes, is one special and essentiall part and portion) as they have found no such encouragement as they expected and have boasted of; so wee doe assure ourselves, that when this declaration shall bee seene and duely weighed with all due circumstances, it will bee of force sufficient to disperse and to discredit all such untrueths, as these contemptible creatures, so full of infidelity and ingratitude, shall disgorge against us, and our

just and moderate proceeding, and shall procure unto them no better usage then they would wish should be afforded to any such packe of rebels, borne their subjects, and bound unto them in so many and so great obligations. Given at our palace of Westminster," &c.

When parliament demanded reasons for passing an act of attainder on the lords and gentlemen of the north, they gave proof positive of their disbelief in the fictitious plot, and the anonymous letter pretending to discover it. If the deputy had proofs, that would make it clear as the sun, as James boasted in his proclamation, why did he not produce them to his spurious, packed parliament? Why did he leave them to cover the robbery with inadmissible reasons. The insurrection of O'Dogherty and Brian Mac Mahon, during the king's reign, they produce as justificatory of their attainder. But what reasons do they assign for attainting all the rest? Being in open action of rebellion against queen Elizabeth of famous memory! If they believed in the plot would they recur to so infamous a motive, as convicts them and their master of Punic faith. The war terminated in a treaty of peace, concluded with O'Neil in the name of Elizabeth, ratified afterwards by James, and confirmed by an act of general amnesty. What becomes of the faith of treaties, if, after all, they are to be prosecuted as subdued rebels? They made peace with them, while as yet they were in arms and kept the field, in order to fall on them afterwards by surprize, unarmed, dispersed, and

make them a prey; as manifestly appears from their conduct. To supply the deficiency of real grounds for confiscation, James's packed majority adopted a lie, stating that Edmond O'Reily died fighting against Elizabeth; whereas he died peaceably in the monastery of St. Francis at Cavan. This circumstance is probably the last evidence we can expect from the faithful annals of Donnegall, as that seminary of piety and learning was pillaged and suppressed by the worse than Gothic enemies of Irish men and race.

The Milesian power annihilated, as we have seen, after a contest of 440 years, the statutes, which insulated the Pale, and maintained implacable war against the native Irish, were now repealed. On the statute book they remain, a proof of the independence of the native Irish, and of the calumnies of libellers, who stile the Milesians rebels, antecedent to this period. Incomplete must the history of Ireland be, in which this act of repeal is omitted.

“ An act for repeale of divers statutes concerning the natives of this kingdom of Ireland, Whereas in former times after the conquest of this realm by his majesties most royall progenitors kings of England, the natives of this realm of Irish blood being descended of those that did inhabit and possess this land before the said conquest, were for the most part in continuall hostility with the English, and with those that did descend of the English, and therefore the said Irish were held and accompted, and in divers statutes and records were termed and called Irish

enemies, and whereas in a parliament holden at Dublin in the tenth year of the reign of king Henry the sixth, an act was made intituled, an act that no person liege no alien, shall take merchandize or things to be sold to faire, market or other place amongst the Irish enemies, &c. whereby it was enacted that no merchant nor other person liege nor alien, should use in time of peace nor warre, to any manner of faire, market or other place amongst the Irish enemies with merchandize or things to be sold, nor send them to them if it were not to acquit any prisoner of them that were the king's liege men, and if any liege man did the contrary, he should be holden and adjudged a felon, and that it should be lawfull for every liege man to arrest and take such merchants, and persons with their merchandize and things, and to send them to the next gaole, there to remain untill they should be delivered as law requireth, and the king to have one halfe of the said goodes, and he or they that should take them the other halfe, as by the said act more at large appeareth. And whereas also at the same parliament another act was made, intituled, an act that every liege man shall take the Irish conversant as espialls amongst the English, and make of them as of the king's enemies, whereby it was enacted that it should be lawfull for every liege man to take all manner of Irish enemies which in time of peace and truce should come and converse amongst the English lieges, to spy their secresies, force, wayes, and subtilties, and to make of them as of the king's enemies, which

divers savings and other clauses in the same act contained as by the same act more fully and at large appeareth. And whereas also at a parliament held in the nine and twentieth year of the reign of king Henry the eight, an act was made entituled, an act against marrying or fostering with or to Irishmen. And furthermore whereas at a parliament holden in the eleventh year of the reign of queen Elizabeth an act was made, entituled an act prohibiting any Irish lord or captain of this realm to foster to any of the lords of the same realm, whereby it was enacted that no lord nor captain of the Irish of Ireland should from henceforth foster to any earl, viscount, baron or lord of the same realm, and that what Irish lord or captain soever that from thenceforth should receive or take to foster the child, mulier or bastard of any of the said earls, viscounts, barons, or lords, the same should be deemed and adjudged high treason in the taker, and also felony in the giver, according to the taxation and discretion of the lord deputy, governour or governours, and councill of this realm for the time being, as by the same act appeareth. Forasmuch as the cause of the said difference and of making the said laws and statutes doth now cease, in that all the natives and inhabitants of this kingdom without difference and distinction are taken into his majesties gracious protection, and doe now live under one law as dutifull subjects of our sovereign lord and monarch, by meanes whereof, a perfect agreement is and ought to be settled betwixt all his majesties subjects in this realm. And

for as much as there is no better meanes to settle peace and tranquillity in this kingdome, being now inhabited with many worthy persons born in his majesties said severall kingdoms, then by abolishing and abrogating of the said severall laws, and by giving them free liberty to commerce and match together, that so they may grow into one nation, whereby there may be an utter oblivion and extinguishment of all former differences, and discords betwixt them. Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty the lords spirituall and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all the said acts and statutes, and every clause and sentence in them and every of them contained shall from the end of this present session of parliament for ever be utterly and thoroughly repealed, frustrated, annihilated, and made void to all intents and purposes."

The act of Philip and Mary, which prohibited the retaining or marrying with the Scots, was also repealed.

A subsidy, which exceeded twenty thousand pounds, was also granted to his majesty. The wretched state of the kingdom, from the exterminating war of Elizabeth, is manifested by the extravagant assessment necessary to raise it. Every personal estate, of the value of three pounds and upwards, was taxed two shillings and eight pence in the pound; aliens twice as much. Real estates, of the value of twenty shillings and more, were rated at four shillings in the pound. With this

the sessions closed, and parliament unexpectedly dissolved, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1615.

The readiness with which this parliament entered into the views of his majesty, was so agreeable to James, that, in a letter addressed to the deputy, and ordered to be publicly read in the house, he said, “ We now clearly perceive, that the difficult beginnings of our parliament there, were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of parliaments there; and therefore we have cancelled the memory of them, and we are now so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us, that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms; and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate, as we can be for the safety of our own person...And understanding that the bills of subsidies were, upon the first propounding received and passed, with such universal consent and chearfulness, that there seemed to arise an affectionate emulation between them, who should express most love and forwardness therein unto him; he took that evident demonstration of their dutiful zeal and affection, in such good part, that he commanded him to give them thanks in his name, and to let them know that he was much better pleased with the free manner of that present of their affections unto him, than if they had given him ten times the value of the money, with unwilling hearts.” Sir John Everard then observed, “ that as neither in queen

Elizabeth's time, nor in his then majesty's, any subsidies had been so regularly granted, there being no denial, he did, on the knees of his heart, humbly pray in behalf of his country, that the statute of the second of queen Elizabeth might be something moderated for a time; which being granted, if the king were willing to demand two, three or four subsidies, he doubted not of any denial hereafter." But vain were his solicitations, and even the representations of the commons; a general execution of the penal statutes was persevered in.

To keep the fifth day of November as a religious anniversary, in commemoration of Cecil's powder-plot, a bill was introduced by Sir Oliver St. John, who was peculiarly zealous against popery, but rejected; "the king not caring to do any thing," says Carte, "that would sour or alienate the minds of any part of his subjects."

Though the act against retaining or marrying with the Scots, was repealed in this parliament, yet it could not obtain the repeal of the odious statutes, which rendered the natives, whether of English or Irish race, incapable of holding certain offices in the state.

While the civil affairs were regulated in parliament, the clergy assembled, anno 1615, to frame a public confession of faith for the church of Ireland. In this convocation, at Dublin, Dr. James Usher, afterwards primate, who had "deeply imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines,"*

* Leland.

drew up a profession, that “ consisted of no fewer than one hundred and four articles, in which were included, almost literally, the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, in the year 1595, and which were disapproved both by Elizabeth and James. So large a formulary could not but contain several minute decisions, and even dangerous expositions of what is generally revealed in the scriptures. His zeal against popery appeared by his concurrence with the French reformers, in pronouncing the pope to be Antichrist. And without any condescension to the sentiments of king James, he declared in one article, that the Lord’s day was to be wholly dedicated to the service of God. The convocation adopted his profession, and it was ratified by the lord deputy.”*

The catholics, on account of their greater number and opulence, had contributed more liberally to the abovementioned, and all other supplies, than all the rest of his majesty’s subjects in Ireland; in parliament, they zealously concurred in the granting of it; yet the penalties against them did not cease to be enforced. “ All the counsellors of law, who would not take the oath of supremacy, were put from pleading of causes in any of the four courts, or elsewhere, to speak for clients. Likewise such as were pensioners, that would not take the said oath, were discharged of their pensions.”† In consequence of which the commons addressed the deputy, “ that whereas the recusant lawyers were debarred from

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. vii. p. 458.

† Desid. Curios. Hib. Vol. I. p. 320.

their practice, by special directions from his majesty: and forasmuch as the commons did find by experience, that the subjects of the realm did suffer no small prejudice in their causes, for want of learned counsel, especially at the assizes, that his lordship would be a means to his majesty, that such, and so many of the said lawyers might be restored to their practice, as his lordship in his judgement should think fit, for the dispatch of said causes." To which his lordship replied, "that the lords of the council in England had signified his majesty's pleasure for silencing them, until they had taken the oath (of supremacy); but that he would acquaint their lordships with what the commons had signified, and with their desire." But no redress was obtained; for in the ensuing session the same commons humbly addressed the lord deputy, to know "whether his lordship had received any answer touching the practice of the Irish lawyers; and prayed, that they might be, by his lordship's recommendation, again restored unto practice." To which we find no answer returned.

The severe treatment jurors experienced, is allowed by Chichester, who states, "that the justices of assize for the space of two or three years past (1613), had bound over divers juries to the star-chamber, (the proper court to punish jurors that will not find for the king upon good evidence,) for their refusing to present recusants upon the testimony of the witnesses, that they come not to church, according to the law. All which jurors have been punished in the star-

chamber, by fine and imprisonment; who, it is true, had no counsel allowed them, because they were proceeded against ore tenus, and upon their own confession.”* “But is it in any degree credible, that men would confess their crimes in that cruel and arbitrary court, which were so severely and ignominiously punished, as by pillory, loss of ears, brand in the forehead, &c. besides fines and imprisonment?”†

Imprisonments, in consequence of excommunications, were also frequent. We find the commons intreating, “that his lordship would be pleased to release all those that lay in upon excommunications.”‡ And “at the end of the session, eight Roman catholics, who had been excommunicated by the archbishop of Dublin for recusancy, and imprisoned, were released by the indulgence of parliament (some said by the mediation of bribes); but their joy on that account was short lived, and their release rather an illusion and an aggravation of their punishment; for without any crime, but perseverance in their religion, the same archbishop soon after excommunicated them a second time; on which they were again sent back to their long and loathsome confinement.”||

That English tyranny might trample without restraint, they set up a state inquisition into the remaining landed property of both races indis-

* Desid. Curios. Hibern. Vol. I. p. 249.

† Curry. Hist. Rev. Civil Wars. B. II. c. viii.

‡ Comm. Journ. Vol. I. p. 47.

|| Analect. Sacra, p. 34.

criminally; and, in this unheard-of inquest, perjury, fraud, violence, torture, and generally the most flagrant injustice prevailed. While possessions, held by the oldest tenures in Europe, by prescriptive rights, as old, probably, as any in existence, were lawlessly ravished from the antient Scots, no murmurs from the colonists. They lent aid to that vast proscription. They fancied, as the parliament of the Pale expressed it, in the second of Elizabeth, on passing the attainder of the North, that the downfall of their more antient countrymen would strengthen them. Alas! when those deluded loyalists felt the severest retaliation, not from those whom they assisted to oppress, but from their base employers, then the uproar. Then cried they out, on the ingratitude of the mother country, appealing to the tried loyalty of centuries, attested in chronicles of blood, in vain. They received the just reward of their zealous labours, to enslave the majority of their countrymen, and, of course, to debilitate and villify the whole kingdom. Tyranny oppressed them with contempt and scorn. The libellers of Ireland, while they strenuously endeavour to justify the flagitious robberies of English government on the Milesians, under colour of the fictitious plots, devised to palliate them, out of sympathy with the colonists, acting hitherto a treacherous part towards their country and posterity, allow something to these complaints.

“ James, in the pursuit of his favourite object, had sometimes recourse to claims, which the old

natives deemed obsolete and unjust. The seizure of those lands, whose possessors had lately meditated rebellion, and fled from the sentence of the law, produced little clamour or murmuring. But when he recurred to the concessions made to Henry II. to invalidate the titles derived from a possession of some centuries, the apparent severity had its full effect on those, who were not acquainted with the refinements of law, and not prepossessed in the favour of the equity of such refinements, when employed to divest them of their ancient property.

“ It is true, that in all distributions of lands forfeited, or adjudged, or resigned to the crown, the king directed a provision for the widows and sons of chieftains, for the lesser as well as the greater claimants: and what they wanted in extent of land was compensated by the firmness and advantages of their new titles: yet such concessions could not always conquer the reluctance of the possessors to make a voluntary surrender. When they were assured that those who refused such compliance must expect justice without favour, the alarming purport of this declaration was fully understood: nor was it even in those days generally acknowledged as a just and necessary severity, that juries, who refused to find a title in the crown, were frequently censured and fined in the castle-chamber.

“ Those regulations, in which the royal equity and wisdom appeared to most advantage, were in many instances neglected and contemned. The vigilance of lord Chichester had not prevented

abuses even in Ulster, where the plantations were carried on with the greatest care and regularity. Contrary to the express restriction of their patents, undertakers alienated their allotments by private contract; so that they, who had already their just proportion of lands, engrossed still more, without regard to those limitations prescribed by the king, in order to prevent an enormous extent of property, and of consequence a dangerous degree of power. In other districts, the planters had not only neglected to perform their covenants, but the commissioners appointed to distribute the lands scandalously abused their trusts, and by fraud or violence deprived the natives of those possessions which the king had reserved for them. Some indeed were suffered to enjoy a small pittance of such reservation; others were totally ejected. In the manuscripts of bishop Stearne we find, that in the small county of Longford, twenty-five of one sept were all deprived of their estates, without the least compensation, or any means of subsistence assigned to them. The resentment of such sufferers were in some cases exasperated by finding their lands transferred to hungry adventurers, who had no services to plead; and sometimes to those who had been rebels and traitors. Neither the actors nor the objects of such grievances were confined to one religion: the most zealous in the service of government and the most peaceable conformists were involved in the ravages of avarice and rapine, without any distinction of principles or professions.

“ The interested assiduity of the king’s creatures in scrutinizing the titles to those lands which had not yet been found or acknowledged to belong to the crown, was, if possible, still more detestable. The lands granted to the original English adventurers and their immediate successors, had, in the confusion of several centuries, suffered considerable changes and alienations. Great men encroached on each other, and got possession of domains not included in their patents: the lands were lost, recovered, and lost again in the natural vicissitudes of time and public commotion; so as to occasion great confusion of titles. He who could not establish the right of his possessions clearly and indisputably, lay at the mercy of the crown, and had no way but to compound on the best terms he could obtain, and to get a new grant of his estate.

“ Where no grant appeared, or no descent or conveyance in pursuance of it could be proved, the land was immediately adjudged to belong to the crown. All grants of the crown, from the first year of Edward II. to the tenth of Henry VII. had been resumed by parliament; and the lands of all absentees, and of all that had been expelled by the Irish, were, by various acts, again vested in the crown, which impeached almost every grant of lands antecedent to that period. Nor did later grants afford a full security. If any former grant subsisted at the time when they were made; if the patents, passed in Ireland were not exactly agreeable to the Fiant; if both did not accurately correspond with the original

warrant transmitted from England, if any defect appeared in expressing the tenure, any mistake in point of form, any advantage to be taken from general savings and clauses in the patents, or any exceptions to be made in law, which is sufficiently fruitful in affording them, there was an end of the grant and of the estate which it conveyed. Thus was every man's enjoyment of his possessions precarious and disputable, at a time when commissioners* were awarded to enquire by what title he enjoyed them.

“ These inquisitions, indeed, were at first proposed in cases where it was sufficiently notorious, that the possessors could have no legal title to their lands: where they had expelled old English colonies, whose heirs were not discoverable, and the lands of course escheated to the crown; where, if not violent intruders, they had neglected to take out patents, or to go through those forms of law necessary to make them legal possessors, or had notoriously violated those stipulations, on which their grants were made. But interested and officious agents soon learned to strain this objection of failure in covenants to a

* In the year 1611, on the seizure of the county of Wexford, when upon a commission to enquire into his majesty's title to that country, “ the jury offered their verdict of *ignoramus* to the king's title, the commissioners refused to accept it, and bound the jury over to appear before them in the exchequer court, where, when five of them still refused to find the title in the king, the commissioners committed them to prison, and they were afterwards censured in the castle chamber, for refusing to join with their fellows to find his majesty's title.”—Desid. Cur. Hib. vol. i. p. 378.

dangerous pitch of rigour. In several antient grants, there had been a reservation of rents to the crown; during long intervals of commotion, the king's revenue had not been, nor could be, regularly collected; nor had such rents been put in charge by his officers, for ages. Acquittances were now demanded; it was impossible to produce them: and the failure was pleaded as sufficient to overthrow the fairest titles.

“ It was an age of project and adventure: men's minds were particularly possessed with a passion for new discoveries, and planting of countries. They, who were too poor, or too spiritless to engage in distant adventures, courted fortune in Ireland. Under pretence of improving the king's revenue in a country where it was far less than the charge of government, they obtained commissions of enquiry into defective titles, and grants of concealed lands and rents belonging to the crown; the great benefit of which was generally to accrue to the projector, whilst the king was contented with an inconsiderable proportion of the concealment, or a small advance of rent. Discoverers were every where busily employed in finding out flaws in men's titles to their estates. The old pipe-rolls were searched to find the original rents with which they had been charged; the patent-rolls in the Tower of London were ransacked for the antient grants; no means of industry or devices of craft were left untried, to force the possessors to accept of new grants at an advanced rent. In general, men were either conscious of the defects in their titles, or alarmed at

the trouble and expence of a contest with the crown; or fearful of the issue of such a contest, at a time, and in a country, where the prerogative was highly strained, and strenuously supported by the judges. These enquiries, therefore, commonly ended in a new composition, made at as cheap a rate, and as easy an advance of rent as the possessors could obtain. Yet there are not wanting proofs of the most iniquitous practices, of hardened cruelty, of vile perjury, and scandalous subornation, employed to despoil the fair and unoffending proprietor of his inheritance.”*

In the maritime parts of Leinster, between Dublin and Waterford, for ages possessed by powerful Irish septs, sixty-six thousand acres were seized upon, as the property of the crown; sixteen thousand five hundred of which, that lay nearest to the sea, James reserved for an English colony, and disposed of the remainder under regulations and covenants similar to the Ulster plantation.

In Leix and Offaly, Longford, Leitrim and Westmeath, three hundred and eighty-five thousand acres were confiscated, under the pretence of rebellion, and of having been antiently possessed by English settlers, long expelled.†

Chichester had not completed this plantation, when he was recalled, and sir Oliver St. John succeeded, in 1616.

* Leland. Hist. Ireland, B. IV. c. viii. p. 466.

† Carte's Ormond.

This new governor, peculiarly zealous against popery, immediately proceeded to a vigorous execution of the penal laws. The regular clergy he banished by proclamation; and seized on the liberties and revenues of the city of Waterford, whose magistrates, in succession, had refused to take the oath of supremacy. He caused presentments to be made of those who did not attend at church; and ecclesiastical censures were severely executed in every part of the kingdom. Those who lay under them were thrown into jails; even their dead bodies did not escape; they were denied christian burial, and their corpses thrown into holes dug in the highways.*

Such were the consequences of the censures of ecclesiastical courts, which “were often managed by a chancellor that bought his place, and so thought he had a right to all the profits he could make out of it; and their whole business seemed to be nothing but oppression and extortion. The solemnest and sacredest of all church censures, which was excommunication, went about in so sordid and base a manner, that all regard to it, as it was a spiritual censure, was lost; and the effects it had in law made it be cried out upon, as a most intolerable piece of tyranny. The officers of the courts thought they had a sort of right to oppress the natives; and that all was well got that was wrung from them. Of which primate Usher was so sensible, that he told archbishop Laud, ‘such was then the venality of all

* *Analecta Sacra*,

things sacred in Ireland, that he was afraid to mention any thing about them.”*

At length Sir Oliver, who had carried on this violent persecution uncontrouled, laid claim to lands, in the possession of some leading members of the state, as belonging to the church. Their complaints were conveyed to the throne. A new deputy, Lord Faulkland, was nominated; and Sir Oliver St. John, at the repeated instances of the Irish council, in 1621, was obliged to resign his authority immediately to two lords justices, who were vested with the administration till lord Faulkland's arrival. He was soon after created viscount Grandison of Ireland, baron Trogose of Highworth in England, lord high treasurer of Ireland, and privy counsellor of both kingdoms.

The removal of Sir Oliver, while it encouraged the Roman catholics, who avowed their religious principles with less reserve, and the deep sense with which they felt the hardships of their situation, alarmed the persecuting Puritans. Primate Usher was appointed to preach before lord Falkland on his arrival. ‘He beareth not the sword in vain’ he chose for his text, condemned a relaxation of the penal statutes; but was under the necessity of preaching an explanatory discourse, in which restraints to preserve a decent reserve were alone recommended.

The army, which, at the accession of James, amounted to twenty thousand, during this war against the religion and property both of the

* Burnet's Life of bishop Bedell.

English and Irish race, was reduced to seventeen hundred and thirty-five foot, and two hundred and twelve horse; which inconsiderable number, in 1622, were further reduced to thirteen hundred and fifty foot, divided into twenty-seven companies, of fifty each, and seven troops of horse, amounting to about two hundred; and these in such a condition, that they could have been of little use, had they been called out to service. The captains, privy-counsellors, men of the greatest property and influence, secured their own pay, by stopping the rents due by them to the crown, and made the privates compound with them annually for theirs, at a third or fourth part of what was their due by the establishment. The companies were incomplete, and dispersed in small parties through the estates of their officers, to cultivate their lands, or discharge the menial duties of their houses. The soldier of fortune shared all the miseries of a long arrear of pay with the private centinel; and, instead of restraining his men within the bounds of discipline, concurred with them in those outrages and oppressions, by which they endeavoured to supply their necessities.”*

The revenue was considerably short of the charge of government. The customs had increased in the present reign, from £50 to £9700, wardships and tenures yielded £10,000; yet the annual charge exceeded the revenue £16,000. The commissioners, sent from England, had re-

* Carte's Ormond. Leland.

course to the most violent and unjustifiable means to remedy this deficiency. Foiled in their attempt to abolish useless places and pensions, held by the most considerable persons in the kingdom, they proposed to resume the lands granted to cities and corporations; the stipulations in the grants not having been exactly fulfilled. Equally unsuccessful in this, it being deemed on reflection too hazardous to attempt, they turned to Connaught, to divest the inhabitants of that entire province of their patrimonies. “ The project recommended to the king, was nothing less than that of establishing an extensive plantation in the province of Connaught, similar to that of Ulster; and in his rage of reformation it was most favourably received. The lords and gentlemen of Connaught, including the county of Clare, on their composition made with Sir John Perrot, in the reign of Elizabeth, had indeed surrendered their estates to the crown, but had generally neglected to enrol their surrenders, and to take out their letters patent. This defect was supplied by king James, who, in his thirteenth year, issued a commission to receive surrenders of their estates; which he re-conveyed by new patents, to them and their heirs, to be holden of the crown, by knight’s service, as of the castle of Athlone. Their surrenders were made, their patents received the great seal, but, by neglect of the officers, neither was enrolled in chancery, although £3000 had been disbursed for the enrolments. Advantage was now taken of this involuntary omission. Their titles were pronounced defective,

and their lands adjudged to be still vested in the crown. The proprietors were justly alarmed; pathetically represented the cruelty and injustice of depriving a great number of peaceable and loyal subjects of their estates, by a mere nicety of law, in derogation of the faith and honour of the king's broad seal. The omission of enrolment was not imputable to them. An act of state had, in lord Grandison's government, declared them confirmed in their possessions, for which they had paid large sums into the exchequer: and were allowed to have ever discharged their annual compositions with remarkable punctuality. The project of a great western plantation was not only difficult and complicated, but dangerous to be attempted, in a province strongly situated, inhabited by an active and spirited people, abounding in idle swordsmen; who, if driven to extremities, might at once rush into the most desperate courses, that pride, resentment and necessity could suggest. But instead of relying on the equity of the king, or his fears of future danger, the lords and gentlemen, whose lands were threatened, wisely contrived to suspend the alarming project, by addressing themselves to his immediate necessities. They entered into a treaty with their provincial lord president at Athlone, and with the state at Dublin. They offered to purchase a new confirmation of their patents, by doubling their present annual composition: and as their tenure exempted them from suing out their liveries, or taking the oath of supremacy, they likewise agreed to pay a fine of ten thousand

pounds, computed to be as much as the king could gain by a plantation. The proposal was received with due attention. James had, about this time, broke with Spain, and engaged in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate.* The influence of Spain upon Ireland was dreaded; James, to ingratiate himself with his Catholic Majesty, when eager to press the marriage of his son Charles with the infanta of Spain, having allowed the Spanish court to complete their Irish regiments with levies raised in Ireland by the exiled Irish officers. His death, however, interrupted the treaty, and suspended the plantation.

Anno 1625 died James I., not without some suspicion of his having been poisoned by his favourite, the duke of Buckingham, on whom he heaped dignities and favours, merely on account of his handsome face. Few kings have been so differently misrepresented by historians, according to the different bias of party. Though the son of the beautiful, unfortunate Mary Stuart and Lord Darnly, reckoned the handsomest couple of the age, he was not distinguished by personal beauty. Endowed with good natural parts, guided by the tuition of the celebrated Buchanan, he learned to speak several languages fluently, and write with ease on different subjects, especially controversy. The Puritans, a sect whom he abhorred as enemies to monarchy and the hierarchy, branded him with a secret inclination to popery. Because he promised toleration

* Carte. Leland.

catholics before his arrival in England, and, after his accession, declared himself their protector, promoting them to honors and offices. Because penal laws, in his reign, were not as rigidly enforced as puritanic bigotry required; which would allow no man a good protestant, unless a violent persecutor of popery. Because he boasted to catholic princes, that he would suffer no more penal laws to be decreed, or the execution of those already passed. His declarations, on all occasions, that he found nothing amiss in the catholic religion, but the exorbitant power claimed by the pope over princes, and his consenting to have his children reared catholics until the thirteenth year of their age. Whatever indulgence he might have shewn to his English catholic subjects, he surrendered the Irish to the merciless inflictions of penal laws, enforced by their bitter enemies, the Puritans, ordering the penal laws to be put in force, while thanking them for their liberal supplies. Whatever knowledge he possessed availed him little, in the management of public affairs, which he rather conducted on narrow principles of puerile craft, than on the steady solid maxims of a statesman. He was always at variance with parliaments about his prerogative, which that body was constantly endeavouring to curtail, but knew not how to preserve it with the deep policy of his predecessor. She always maintained a stately reserve, and solemn distance, with the commons, issuing her mandates to them with oracular gravity, as things above their sphere, concerning which she forbade

speech-making, under pain of fine and imprisonment. James, on the contrary, vain of his tongue and pen, condescended to argue the matter with his subjects, in set speeches and essays; contrary to the mysterious regimen of courts, whose chief argument with subjects lies in cannon law. Notwithstanding his high notions, and uniform defence of his prerogative, Elizabeth, by keeping a dignified distance, imperious air of reserve, a few threats and vigorous measures steadily followed up, knew how to curb the puritanic leveling spirit, that now and then broke out in parliament, better than James, with his impolitic declamations, pedantic essays, and injudicious familiarities, brought so low as jests of buffoonery. Altogether he was rather a weak than wicked man. Dissimulation was one weak feature in his character. Want of judgment in the choice of friends, whom he caressed not for their merit or public utility, but for some frivolous shew of person. A friend to toleration, he had not spirit to resist the persecuting rage of new fanatical sects, of whose danger to the monarchy, and to his own family, he seems to have been sensible. But, of all his subjects, the unfortunate Irish suffered most from misgovernment. While he boasted his descent from the renowned monarchs of Ireland, professing on that score much friendship for them. While he thanked them for their loyalty and liberal grants, he packed their parliament, creating at once forty rotten boroughs, for the very purpose of framing and enforcing pains and penalties on their consciences,

and setting up a state inquisition to bereave them of their estates. But the plunder of the northern Irish, on the pretence of a sham plot, fabricated by himself and his minister, was one of the most unconscionable acts of perfidy and violence that have ever been recorded. The consequences of that disgraceful violation of law and treaty, that barefaced breach of the solemn compacts that hold human society together, making protection and obedience reciprocal duties, contributed to overwhelm his son and the monarchy, as the reader shall see in the sequel. To that unfortunate son he left a crown of thorns, and the legacy of bad example, which was closely copied.

A. D. 1625, Charles the First ascended the throne. At war with the two most powerful kings in Europe; at variance with the English parliament, who, after engaging him in one war, and approving of the other, it being in support of protestantism, yet refused him supplies, except on hard and dishonorable terms;* urgently assailed by the Irish council, composed of the new English, fraught with the puritanic spirit, and full of horrors and fears of popery; he increased the forces in Ireland to five thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Unable to supply the necessarily additional expence, the king, without scruple, recurred for the present to prerogative. He ordered this army to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, who were to maintain them in turn, for three months at a time,

* Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses.

with money, cloaths, and victuals. To reconcile the people to an imposition so extraordinary and so severe, letters were addressed by his deputy to the several communities, recommending a cheerful submission, promising, that the usual composition should be suspended, and that the king should grant other graces, which should amply repay this their extraordinary recompence.*

This severe imposition was not only borne without opposition; but the catholics gave the deputy assurances, that if some indulgence were granted to those of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained, for the maintenance of the king's army. Those of the protestant party, who had their grievances to be redressed, and their apprehensions quieted, concurred in these assurances.* They were favourably received. A grand meeting of the principal nobility and gentry, in which the popish party was by far the more numerous, assembled in the castle of Dublin: they offered large contributions to purchase security to their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes.† Lord Faulkland, far from discouraging their overtures, ad-

* Leland. Hist. Ireland. Vol. II. p. 481, 482.

† The toleration they desired was no more than some respite from the oppressions and extortions of the ecclesiastical courts, and to have all proceedings against them in these courts, for religion, suspended; to be released from those exorbitant sums which they were obliged to pay for their christenings and marriages; and particularly, to have the extravagant surplice-fees of the clergy, and the extraordinary warrants for leyng them, abolished.—Walker's Hist. Discourses.

vised them to send agents into England, to make a tender of their dutiful services to the king, and to submit the grievances and inconveniencies to which they were exposed, to his gracious consideration.*

But the protestant clergy unfurled the standard of opposition. "All of them were seriously averse to popery, many even to a degree of rancour, imbibed among the English and the Scottish puritans. On the plantations made in the reign of James, the new colonists had been supplied with teachers principally from Scotland. They formed their churches on the presbyterian model; and many refused to accept episcopal ordination. To quiet such scruples, the bishops, by the approbation of Usher, their learned metropolitan, consented to ordain them to the ministry, without adhering strictly to the established form, and to admit some of their brethren of the Scottish presbytery to a participation of their office. Thus these Scottish teachers enjoyed churches and tythes, without using the liturgy, and by zeal and diligence in their ministry gained a considerable degree of respect and authority. Such men clamoured loudly against the horrid design of selling the truth, and establishing idolatry for a price: their brethren of other provinces, who had generally some portion of the same spirit, readily united in the clamour."* Usher assembled several of the Irish bishops, in his own house, "to bear their testimony against the ungodly conces-

* Leland. Neal's History of the Puritans.

sion to popery meditated by the state. In the fervour of their zeal, these prelates unanimously subscribed a protestation,* drawn up by primate Usher, which they styled,

“ The judgement of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, concerning toleration of religion.

“ The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical, their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and professe their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sinne, and that in two respects.

“ For 1. It is to make ourselves accessary not onely to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholick apostasie.

“ 2. To grant them toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it, the soules of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sinne, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof, we commend to the wise and judicious. Beseeching the zealous God of truth

* Leland.

to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

“ Ja. Armachanus, Mal. Caschellen, Anth. Medensis, Tho. Hernes. & Laghlin. Ro. Dunensis, &c. Georg Derens. Richard, Corke, Cloyne, Rosses. Andr. Alachadens. Tho. Kilmore & Ardagh. Theo. Dromore. Michael Waterford and Lysmore. Fran. Lymerick.

“ Conferred and agreed upon Novemb. 26, 1626.”

“ This judgement of the bishops Dr. George Downham, bishop of Derry, at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23, 1627, published at Christ-church, before the lord deputy and council, in the midst of his sermon. The preamble he made to it (which I had from his own notes) was thus: ‘ Are not many among us, for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls, but also the souls of others. But what is to be thought of toleration of religion, I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, which I think good to publish unto you, that whatsoever shall happen, the world may know, that we were far from consenting to those favours which the papists expect.’ The lord primate (Usher) the next lord's day preached before the same

auditory; the text was, ' Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world ;' when he made the like application with the bishop, rebuking such, who for worldly ends, like Judas, sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver.... The judgment of the bishops prevailed so much with the protestants, that the proposals were drove on very heavily; and after much agitation of things, the lord deputy, finding the discontents between both parties encreasing, desired this lord primate to sum up the state of things, and to move them to an absolute grant of some competency to the complying with the king's necessities, without any such conditions; with which, upon their answer, he would cease moving any further."*

In a vehement, artful and pathetic, but unsuccessful address, to the grand assembly, before the deputy, in the castle of Dublin, April 30, 1627, Usher bears ample testimony to the ravages of Elizabeth, and the firm loyalty of the popish pale, so unrelentingly persecuted.

" My lord, the resolution of these gentlemen in denying to contribute unto the supplying of the army, sent hither for their defence, doth put me in mind of the philosopher's observation, ' That such as have respect to a few things, are easily misled;' the present pressure which they sustain, by the imposition of the soldiers, and the desire they have to be eased of that burden, doth so wholly possess their minds, that they have only an eye to the freeing themselves from

* Bernard's Life of Dr. James Usher.

that incumbrance, without looking at all to the desolations that are like to come upon them by a long and a heavy war, which the having of an army in readiness might be a means to have prevented. The lamentable effects of our last wars in this kingdom doth yet freshly stick in our memories: neither can we so soon forget the depopulation of our land, when besides the combustions of war, the extremity of famine grew so great, that the very women in some places by the wayside, have surprised the men that rode by, to feed themselves with the flesh of the horse of the rider: and that now again here is a storm towards, wheresoever it will light, every wise man will easily foresee, which if we be not careful to meet with in time, our state may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of, Had I wist.

“The dangers that now threaten us, are partly from abroad, and partly from home; abroad, we are now at odds with two of the most potent princes in Christendom, and to both which, in former times, the discontented persons in this country have had recourse heretofore, proffering the kingdom itself unto them, if they would undertake the conquest of it: for it is not unknown unto them that look into the search of those things, that in the days of king Henry the eighth, the earl of Desmond made such an offer of this kingdom to the French king, (the instrument whereof yet remains upon record in the court at Paris) and the bishop of Rome afterwards transferred the title of all our kingdoms

unto Charles the fifth, which by new grants was confirmed unto his son Philip, in the time of queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle this crown upon the Spanish infanta: which donations of the popes, howsoever in themselves they are of no value, yet will they serve for a fair colour to a potent pretender, who is able to supply by the power of the sword, whatsoever therein may be thought defective. Hereunto may we add that of late in Spain, at the very same time when the treaty of the match was in hand, there was a book published with great approbation there, by one of this country birth, Philip O'Sullivan, wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to establish his monarchy, (for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and is plainly there confessed) is, first to set upon Ireland, which being quickly obtained, the conquest of Scotland first, of England next, then of the Low countries, is foretold with great facility will follow after:

“ Neither have we more cause in this regard to be afraid of a foreign invasion, than to be jealous of a domestic rebellion. Where, lest I be mistaken, as your lordships have been lately, I must of necessity put a difference betwixt the inhabitants of this nation; some of them are descended of the race of the antient English, or otherwise hold their estates from the crown, and have possessions of their own to stick unto, who easily may be trusted against a foreign invader, although they differ from the state in matter of religion: for proof of which fidelity in this kind,

I need go no farther then the late wars in the time of the earl of Tyrone, wherein they were assaulted with as powerful temptations to move them from their loyalty, as possibly hereafter can be presented unto them; for, at that time not only the king of Spain did confederate himself with the rebels, and landed his forces here for their assistance, but the bishop of Rome also, with his breeves, and bulls, solicited our nobility and gentry to revolt from their obedience to the queen, declaring that the English did fight against the Catholic religion, and ought to be oppugned as much as the Turks, imparting the same favours to such as should set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks; and finally, promising unto them that the God of peace would tread down their enemies under their feet speedily. And yet for all the pope's promises, and threatenings, which were also seconded by a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valledolid, not only the lords and gentlemen did constantly continue their allegiance unto the queen, but also were encouraged so to do by the priests of the pale, that were of the popish profession: who were therefore vehemently taxed by the traitor O'Sullivan, for exhorting them to follow the queen's side: which he is pleased to term *Insanam et venenosam doctrinam et tartareum dogma*; a mad and venomous doctrine, and a hellish opinion. But besides these, there are a great number of Irish, who either bear a secret grudge against the English planted among them, or, having nothing at all

to lose, upon the first occasion, are apt to join with any foreign invader; for we have not used that policy in our plantations, that wise states have used in former times. They, when they settled new colonies in any place, did commonly translate the antient inhabitants to other dwellings. We have brought new planters into the land, and have left the old inhabitants to shift for themselves; who being strong in body, and daily increasing in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their ancestors have formerly enjoyed, will undoubtedly be ready when any occasion is offered, to disturb our quiet; whether then we cast our eyes abroad, or look at home, we see our danger is very great.

“ Neither may you, my lords, and gentlemen that differ from us in point of religion, imagine, that the community of profession will exempt you more than us from the danger of a common enemy. Whatsoever you may expect from a foreigner, you may conjecture by the answer which the duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this case in 88; that his sword knew no difference between a catholic and a heretic, but that he came to make way for his master: and what kindness you may look for from the countrymen that join with them, you may judge, as well by the carriage which they ordinarily use towards you and yours, both in the court and in the colleges abroad; as by the advice not long since presented by them unto the council of Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the

Irish priests and jesuits, that are descended of English blood to be trusted, but would have you and all yours to be accounted enemies to the designs of Spain. In the declaration published about the beginning of the insurrection of James Fitz-Morice in the south, the rebels professed, it was no part of their meaning to subvert honorable Anglorum solium; their quarrel was only against the person of queen Elizabeth and her government: but now the case is otherwise, the translating of the throne of the English to the power of a foreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-establishing of the Irish in their antient possessions, which by the valour of our ancestors were gained from them.

“ This you may assure yourself, *manet altâ mente repostum*, and makes you more to be hated of them than any other of the English nation whatsoever. The danger therefore being thus common to us all, it stands us upon to join our best helps for the avoiding of it; only the manner how this may be effected is in question. It was wont to be said *Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras*, and such perhaps might be the intent of the project the other day propounded unto you; but now I observe the distaste you have conceived against that hath so far possessed you, that hardly can you be drawn to listen to any equal motion. The exceptions taken against the project, are partly general, made by all, partly special, that toucheth only some particulars: of the former there are two; the quantity of the sum demanded, and the indefiniteness of the time, which is unli-

mitted. For the proportion required for the maintenance of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, you alledge to be so great, and your means so small, that in undertaking that which you are no ways able to perform, you should but delude his majesty, and disappoint the army of their expected pay. And although the sum required were far less, and for a time able to be borne by you; yet are you fearful that the payment being continued for some number of years, may afterwards be continued as a constant revenue to his majesty's exchequer, with which perpetual burden you are unwilling to charge your posterity.

“ The exceptions of the second kind are taken against the grants annexed unto the former demands, the granting whereof seemed rather to hinder than further the service, as not so agreeing with the rules of equity. For first, some have the full benefits of the grants, and have their charge little augmented, as the countries which pay composition-rents, which by those grants, during the time of the new payments are suspended. Secondly, others that have the charge of the payment imposed upon them to the full, are not partakers at all of the benefit of the grants, as the British planted in the six escheated counties of Ulster. Thirdly, such as are most forward to further his majesty's service, and to contribute with the most, are troubled in conscience for yielding thereto upon the terms proposed, especially for that condition, whereby the execution of the statute against recusants is offered to be forborne;

“ Wherein if some of my brethren, the bishops have been thought to have shewed themselves more forward than wise, in preaching publicly against this kind of toleration; I hope the great charge laid upon them by yourselves in the parliament, wherein that statute was enacted, will plead their excuse. For there, the lords temporal, and all the commons, do in God’s name earnestly require and charge all archbishops and bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this statute may be had throughout their diocesses; and charged, as they will answer it before God, for such evils and plagues as almighty God might justly punish his people, for neglecting these good and wholesome laws. So that if in this case they had holden their tongues, they might have been censured little better than atheists, and made themselves accessory to the drawing down of God’s heavy vengeance upon the people ;

“ But if for these and such like causes, the former project will not be admitted, we must not therefore think ourselves discharged from taking farther care to provide for our safeties. Other consultations must be had, and other courses thought upon, which need not be liable to the like exceptions. Where the burden is borne in common, and the aid required to be given to the prince by his subjects that are of different judgments in religion; it stands not with the ground of common reason, that such a condition should be annexed unto the gift, as must of necessity

deter the one party from giving at all, upon such terms as are repugnant to their consciences. As therefore on the one side, if we desire that the recusants should join with us in granting of a common aid; we should not put in the condition of executing the statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto; so on the other side, if they will have us to join with them in the like contribution, they should not require the condition of suspending the statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his majesty, what we give, without all manner of condition that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own sacred breast, how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his favours; of whose lenity, in forbearing the executing of the statute, our recusants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy.

“As for the fear that this voluntary contribution may in time be made a matter of necessity, and imposed as a perpetual charge upon posterity, it may easily be holpen with such a clause as we find added in the grant of an aid made by the pope's council, anno 11 Hen. III. out of the ecclesiastical profits of this land, *quod non debet trahi in consuetudinem*, of which kinds of grants, many other examples of later memory might be produced: and as for the proportion of the sum, which you thought to be so great in the former proposition, it is my lord's desire, that you should

signify unto him, what you think you are well able to bear, and what yourselves will be content voluntarily to proffer. To alledge, as you have done, that you are not able to bear so great a charge as was demanded, may stand with some reason; but to plead an inability to give any thing at all, is neither agreeable to reason or duty.

“ You say, you are ready to serve the king as your ancestors did heretofore with your bodies, and lives; as if the supply of the king's wants with monies were a thing unknown to our forefathers. But if you will search the pipe-rowles, you shall find the names of those who contributed to king Henry III. for a matter that did less concern the subjects of this kingdom, than the help that is now demanded, namely for the marrying of his sister to the emperor. In the records of the same king kept in England, we find his letters patents directed hither into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay his debts unto Lewis, the son of the king of France. In the rolles of Gasconie, we find the like letter directed by king Edward the second unto the gentlemen and merchants of Ireland, of whose names there is a list there set down to give him aid in his expedition into Aquitaine, and for defence of his land (which is now the thing in question): we find an ordinance likewise made in the time of Edward the third, for the personal taking of them that lived in England, and held lands and tenements in Ireland.

“ Nay, in this case you must give me leave as

a divine to tell you plainly, that to supply the king with means, for the necessary defence of your country, is not a thing left to your own discretion, either to do, or not to do, but a matter of duty, which in conscience you stand bound to perform. The apostle Rom. 13. having affirmed, that we must be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake; adds this as a reason to confirm it, for, for this cause you pay tribute also; as if the denying of such payment, could not stand with conscionable subjection. Thereupon he infers this conclusion, Render therefore to all their due; tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom is due. Agreeable to that known lesson which he had learned of our Saviour, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto God the things which are Gods. Where you may observe, that as to withhold from God the things which are Gods, man is said to be a robber of God, whereof he himself thus complaineth in case of subtracting of tithes and oblations: so to deny a supply to Cæsar of such means as are necessary for the support of his kingdom, can be accounted no less than a robbing of him of that which is his due, which I wish you seriously to ponder, and to think better of, yielding something to this present necessity, that we may not return from you an undutiful answer, which may justly be displeasing to his majesty.

“ A copy of which speech desired of him, by the lord deputy, was immediately transmitted into

England. But not prevailing with the assembly to yield any thing to the supply of the king's wants, it was dissolved."*

The antichristian opposition of Usher and his brethren, supported by the remonstrance of the British house of commons, did not deter the Irish agents. They offered a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, "of which the catholics paid near two-thirds."†
"The graces which they solicited in consequence of this extraordinary exertion of loyalty, were in some instances indeed favourable to recusants, but such as in general were evidently reasonable and equitable, calculated for the redress of those grievances which persons of all denominations had experienced, and tending to the peace and prosperity of the whole nation. The bounty was accepted, the graces conferred, and transmitted by way of instruction to the lord deputy and council,"‡

"The principal of the graces were, that his majesty's claim to any lands in Ireland should not extend farther back than to sixty years; that recusants who held of the crown should be permitted to sue their liveries, ouster-le-main and other grants in the court of wards; that their lawyers should be permitted to plead at the bar upon taking an oath, instead of the oath of supremacy, that they acknowledged and would defend Charles as their lawful king; that the

* Bernard's Life of Usher.

† Carte's Ormond.

‡ Leland.

people of Connaught who had surrendered their lands and whose patents had passed the great seal, but through the neglect of an officer of the court, not enrolled, and therefore subject to forfeiture, should be allowed to enrol them and exempted from all future claims; that the exactions and outrages of the soldiers were to be restrained and that persons obnoxious to law were not to be protected; that the fees of the king's officers and the power of the court of wards were to be limited within proper bounds. That no pretended privilege should exempt ecclesiastical lands from contributing to the support of government. That the demands of the reformed clergy were to be duly restrained and regulated."*

"The rigour with which their demands had been enforced, may be collected from the injunction annexed, "That no extraordinary warrants of assistance, touching clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be issued or executed by any chief governour; nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any private prisons of their own for these causes; but delinquents in that kind are henceforth to be committed to the king's public goals, and by the king's officers."

"For the benefit of the undertakers of Ulster, the Scots were appointed to be made denizens, so as to enjoy the full advantage of their settle-

* Crawford.

ments. Those who, by neglect of articles, had rendered their grants resumable, were confirmed in their estates on doubling their rents, and paying a fine at the rate of thirty pounds for every thousand acres. A commission was directed for passing new patents (of which the want and delay had made them uneasy for some years) and to make a reasonable composition with those among them who had built on glebe lands, and the incumbents to whom the glebe belonged. And, for the satisfaction of planters in other counties, who, by a like neglect of articles, had forfeited their titles, a farther time was granted to them for performing the conditions of their plantation.

“ For a further security to all proprietors, their several estates were to be confirmed to them and their heirs by the next parliament to be holden in Ireland; in which, likewise, to remove the jealousies and apprehensions of every one throughout the realm, an act was to be passed for a free and general pardon.

“ But in this capital article, which was to have given these graces the same force and stability with the petition of rights, granted about the same time in England, the king's sincerity appeared at least suspicious. The body of instructions were transmitted in the month of May: in these the king explicitly appointed the third day of the succeeding month of November 1628, as the time when he intended that the Irish parliament should be holden. Lord Faulkland, without attending to any farther circumstances

of formality, issued writs of summons for an Irish parliament to meet on the day named by the king. The impropriety of this procedure was obvious: by the law of Poynings, a certification of causes and considerations, by the lord deputy and council of Ireland, was previously necessary, before the king's licence could be transmitted for holding a parliament in that kingdom. The council-board of England soon discovered and censured an omission so essential. The matter was referred to the judges, who pronounced the present writs of summons illegal and void. No new writs were issued, nor any new time assigned for a legal and regular convention of the Irish parliament."*

"In the character of Charles, disingenuity was a leading feature. He gave orders that the parliament should be convened; this in appearance, discovered a disposition to please the recusants. A necessary form was omitted which defeated that design; this gratified the opposite party. Thus the graces were to rest upon the king's unconstitutional prerogative."†

Charles's instructions to his deputy now declared the rights, and promised to redress the grievances of his Irish subjects. As he stood engaged, that his graces should be confirmed by parliament, (an act of state, though not confirmed by parliamentary sanction, having usually great weight in Ireland,) and the insincerity of his professions being not yet completely disco-

* Leland.

† Crawford.

vered, the contribution, by which these graces had been purchased, was cheerfully submitted to.*

“ Now,” say the Irish council, “ the kingdom, is in far better order than ever it was in the memory of man ; as well in the general and current execution of justice, according to the laws, in the freedom of men’s persons and estates, and in the universal outward submission of all sorts of settled inhabitants to the crown and laws of England ; as also in the advancement of the crown-revenues, and in the competent number of bishops and other able and learned ministers of the church of England.”*

The non-enforcement of the penal statutes, however, ill-suited the views of the puritanic party. Supported by “ grave and respectable prelates, the officers of state, of English birth and puritanic education, they warmly remonstrated against the turbulence and dangerous tendency of the practices of the recusants.”* Turbulence and practices which consisted in the exercise of their religious rites, and the formation of an academy, for the education of their children, under an ecclesiastic. A proclamation was accordingly issued (1629) by the deputy, importing, “ that the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty’s royal power and autho-

* Leland.

† Letter to the king, April 28, 1629.

rity, had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies.*

The insincerity of Charles began now to be perceived. Instead of a free exercise of religion, solemnly engaged, and dearly purchased, the exercise of popish rites and ceremonies is forbidden. Vexatious inquisitions, still continued, into the titles of estates, and the pressure of the public burdens, united the majority of the nation in their complaints of the non-fulfilment of the king's engagements. To disunite the complainers, the payment of the voluntary contribution was reduced from ten thousand to five thousand pounds quarterly, until the whole should be completed. To evade the fulfilment of his engagements, an expedient, since resorted to, was adopted, the lord lieutenant was recalled, 1630, the lords justices, Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and the earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, succeeded, and the system of terror commenced.

The new governors "fell at once with great severity on the recusants."* Absenters from the established worship were threatened with the penalties of the statutes; and, with unmanly, intolerant bigotry, inconsistent with the benign spirit of the gospel, and with the dictates of all the kind feelings of the heart,* they ordered St.

* Leland.

Patrick's Purgatory, situated in a small island of lough Derg, to be dug up, and totally effaced.* There, in retirement, penitents, probably in imitation of St. Patrick, spent several days; their diet, bread and water; their bed, rushes or furze; their employment, fervent prayer. The cause and manner of this persecution are thus related by Hammon l'Estrange, who was then, or shortly after, in Ireland. "In this year, the Roman clergy began to rant it, and to exercise their fancies, called religion, so publicly as if they had gained a toleration.† For whilst the lords justices were at Christ-church in Dublin, on St. Stephen's day, they were celebrating mass in Cook-street; which their lordships taking notice of, they sent the archbishop of Dublin, the mayor, sheriffs, and recorder of the city, with a file of musketeers, to apprehend them; which they did, taking away the crucifixes and paraments of the altar; the soldiers hewing down the image of St. Francis; the priests and friars were delivered into the hands of the pursuivants, at whom the people threw stones, and rescued them: the lords justices being informed of this, sent a guard and delivered them, and clapped eight popish aldermen by the heels for not assisting their mayor. On this account, fifteen houses, (chapels) by the direction of the lords of the

* Crawford, Hist. Ireland.

† The reader, I imagine, will be surprised to find, that this ranting of the catholic clergy was nothing more, than their reading prayers quietly to their people in one of their own chapels.—Currie.

council in England, were seized to the king's use, and the priests and friars were so persecuted, that two of them hanged themselves in their own defence." The catholic college was seized, assigned to the university of Dublin, and converted into a protestant seminary.*

The time approached when the voluntary subsidy, the chief support of the Irish government, was to determine. Having been continued longer, and grown more troublesome than was expected, the people " began to entertain frightful apprehensions, lest it might, in fine, turn to an hereditary charge on their estates." The protestants especially complained loudly of it; those of Cavan in particular, who signed a petition to the lords justices against it, setting forth, " That it was plotted and collected without the consent of the protestants of that country, and partly by force, praying their lordships favorably to forbear any further imposition of any such burden upon them, until they represented their humble remonstrance to his majesty." " The present lords

*Few, I believe, will wonder that the populace endeavoured to rescue their priests, in such an exigency; and fewer yet, that the catholic aldermen of Dublin did not assist their mayor in this priest-catching business. But it is not easy to conceive, what else but a truly puritannical excess of zeal, could have excited an archbishop of Dublin to quit his province, the public service of the church, on a solemn festival, to head a file of musketeers, and lead them on furiously to demolish a chapel, apprehend a few priests, and terrify a number of harmless people in the midst of their devotions; and that too " in the midst of far better order in civil matters, and more universal subjection to the crown and laws of

justices,* either from a sense of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal against popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution, from which, they declared, that all the subjects of every denomination were obstinately averse: they advised, that recusants should be strictly presented, and the weekly fines imposed, for their absence from the established worship, as a means of providing for the army."† To this Charles answered, " We approve well, that this business, as you desire, may be presently put into such a state as that the money, which shall by that means grow due unto us, may be ready to be levied by Michaelmas next. And as the best and surest way to bring it to effect, we do hereby authorise and require you, forthwith to assemble our council there, and with their privity to cause presentments to be duly made through the whole kingdom, according to the law you mention doth appoint." These presentments were accordingly made, and fines were imposed on such juries as refused to find them.

England, than was ever before known in the memory of man." One can hardly help thinking, that the furious puritan Venner did, some years after, copy the example of this archbishop of Dublin, when, issuing from his conventicle in Colman-street, London, with about fifty of his disciples armed, he fancied himself commissioned from heaven to fall upon and kill all those whom he met with in the streets, of a different persuasion from his own. Currie.

* Richard, earl of Cork, privately set the protestants against this contribution; and several of the bishops joined him in opposing it.—Straffords' St. Lett.

† Leland.

This mode of raising the supplies, though continued during the administration of the lords justices, was not conformable to the policy of Wentworth, earl of Strafford, whom Charles had determined to entrust with the management of Irish affairs; as, "If it took that good effect for which it was intended, which was to bring the Irish to a conformity in religion, it would come to nothing; and so would prove a covering narrower than a man could wrap himself in.....Not but that every good Englishman ought, as well in reason of state as conscience, to desire the kingdom were well reduced to a conformity of religion; but because it is a great business, that has many roots lying deep and far within the ground, which should be first thoroughly opened before we judge what height it may shoot up to, when it shall feel itself once struck at, to be loosened and pulled up." He was, therefore, for continuing the contribution as it then stood, "because he thought it more safe, considering the inequality of numbers and the ill provision of the army, to take the contribution against the will of the protestants, than to raise the twelve pence on a Sunday, against the liking of the recusants."*

* His lordship soon brought the king over to his opinion in this particular; but was obliged to have recourse to Laud's assistance, to convince the Irish bishops of the impropriety of executing the statute of the 2d of Elizabeth at that juncture. "As for the laying aside," says his grace in his letter to bishop Bedel, the twelve-pence a Sunday, and not expecting it for the present, his majesty conceives he did it upon all the considerable reasons that could be, and those very well

The renewal of the voluntary contribution was the great point then to be obtained. " Charles now used a new language to his Irish subjects. He threatened that the graces, which he had promised to confirm by parliament, should be streightened, unless the voluntary contribution was continued; and the catholics became the dupes of the insidious policy of Strafford, even before he entered upon the government of Ireland. " He sent a private messenger of his own to Ireland, who was himself a catholic, with instructions to invite them to make an offer to his majesty of half a subsidy, to be paid the next year; upon the condition, that all further prosecution upon the statute of the second of Elizabeth might be respited till his coming over. The instrument

weighed; and therefore, I do heartily pray both you and your brethren, to lay aside all jealousies, and to advance his majesty's service by all the good means you can, for that he would be very sorry to find the carriage of any bishop especially should cast a damp upon his majesty's service." Carte, in his life of the Duke of Ormond, states, that the established clergy of Ireland, who made religion a pretence for pressing the execution of the before-mentioned statute, " were themselves generally ignorant and unlearned, and loose and irregular in their lives and conversations." And that, " as scandalous livings naturally make scandalous ministers, the clergy of the established church were negligent of their cures, and very careless of observing uniformity and decency in divine worship." Of this particular obstacle to the reformation lord Wentworth was fully sensible, and mentioned it in several of his letters to the ministry in England. " An unlearned clergy," says he, in one of them, " who have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves withal, nor their persons any way revered or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage-houses utterly

I employed," says he, "knows no other, but that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course, and that I do this privately, in favor and well-wishing to divert the present storm, which would fall heavy upon them all, being framed and executed by the earl of Cork; which makes the man labor in good earnest, taking it to be a cause *pro aris et focis*."* This artifice succeeded. The catholics, through the medium of lord Antrim, agreed that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be added to the former contribution, to be paid by four equal quarterly payments, and thus supplied the immediate necessities of the state, till the deputy's arrival.

"Few characters have been more the subject both of censure and panegyric than that of lord Wentworth,† better known by his superior title

ruined; the people untaught through the non-residence of the clergy, occasioned by unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions, with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams; the rites and ceremonies of the church run over, without decency of habit, order, or gravity in the course of their service; the bishops alienating their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers, and farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons;" so that with respect to their project of propagating religion by enforcing this statute, his lordship justly observed, "that such brainsick zeal would work a goodly reformation surely, to force conformity to a religion, when there was hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach the people." Laud, in answer to this account of the Irish clergy, tells him, "the anatomy, which you make of the Irish ecclesiastical disease, makes it apparent, that it is spread so universally over the body, that a very wise physician can scarce tell where to begin the cure."

* There was not among all the English commons a more

of Strafford. His conduct as chief governour of Ireland, forms no inconsiderable part of the history of his life. . . . Ireland he regarded as a conquered kingdom in the strictest sense. He avowed and defended the opinion, under all the terrours of impeachment, when it was charged against him as a traiterous principle; and from this crude conception he deduced a consequence, at once ridiculous and detestable; that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens; and, for whatever they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace. Such men he was naturally disposed to treat with contempt; and even the most distinguished of the Irish subjects were of little consequence in the eye of an imperious nobleman, used to the magnificence of the English court, distinguished, even in the crowd of exalted personages, and known to enjoy an extraordinary portion of the royal favour.

“ Against several in Ireland, of exalted station, he had already conceived some prejudice, or some

violent opposer of the extension of the king's prerogative, or a more strenuous assertor of the people's liberties, than he was, while he remained plain Sir Thomas Wentworth. But being brought over to the court in 1629, he was sworn a privy councillor, and made a baron, and soon after a viscount. “ The duke of Buckingham himself,” says Mr. Howel, “ flew not so high in as short a revolution of time. He was made viscount with a great deal of high ceremony, upon a Sunday in the afternoon, at Whitehall. Lord Powis, who affected him not much, being told that the heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood royal, viz. from John of Gaunt, swore that if ever he came to be king of England, he would turn rebel.”—Letters, p. 211. Currie's Review.

resentment The puritans he abhorred; for, like their brethren in England, they were jealous of the prerogative, nor readily disposed to comply with every demand of the crown . . . And one favourite scheme of the new lord deputy was, to break the power of the great lords, which indeed had frequently been applied to the basest purposes . . . The clergy of the puritanic spirit were no less obnoxious; and among these were reckoned Usher of Armagh, and Bedel of Kilmore.”*

In July, 1633, lord Wentworth landed in Dublin, and “ began his administration in a manner that was ungracious, and could be hardly expected from a man of his wisdom and experience, who knew the consequence of the first steps that a governor takes, and the impressions which they leave in the minds of the people. For, four days after his arrival, he summoned the council by a pursuivant, according to the usual manner in that point; but summoned only a particular number, as if he intended to consult with a committee, rather than the whole body of it. This disobliged all that were omitted in the summons; and even the few he had called together were offended by a neglect, which they thought unbecoming his lordship to offer, or themselves to bear; they assembled at 2 o’clock, according to their summons, but the lord deputy, whether out of an affectation of state, or not attending to the hour through a more agreeable cause (for he had a day or two before declared

* Leland.

his marriage to Mrs. Elizabeth Rhodes, a young lady of extraordinary merit, whom after a long absence he had met at Dublin), made them wait two hours and more, before he came to them; and then the business, under pretence of which they were summoned, was not handled as they expected. It was, perhaps, for this, among other reasons, that at their next meeting in council, his lordship's proposal for continuing the contribution for another year was far from being agreeably received; so far indeed, that he said, "he was put to his last refuge on that occasion, which was to tell them plainly, that there was no necessity, which induced him to take them to council in that business; for that rather than fail in so necessary a duty to his master, he would undertake, upon the peril of his head, to make the king's army able to subsist ~~and~~ provide for themselves amongst them, without their help."* This menace had complete effect. His proposal for calling a parliament was readily agreed to, "so horribly afraid were they that the contribution money would be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, that they would redeem it at any rate."† From the protestants he procured a written promise, for the next year's contribution,

* The army, at this time, took up victuals in its marches, and paid nothing, as if it had been an enemy's country, and therefore was held in abomination by its inhabitants. Wentworth confesses, that before 1636 "the duties had from the Irish were rather, indeed, violent takings, ravishments of the poor, than the modest quiet levies of a pious and christian king.—Currie's Rev.

† Straffords' St. Lett.

it having this year proceeded from the catholics, who ought not, he tauntingly observed, be permitted to be more forward than the protestants in their chearfulness and readiness to serve the king. The next labour, he says, must be to get through the whole kingdom, the hands of the popish party to the like offer, which I assure myself to have within a few weeks.*

A parliament was for many reasons desirable. From it was expected the confirmation of those graces, so solemnly promised, so shamefully evaded, so amply paid for, so essentially necessary for the welfare and security of the subjects. The king's title, pleaded by rapacious courtiers, and needy projectors, continued to dispossess the lawful possessors of their estates, or force them to grievous compositions; and the support of the army, by voluntary contributions, continued so long, that it was apprehended it would be converted into as hereditary charge upon their estates. But the object of Wentworth was, to obtain an ample supply, and defraud the Irish of the graces, now deemed disadvantageous to the crown. In flagrant violation of the royal promise, a western plantation, though not avowed, was firmly resolved upon; to limit the discovery of flaws in the titles of estates, to sixty years, could not be endured; it was computed it would deprive the crown of twenty thousand pounds per annum.

Charles, though he did not scruple to promote his selfish designs at the expence of sincerity,

* Strafford's St. Lett.

had some difficulty to break his obligations, so solemnly contracted. "As for that hydra," said he to his lord deputy, "take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you, that I have great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break with them; for I fear that they have some ground, to demand more than it is fit for me to give."* In effect, the king must naturally have apprehended, that an Irish parliament would claim the performance of his royal promise, and press for a confirmation of the graces, transmitted in instruction to lord Falkland.† Wentworth reminded him, that by Poyning's law, he was empowered to transmit or suppress bills at pleasure, and that he would transmit those he deemed serviceable, suppress such as were deemed injurious, take upon himself the odium, and be responsible for the consequences. In this mean subterfuge Charles not only acquiesced, but to his deputy expressed his satisfaction; "Wentworth, before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment; and especially for the keeping off the envy of a necessary negative from me of those unreasonable graces that people expected from me."

* Strafford's St. Let.

† Leland.

That the parliament should be completely subservient, with the writs of summons he sent out recommendations of those judged fittest for his majesty's service; * in order that the lower house should be so composed, that neither the recusants nor yet the protestants should appear considerably one more than the other: holding them as much as might be in an equal balance, as being thus easier to govern. And then, in private discourse, to shew the recusants, that the late contribution ending in December, if his majesty's army was not supplied some other way, the twelve pence per Sunday must of necessity be exacted upon them; and on the other hand, to shew the protestants that his majesty's army must not let go the twenty thousand pounds contribution, nor yet, that he would discontent the recusants in matter of religion, till the army were else certainly provided for. † To preserve a balance between the parties, he says, "I shall labor to make as many captains, and officers burgesses, in this parliament, as I possibly can; who having immediate dependence on the crown, may always sway the business between the two parties, (the protestants and the catholics) which way they please."

"One particular instance of his lordship's ma-

* "I have this day," says he, in a letter to secretary Coke, "sent out the writs of summons, and with them above an hundred letters in recommendation of such as, upon advice taken with this council, were held persons ablest and best set for his majesty's service, having both in that and all the rest used the utmost of my power and diligence to get the house to be composed of quiet and governable men."

† Strafford's St. Lett.

nagement in these elections, I shall relate in his own words, because, indeed, it is in itself so extraordinary, that it would hardly gain belief, were it related in the words of any other person."

"His lordship had resolved to make Mr. Cateline, who was recorder of Dublin, one of the representatives of that city; but it appears that Cateline's competitor, being either a catholic, or strenuously supported by that interest, was likely to carry the election from him. For the catholics were generally apprehensive, that some severe laws against the exercise of their religion were intended to be passed that session, and therefore, were probably very active in this business of elections,* in the different parts of the kingdom. This activity of theirs was foundation enough for Wentworth to pretend in excuse of his own violent interposition in this election for Dublin, "that the sheriff of that city had carried himself mutinously;" but in what respect he does not mention, otherwise than by a bare suspicion of his own, "that he was set on by priests and friars to suffer no protestant to be returned to parliament." On this suspicion, however, he brought him into the castle chamber, upon an Ore tenus; where, upon what he had set down under his hand, he fined him in two hundred pounds, and five hundred pounds more, for his

* "Albeit," says Lord Wentworth, "the popish party are infinitely solicitous that no protestants should be chosen where they can possibly hinder it; yet I am very confident, they will be very forward for the king's supply, so as the matter of religion be not stirred against them."

contempt in refusing to set his hand to another part of his examination, disabling him from ever bearing that office in the city: "Which," adds his lordship, "wrought so good an effect, as giving order presently for chusing a new sheriff, and going on the next day with the election again, the voices were all orderly taken; and the conformable proving the greatest number, Cataline and alderman Barry, a protestant, were chosen." There were at this time more than an hundred Roman catholics to one protestant in Ireland, and Roman catholics were then equally with protestants qualified to vote at elections.*

"It had been usual in Ireland, previous to the holding a parliament, that the lords of the Pale should be summoned and consulted, on the time, circumstances, and business of this assembly. It was moved in the council, that this custom should be now observed; but the deputy suppressed the motion peremptorily and severely. These lords deputed one of their number, the earl of Fingal, to remind him of the custom: he treated his overture with contempt and disdain, and reprimanded the presumption of it with an indecent acrimony. When the council had assembled to deliberate on the causes and considerations, and the bills to be transmitted, previous to the session of parliament, they at first seemed little inclined to tread precisely in the path, which the lord deputy pointed out; they proposed several bills to be transmitted together with the

* Currie, Hist. Rev.

subsidies; as good inducements to content the houses: it was expected that the bill of subsidies should be sent with blanks, that the king himself might prescribe the number and manner of these donations. the council on the other hand contended, that the sums required should be immediately ascertained, and that they should not exceed the strict bounds of necessity. The deputy quickly interrupted these deliberations: he told them, that instead of consulting what might please the people in parliament, the duty of their place required them to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one; that his majesty deserved and expected the confidence of his people. A permanent provision was necessary for his army; not a momentary and precarious supply. "The king," said he, "desires this great work may be settled by parliament. He covets to walk in this, as the most beaten path, yet not more legal than that of his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people can be so-unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals, and their own safety, it must be done without them. As a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means: disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him in the head of that army; and there either persuade them fully, that his majesty had reason on his side, or die in the pursuit of his commands so justly laid upon me. Nay, I do not hold it impossible to effect his desires with

the general consent of the nation, by taking the supply from those only who are best able to answer it, and all this while have paid little or nothing."

"The counsellors, who but now canvassed every proposition of government with freedom, were in a moment shamefully confounded and silenced by this insolence. They trembled; and acquiesced in every measure proposed by the deputy."*

The parliament assembled in extraordinary pomp, July 16, 1634. The speaker of the commons was chosen by the recommendation of his lordship; who informed them, "that his majesty expected an hundred thousand pounds debt to be discharged, and twenty thousand pounds a year constant and standing revenue, to be set apart for payment of the army." He likewise told them, "that his majesty intended to have two sessions of that parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so as if they, without conditions, supplied the king in this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting, through all the expressions of a gracious and good king."

"Lord Wentworth knew, that in the year 1628, the king had given the Irish his solemn promise, for a valuable consideration, that he would, in their next parliament, (which was that now assembled) remove several grievances that had been humbly remonstrated to him, particu-

* Leland.

larly the enquiry into defective titles; but he was sensible at the same time, that this solemn promise would not be kept; nay, he had himself actually persuaded the king not to keep it. It was therefore with reason apprehended, by both his majesty and his lordship, that the commons would insist on the performance of that promise, before they granted the supplies in question; on which account it was thought adviseable to make two sessions of that parliament, and to give them the king's promise for both. At all events, it seems to have been resolved upon, in case the commons insisted on the previous performance of the king's promise, to dissolve the parliament, and raise the supplies in an arbitrary way. Under this apprehension, his majesty told the deputy, "that it would not be worse for him, though that parliament's obstinacy should make him break with them; for I fear," adds he, "they have some grounds to demand more than it is fit for me to give."

"The deputy, however, took uncommon pains to persuade them, that in case of their free and unconditional grant of the supplies, the king would certainly confirm the promised graces;*

* But with how little sincerity, appears from his letter to the secretary Coke on that subject: "Let me," says he, "tell you in your ear, howbeit we set a fair style on these laws, as beneficial to the commonwealth, yet there are of them, which I dare confidently affirm, will be worth the king at least four thousand pounds a year in the court of wards and alienations, a point which my masters in the house dream not of."—These laws were the statutes of wills and uses, which he afterwards, with much difficulty and in breach of his

and in order to banish from their minds all diffidence in that respect, "Surely," said he, "so great a meanness cannot enter your hearts, as once to suspect his majesty's gracious regards of you, and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his grace." And yet his lordship had not only advised his majesty, as I have already observed, to break his solemn promise to these people; but also, in order more effectually to persuade him to do so, had even engaged to take upon himself all the danger and infamy that was likely to arise from it.

"But lest these artful insinuations should not prevail with the commons, he thought proper to enforce his demands by some high expressions, tending to frighten them into a speedy compliance. "Let me not," said he, "prove a Cassandra amongst you, to speak truth and not to be believed. However, speak truth, I will, were I become your enemy for it; remember therefore, that I tell you, you may either mar or make this parliament. If you proceed with respect, without laying clogs or conditions on the king, as wise men and good subjects ought to do, you shall

public promise, "that religion should not be touched upon," got passed in his packed parliament. "And by which, (as he afterwards boasted) his majesty had gained an unavoidable power in the education of the heirs of all the great families in the kingdom, as they fell; and so means to bring them up in our religion; a superintendency (adds he) of vast consequence, if rightly applied, as in part appears in the person of the earl of Ormond. The abolition of this court was one of the principal graces which the king had solemnly promised to these people in 1628, for the valuable consideration heretofore mentioned.

infallibly set up this parliament eminent to posterity, as the very basis and foundation of the greatest happiness and prosperity that ever befell this nation. But if you meet a great king with narrow circumscribed hearts, if you will needs be wise and cautious above the moon, remember again that I tell you, you shall never be able to cast your mists before the eyes of so discerning a king; you shall be found out, your sons shall wish they had been the children of more believing parents; and in a time when you look not for it, when it will be too late for you to help, the sad repentance of an unadvised breach shall be yours; lasting honour shall be my master's."*

On the fourth day of the session a motion was made to expel the members illegally returned. Wentworth interfered. He ordered, that on the following day the supplies should be instantly moved for, "not to be diverted by any other proposition; not even by moving that it should rest till the house had taken this purging physic, which they so hotly called for." The supplies were accordingly moved for on the following day, and six entire subsidies were unanimously voted to his majesty, payable in four years.†

* See Currie, Hist. Rev.

† "In this house" says Wentworth, "the parties were in a manner equal; some few odds on the protestant party; and one watching the other lest their fellow should rob them, and apply the whole grace of his majesty's thanks to himself from the others; an emulation so well fomented under-hand, that when the motion for the king's supply was made yesterday in the house of commons, being the fifth day of the session, they did with one voice assent to the giving of six subsidies, to be paid in four years."—Ib. fol. 274.

These supplies were very considerable;* and far exceeded his lordship's expectation. "The proportion he was guided by, was to rate every thousand pounds per annum, with forty pounds payment to the king, each subsidy, so that," says he, "the subsidies raised this first, were more than I proposed to be had in both sessions, and were given freely and without any contradiction."

His lordship's observations on the catholics calling so hotly for "the purging of the house," is worthy of some notice. "This warm motion of purging the house, doubtless with an aim of putting out a great company of protestants, upon the point of non-residency, came not, as I was well assured, from any backwardness to supply the king; but out of an hope, by this means putting out many of the other party, to become the greater number, and so endear themselves the more with his majesty, to make that work (granting the subsidies) wholly their own, and themselves more considerable: which would turn a greater obligation on the king, than I conceive his majesty would be willing they should put upon him, or indeed was fit, the present condition of affairs considered." By this condition of affairs is plainly to be understood, his majesty's and the viceroy's preconcerted design, to carry on the enquiry into defective titles, notwithstanding the royal promise to the contrary; for which iniquitous purpose, these unqualified

* "Each of these subsidies amounted to fifty thousand pounds; and he never propounded more to the king than thirty thousand."—*Ib.* fol. 273.

members were still retained and protected, to the great prejudice of real representatives of the people, and at the expence of his majesty's justice and honor.*

“ The commons, relying on the merit of these unconditional supplies, chearfully and unanimously granted, appointed a committee to draw up a remonstrance to the lord deputy, concerning his majesty's promise; particularly, in relation to the enquiry into defective titles. In that remonstrance, presented to the deputy by sir George Ratcliffe, master of the rolls; sir James Ware, Mr. Serjeant Barry, and eight other respectable members, they set forth, “ That sensibly apprehending the manifold inconveniencies that had befallen the kingdom, through the uncertainty of estates, occasioned by the embezzling, burning and defacing of records, in times loose and uncertain, troubled with continual war, until the beginning of his late majesty's happy reign; and increased by the negligence or ignorance of sundry persons heretofore employed in passing of patents and estates from the crown; whereby many errors in law crept into these grants, whercof divers indigent persons, with eagle-eyes piercing thereunto, commonly took advantage, to the utter overthrow of many noble and deserving persons, who for valuable considerations of service to the crown, or for money, or for both, honorably and fairly acquired their estates. That, therefore, finding in themselves a sensible

* Currie's Hist. Rev.

feeling of these and other grievances, they had received unspeakable pleasure from his majesty's princely care and tender affection towards them, expressed in the graces transmitted over by their last agents, and on his royal word, the best of assurances, and his princely signature, which he had been graciously pleased to pass unto them, to cause the said graces to be enacted in the next ensuing parliament; that they could not sufficiently discharge their duty to his majesty, or the trust reposed in them by their country, unless they were careful in these great affairs, to conserve the honor of his majesty's word, in that respect, passed unto them his people, who had heretofore, by their said agents, presented a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to his majesty, and one hundred and fifty thousand pounds loan-money or contribution, by them forgiven; and forty thousand pounds in these two last years, contributed by the country, amounting in the total to three hundred and ten thousand pounds, exceeding in proportion to their abilities, and the precedents of past ages, &c. Wherefore, they most humbly prayed, that his lordship would place the statute 21st Jacobi, entitled an act for the general quiet of the subject against concealments, in the first transmission of laws into England; the said grace being particularly promised by his majesty, approved by both the councils of estate in England and Ireland, and published in all the counties of Ireland at the general assizes; and most expected of all the other graces. And that he would please to certify their universal

consent, and much longing desire, to have the said statute of 21st Jacobi,* and the rest of the said graces, perpetuated by acts to be passed in that parliament."

"In the mean time, the peers of Ireland seemed neither intimidated by the severity of the chief governour, nor deceived by his artifices. They complained loudly of public grievances; pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces; were particularly urgent for establishing that article, which confined the king's claims on their lands, to a retrospect of sixty years; and frequently mentioned the royal promise, in a manner highly offensive to an administration, resolved that it should not be fulfilled. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet further. Without regard to the provisions of Poyning's statute, or considering themselves as the king's hereditary council, and therefore, particularly entitled to the designation, mentioned in this statute, they

* The 24th instruction (among others sent by his majesty) relative to this particular grace, runs thus: "for the better settling of our subjects' estates in that kingdom, we are pleased that the like act of grace shall pass in the next parliament there, (Ireland) touching the limitation of our title not to exceed threescore years, as did pass here (England) 21st Jacobi; wherein are to be excepted the lands whereunto we are entitled by office already taken, and those already disposed of by our directions. And we are further graciously pleased, for a more ample testimony of our goodness to our subjects of that kingdom, to direct hereby that from henceforth no advantage be taken for any title accruing to us threescore years past and above, &c."

ordered the attorney-general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. No governour was more tenacious of the law of Poynings, or considered an inviolable adherence to this law in a light of greater consequence to the crown, than lord Wentworth. Yet, for the present, these extraordinary proceedings were unnoticed. The warm temper of the lords was less alarming, as the neglect of a committee of the commons, in not attending a conference in due time, had occasioned a quarrel, which prevented any dangerous concert between the two houses.* The bills of subsidy were passed. The only other bill, which the administration intended should be enacted in this session, was one for the confirmation of letters patent to be passed on the new commission, for remedy of defective titles. This also was established into a law, and attended by a petition from the lords to the chief governour, that this commission should be executed with such speed and moderation, that the royal favour might be the more welcome, and the subsidies the better paid. His answer was gracious; the session on the point of closing; it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting

* A trivial difference between the two houses kept them asunder all this session; the commons not consenting to confer with the lords, unless they might sit and be covered as well as their lordships, which the lords would by no means admit. By this means the deputy avoided their joining in a petition for the graces, which otherwise, he says, they infallibly would have done.—Strafford's St. Lett.

bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord deputy on concluding the session, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords. The protest recites the purport of the law of Poynings, and the explanatory law of Philip and Mary. It enumerates the several bills drawn up by order of the house of lords, and which had in their name been presented to the lord deputy, in order for their transmission into England. "All which proceedings of their lordships, we the lord deputy," saith Wentworth, "taking into due consideration, and weighing with the said statutes, although we do not conceive, that the said lords, advisedly or purposely intended to violate or innovate in any thing, otherwise than by the said statutes are provided; yet, for the avoiding of any misrepresentation, which, by reason of that manner of proceeding, may in after-times be made, to the intrenchment of the said acts of parliament, or his majesty's regal power, whereof we are and will be always most tender; in discharge of the duty we owe to the preservation of his majesty's honour, and that the like mistake in their lordship's proceedings may futurely be avoided:—We have therefore thought fit this day, in full parliament, to protest against that course held by their lordships, as not any ways belonging to their lordships, to give order to the king's learned counsel, or any other, for the framing or drawing up any acts to pass in parliament; but that the same solely belongs to us the lord deputy and council. We the lord deputy do

hereby further declare, that their lordships have power only by remonstrance and petition to represent to the lord deputy and council, for the time being, such public considerations as they shall think fit and good for the commonwealth, and so to submit them to be drawn into acts, and transmitted into England, or otherwise altered or rejected, according as the lord deputy and council, in their wisdom, shall judge and hold expedient; and that, in such wise as the said acts of parliament, in these cases, have limited and appointed. And we the lord deputy do trust, that their lordships will take this as a seasonable and necessary admonishment from us, and forbear the like course hereafter." This protest was received without any apparent ill temper in the lords; and the session closed, with the utmost triumph on the part of the chief governour, for the concessions he had obtained."*

On the 4th of November, 1634, commenced the second session of this parliament; and on the twelfth an order was passed, "that Mr. Speaker and the whole house should attend the lord deputy, humbly to desire his lordship's answer to the petition of remonstrance, formerly presented to his lordship, either in writing or otherwise, as his lordship should think fit."

The return made by the deputy, on that occasion, was by no means suitable to so respectful an application. He had already resolved to "give them an answer, round and clear, and such as

* Leland.

would stifle all replications." He, therefore, called some of them before him, and told them plainly, " That he would not transmit to England the statute 21st Jacobii, that such refusal was his own, their request never having been so much as sent over by him;* that passing this act to prevent enquiry into defective titles, was not good and expedient for the kingdom at that time; and so they were to rest satisfied, without stirring any more, as to that particular, as a thing which could not, nor would not be departed from." For the clearing of the king's honor, so essentially concerned in this contest, his lordship had, with some difficulty, brought over the council† to represent to his majesty, " That he was not bound, either in conscience, justice, or honor, to perform the solemn promise he had made to these people, for the valuable consideration before-mentioned."

When, on the 27th of November, his lordship's answer to their remonstrance was reported to the commons, the catholic members, who were principally, if not solely, aggrieved by the enquiry into defective titles, " were so ill to please," says Wentworth himself, " that they lost all temper,

* This appears to be a falsehood, for in a letter to secretary Coke of the sixth of October 1634, he tells him, " that he sends the petition of the lower house" relative to these graces. And adds, that the ground of denying all may be set upon him and the council; and so his majesty preserved from all color of declining in any part of that which they expected."

" Sure I am (says he) I gained this point from them (the council) with some art and difficulty; and flatter myself therein to have done his majesty good service."

and broke forth into such froward sullenness, as was strange; rejecting, hand over head, every other bill that was offered them from his majesty and the state."

The bills here alluded to, were the two statutes of uses and wills; "by which," says Mr. Carte, "the Roman catholics imagined, and not without reason,* that their religion would in time be affected, and by the due execution thereof, be at last utterly extinguished, by the putting it in his majesty's power, to have the minors of the chief families of the kingdom, educated in the communion of the church of England. These bills, were, however, at length passed in that session; and the catholics ever afterwards considered them as heavy grievances, and had an eye to them, in all the complaints which they exhibited upon occasion, against the court of wards."

A law passed to regulate the inheritance of estates; another to restore to the clergy possessions of which they had been unjustly deprived, and to prevent alienations in future. Some other bills defeated by the recusants, Wentworth in the high strain of prerogative, established by an act of state. The two houses united in a petition to the king, to re-establish a mint in Ireland. This privilege, by which a saving of several

* "These laws could not be agreeable to the recusants, because they empowered the king to have minors educated from their early years in the communion of the established church."—Leland. And because Strafford had promised, in his speech to that parliament, "that religion should not be touched upon."—State Lett.

thousand pounds was derived to the nation, was granted by Edward I. but lost in the confusion of the times that followed. The English council defeated their application; thereby giving them occasion to reflect on the unhappiness of their situation, in being under the controul of a body of men of a different country, who have no natural inclination for the welfare of their's, nor any interest in the good of it.*

The manufactures could not escape. There was then little, except some small beginnings of that valuable branch, the clothing manufacture, which promised to increase. This Strafford, in violation of our commercial rights, and in prejudice to the national interest, to benefit the British woollen manufacture, determined to destroy—it might in time essentially affect the staple commodity of England! Ireland furnished great quantities of wool, and its people could afford to vend their cloth in foreign markets on more moderate terms than the English traders—that was alarming. Wentworth considered further, that if the Irish were restrained from manufacturing their own wool, they must of necessity bring their clothing from England, so as in some sort to be dependant on that country for their livelihood. “For,” says he, “how shall they be able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary?” He might have added, without perishing, having established a monopoly of salt to his majesty, as salt was a mean of life, without which 'tis not

* Carte's Ormond.

possible to subsist. By such exertions of tyranny, did despots endeavour to destroy the rights of Irishmen! But scarcely any man is so perverted as not to do good, when by acting otherwise he can gratify no criminal desire or selfish passion. As the soil was favourable to the growth of flax, the working of which, in cloth, was not, to England, an object of competition, he promoted the linen manufacture.

“ But the catholics of Ireland were not the only objects of the deputy’s despotism and control. The protestant arch-bishops, bishops, and other clergy, then assembled in convocation, with the famous primate Usher at their head, crouched and groaned under his arbitrary dominion. Lord Wentworth had discovered that the generality of that clergy were strongly inclined to puritanism, and therefore he resolved, in concert with arch-bishop Laud, to compel them “ to receive implicitly without examination or debate,” the canons as well as the articles of the church of England; a condescension, which for the manner, as well as matter, they were exceedingly loath to yield to. It may not, perhaps, be unentertaining to the reader, to find some account here of this extraordinary transaction, from his lordship’s own letter to the archbishop, on that occasion.

“ I found,” says he, “ the lower house of convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the canons of the church of England; and that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with the bishops; that they had gone through the book of canons, and

noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on the others, they had put a D, which stood for deliberandum; that into the fifth article they had brought the articles of Ireland (of 1615) to be allowed and received, under pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their canons into a body.

“ I instantly sent for dean Andrews, that reverend clerk, who sate, forsooth, in the chair of this committee; requiring him to bring along with him the aforesaid book of canons, so noted in the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the house.

“ But when I had opened the book, and ran over the deliberandums in the margin, I confess, I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him certainly, not a dean of Limerick, but an Ananias, had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam; and that I was ashamed and scandalized at it beyond measure. I therefore said, he should leave the book and draught with me; and then I did command him, upon his allegiance, to report nothing to the house from the committee, till he heard from me again; being thus nettled, I gave present directions for a meeting, and warned the primate (Usher), the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Raphoe and Derry, together with dean Lesly, the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning.

“ Then I publicly told them, how unlike the clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to

their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard-of a part it was, for a few petty clerks to make articles of faith, without the privity, or consent of the state, or the bishops; and what a spirit of Brownism, and contradiction, I observed in their deliberandums; but these heady and arrogant courses, they must know, I was not to endure, nor if they were disposed to be frantic, in this dead and cold season of the year, would suffer them either to be mad in their convocations or pulpits."

After this his lordship declared to them all, "that no other question should be proposed at their meeting, but that for allowing, and receiving, the articles of England,* without admitting any other discourse at all; for that he would not endure that the articles of the church of England should be disputed. And finally," proceeds his lordship, "because there should be no question in the canon that should be voted, I desired the lord primate would be pleased to frame it, and send it to me for my perusal; after

* Yet in the petition of the clergy of Dublin, in 1647, to the parliament commissioners for leave to use the liturgy and common prayer in their churches, we find these words, "hence it was, that till the convocation held in Dublin, anno 1634, the articles of the church of England were not held or reputed the articles of the church of Ireland, and when they were received, they were not received in any acknowledged subordination to the church of England. Hence it is, besides, that our canons were not imposed by the church of England; nay, when somewhat highly the clergy were invited to submit to the book of English canons, the convocation utterly refused to submit to the same, and framed a new book of canons for the church of Ireland."—Borlase. Currie.

which I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canon to be propounded in a letter of his own.

“ This meeting thus broke, there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved, they should petition for a free synod; but in fine, they could not agree among themselves, who should put the bell about the cat’s neck; so this likewise vanished.”

“ The primate accordingly framed the canon, which I, not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in England, and then sent it to him. His grace came instantly to me, and told me he feared the canon would not pass in that form, as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it up, it might. He besought me, therefore, to think a little better of it: but I confess, having taken a little jealousy, that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in these very words: only for order’s sake, I desired his lordship would vote this canon first, in the upper house of convocation, without any delay: then I wrote a letter to dean Lesly, with the canon enclosed; which accordingly, that afternoon, was unanimously voted; first with the bishops, and then with the rest of the clergy, excepting one man, who singly did deliberate upon receiving the articles of England.” This statement he concludes with this boast, “ so now

I can say that the king is as absolute here as any prince can be."

"This was perhaps, the highest exertion of lay-ecclesiastical authority that was ever known in this or any other kingdom. For, as by this canon, excommunication is expressly denounced against all those who should affirm, that, "the articles of the church of England were such as they might not, with a good conscience, subscribe unto;" and as the members of this convocation seem to have thought them to be really such, (for otherwise, they would have more readily acquiesced in them), it appears that these bishops and clergy were then obliged to subscribe to a canon, denouncing excommunication against themselves, in case they should ever after venture to publish their real opinion of these articles."*

To support this measure, to determine as the dernier resort, to punish ecclesiastical offences, and, at the same time, "to raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown," an establishment, too odious, and therefore too dangerous, to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of a high commission court, was erected in Dublin, after the English model, with the same tremendous powers.

The further proceedings of this deputy are thus judiciously collected by Dr. Currie, from grave cotemporary authorities.

* "These canons were confirmed and published by his majesty's authority under the great seal of Ireland." "And are the canons and constitutions (says Nicholson, bishop of Derry) which are still observed in the established church of Ireland."

“ Wentworth was well informed what ample rewards two of his predecessors in the government of Ireland had obtained, by their activity and success in carrying on the enquiry into defective titles; “ one of them having lands bestowed upon him, which in the year 1633, were of no less than ten thousand pounds, yearly value; and the other ten thousand pounds in one gift.” Hoping therefore, for the like, or greater retribution, his lordship exerted himself in that business with uncommon resolution and vigor; “ having procured inquisitions, upon feigned titles to estates, against many hundred years possession, whilst jurors refusing to find such offices, as being against their consciences, and the evidence, were censured to public infamy, and the ruin of their estates.”

The deputy had chosen Connaught, and Ormond to make his first essay upon, in this enquiry. His lordship owns, that he had often labored to find a title in the crown to these countries, but that he was always foiled in the attempt.” And, in several of his letters into England, he laments, that he could gather no light from thence into these matters. An accident,* however, removed soon after, his per-

* “ On opening of parliament, the deputy issued a proclamation, that neither the peers or commoners should come into parliament with swords.” “ Pursuant to orders, the usher of the black rod was planted at the door of the house of lords, to take the swords of the peers; and as the earl of Ormond was coming in, he demanded his, but was refused. That officer hereupon shewed the proclamation, and repeated his demand in a rough manner. The earl told him, that if he

plexity with regard to Ormond; but the nobility and gentry in some parts of Connaught, gave him great opposition. Wherefore, "old records of state and the memorials of antient monasteries, were ransacked to ascertain the king's original title to that province; and the ingenuity of court lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the possessors of lands there, from the reign of queen Elizabeth." The deputy even seemed to entertain thoughts of calling to his assistance the authority of his packed parliament, on that occasion. "This house," says he, in a letter to the secretary, "is very well composed, so as the protestants are the majority; and this may be of great use to confirm and settle his majesty's title to the plantations of Connaught and Ormond; for this you may be sure of, all the protestants are for plantations, all the others against them; so as these being the greater number, you can want no help they can give you therein.* Nay, in case there would be no title

must have his sword, he should have it in his guts; and so marched on to his seat, and was the only peer who sat that day with a sword in the house. Upon the earl's being sent for by the deputy that very night, to appear before the council, and answer for his disobedience to the proclamation, he owned he had seen it, and added, "that he disobeyed both that and his lordship's order, out of deference to an higher authority; and then produced the king's writ, which summoned him to come to parliament, cum gladio cinctus. This altercation was the beginning and cause of that great friendship, which subsisted between these two noblemen during lord Wentworth's life."

* This shews the falsity of what is generally asserted, that the protestants suffered as much as the catholics by these

to be made good to these countries in the crown, yet should not I despair, forth of reasons of state, and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by an immediate act of parliament."

"We have already seen that by the earl of Ormond's spirited behaviour, in the beginning of this parliament, Wentworth conceived a particular friendship for him; which was so far mutual on the earl's part, that he made a voluntary surrender of his country to the king, in whom otherwise no title could be found to it.* For this condescension, his lordship was, by the deputy's mediation, made a privy-counsellor, in the room of Sir Pierce Crosby, lately sequestered from that board, for no other cause, but his having voted in parliament against a bill which lord Wentworth had approved and signed in the privy-council. "There were twenty-eight counsellors present when he was sequestered, and not one dissenting voice, but all for the sequestration."

"Soon after Sir Pierce Crosby's sequestration, a libel being published and scattered abroad, reflecting on the deputy, he was immediately suspected to be the author of it; upon this suspicion, the deputy sent his captain of the guards, and a

plantations. In the same letter Wentworth says, "that he considered that majority of the protestants in the house of commons as a good rod to hold over the papists."

* "Seeing," says Wentworth on this occasion, "we have sped so well, where our title was borrowed, or at least supported by my lord of Ormond, and indeed could not have stood alone upon the king's evidence, I am most confident we shall have like success for Clare."

serjeant at arms, to arrest him, and commit him to prison; whilst Sir Philip Mainwaring, secretary of state, with others, broke into his study, and secured his papers, in hoping of finding a copy of the libel, but none was found."

The surrender of Ormond was soon followed by that of Limerick and Clare; but the people of Connaught were not at all so complaisant; although they too had some leading examples of that kind in their own province.

About this time lord Wentworth acquainted his majesty, "that he should be able to find for him, a just and honorable title to Connaught, against all opposition; and that the acquisition to his majesty, in that province alone, would amount to no less than an hundred and twenty thousand acres."* It is but natural to enquire, by what means a just and honorable title could be so suddenly found, which, but a few months before, seemed to be altogether despaired of. Lord Wentworth himself shall satisfy the reader's curiosity in that respect.†

Before his lordship left Dublin, to hold this court of inquisition in Connaught, he had given

* "Wentworth's project was nothing less," says Leland, "than to subvert the title to every estate, in every part of Connaught, and to establish a new plantation through that whole province. A project, which when first proposed in the late reign, was received with horror and amazement."

† "How to make out," says Wentworth, "his majesty's title to Connaught and Ormond, (which, considering how they have been already attempted and foiled, is of all the rest the greatest difficulty) I have not hitherto received the least instruction from your lordship, or any other minister on that side."

orders to his managers there, that gentlemen of the best estates and understandings, in the different counties, should be returned on the juries which were to be held in the first trials of defective titles. This he did not, as one might imagine, on a supposition of their greater knowledge, integrity or honor; but because, as he says himself, "This being a leading case for the whole province, it would set a value, in their estimation, upon the goodness of the king's title, if found by those persons of quality." And on the other hand, if the king's title should not be found, or, as he expresses it, "if the jury should prevaricate," he would be sure then to have "persons of such means, as might answer to the king in a round fine in the castle-chamber; and because the fear of that fine would be apter to produce the desired effect in such persons, than in others, who had little or nothing to lose."

His lordship having thus prepared matters, went himself to the abbey of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon; "where," says he, "finding that divers affrights had been put into the people's minds, concerning his majesty's intention in this work, I sent for half a dozen of the principal gentlemen amongst them: and in the presence of the commissioners, desired that they would acquaint the rest of the country, that the end of my coming was, the next day to execute his majesty's commission, for finding a clear and undoubted title in the crown to the province of Connaught, proposing to begin first with the county of Roscommon; wherein, nevertheless, to

manifest his majesty's justice and honor, I thought fit to let them know, that it was his majesty's gracious pleasure that any man's counsel should be fully and willingly heard, in defence of their respective rights; being a favor never before afforded to any upon taking these inquisitions; as also, if there was any thing else they desired, that I was ready to hear them, and would return them a fair and equal answer thereunto, as by his majesty I had been strictly enjoined; and to afford his good people all respect and freedom in the setting forth and defence of their several rights and claims. With this," continues he, "I left them marvellously well satisfied, for a few good words please them more than can be imagined."

"The next morning, however," adds his lordship, "the gentlemen of the country petitioned, that the inquisition might be deferred to a longer time, they being unprovided; which I refused, as I had caused notice of it, by a scire facias, to be issued from the Chancery, twenty days before; which was more also than had formerly been accustomed, in cases of that nature. So presently," proceeds he, "we went to the place appointed, read the commission, called and swore the jury, and so on with our work."

"Sir Lucas Dillon was foreman of this jury, and seems to have behaved on this occasion entirely to the deputy's liking.* Nevertheless,

* "In truth," says he of this gentleman, "he deserves to be extraordinarily well dealt withal; and so he shall be, if it pleases his majesty to leave him to me."

after the lawyers on both sides had done speaking, lord Wentworth made a speech to the jury, which did not at all encourage them to use that freedom which he had promised to allow them, in returning an impartial verdict; but on the contrary, rather convinced them, that his lordship had already prejudged the cause against their countrymen. For among other things he told them, " that his majesty was indifferent whether they found for him or no; that he had directed him to press nothing upon them, where the path to his right lay so open and plain before him; but yet, that of himself, and as one that must ever wish prosperity to their nation, he desired them first to descend into their own consciences, to take them to counsel, and there they should find the evidence for the crown clear and conclusive. Next to beware, how they appeared resolved or obstinate, against so manifest a truth; or how they let slip out of their hands the means to weave themselves into the royal thoughts and care of his majesty, through a chearful and ready acknowledgment of his right, and a due and full submission thereunto. That if they would be inclined to truth, and do best for themselves, they were undoubtedly to find the title for the king. But if they were passionately resolved to go over all bounds to their own will, and without respect at all to their own good, to do that which were simply best for his majesty, then he should advise them roughly and pertinaciously, to deny to find any title at all; and there," says he, " I left them to chant together, as they call

it, over their evidence; and the next day they found the king's title without scruple or hesitation."

"The juries of the counties of Sligo and Mayo followed the example set them by that of Roscommon; but the jury of the county of Galway was, by no means, so complying; and they suffered grievously on that account.

"For, upon their refusing to find a title in the crown to the estates of their countrymen, lord Wentworth made use of some of his just and honourable means, to convince them of their mistake. "We bethought ourselves," says he on this occasion, "of a course to viudicate his majesty's honor and justice, not only against the person of the jurors,* but also against the sheriff for returning so insufficient, indeed we conceive so packed a jury; and therefore we fined the sheriff in a thousand pounds to his majesty." The mulct on the jurors was much greater. "They were fined four thousand pounds each; their estates were seized, and themselves imprisoned,† till the fines were paid." Such was the sentence pronounced against them in the castle-chamber, to which his lordship had bound them over; and where "he conceived it was fit, that

* "The star-chamber," says lord deputy Chichester, in 1613, "is the proper place to punish jurors that will not find for the king upon good evidence,"—Desid. Curios. Hib. vol. i. p. 262.

† "The jurors of Galway were to remain in prison, till each of them paid his fine of four thousand pounds, and acknowledged his offence in court upon his knees."—Leland's Hist. of Irel. vol. iii. p. 32.

their pertinacious carriage should be followed with all just severity."

"What was then understood by "just severity," may be collected from an extract of the grievances which, towards the end of his administration, the commons voted "real;" and which, in one article, seems to allude to this very case, viz. "that jurors, who gave their verdict according to their consciences, were censured in the castle-chamber in great fines: sometimes pillored with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments."

"And although he had publicly promised, "that their council on this occasion should be freely and willingly heard, in defence of their respective rights;" yet he scrupled not to take severe vengeance on two eminent lawyers,* who ventured to plead in their behalf; and all his lordship's proceedings against them, and against the sheriff and jurors before-mentioned, were afterwards approved of by his majesty.†

* "As for the counsellors of the law," says he, "who so labored against the king's title, we conceive it is fit, that such of them as we shall find reason to proceed withal, be put to take the oath of supremacy, which if they refuse, that then they be silenced, and not admitted to practice." This was accordingly done.

† "He tell us himself, that upon his making a report to the king and council in England, of these proceedings, his majesty said, "It was no severity, wished him to go on in that way; for that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected. So I kneeled down," adds he, "kissed his majesty's hand; and the council rose."

“ Another of his just and honorable means, to attain this end, as he himself informs us, “ was to enquire out fit men to serve upon juries; and to treat with such as would give furtherance to the king’s title.” He, besides, proposed the raising of four thousand horse, as good lookers-on, while the plantations were settling. And lastly, he prevailed on the king to bestow four shillings in the pound, upon the lord chief justice and chief baron, forth of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles; “ which,” as he afterwards says, “ he had found, upon observation, to be the best given that ever was; for that by these means, they did intend that business with as much care and diligence, as if it were their own private; and that every four shillings, once paid, would better his majesty’s revenue four pounds.”

“ Against the deputy’s predatory designs, thus planned and executed, the natives were destitute of all manner of defence. “ No title in the subject could stand against his claim.” At first none was held good, but that which was founded on letters patent; yet when even letters patent were produced, as in most cases they were, none were allowed valid,* nor yet sought to be legally avoided; so that one hundred and fifty

* The deputy and commissioners of plantation, in their public dispatch to secretary Coke, on this subject, confessed, “ That in former plantations in Ireland, all men claiming by letters patent had the full benefit of them, either in enjoying the lands granted them, or other lands equivalent thereunto, whether their letters patent were valid or invalid. And

letters patent were set aside in one morning; which course was continued, until all the letters patent in the kingdom, except a few, were declared void.

“The gentlemen of Connaught,” says Mr. Carte, “labored under a particular hardship on this occasion; for their not having enrolled their patents and surrenders of the thirteenth Jacobi, (which was what alone rendered their titles defective) was not their fault, but the neglect of a clerk entrusted by them. For they had paid near three thousand pounds to the offices at Dublin, for the enrollment of these surrenders and patents, which was never made. There was an act of state made in lord Grandison’s time, and dated May 14th, 1618, full in their favor and confirmed their possessions; and they had paid great sums of money for it into the exchequer; they were quietly settled in their lands, and paid the king his composition better than any other part of the kingdom. It was hard, in those circumstances, to turn them out of their estates, upon a mere nicety of law, which ought to be tenderly made use of in derogation of the honor and faith of the king’s broad seal.”

“So general and lasting were the terrors arising from these severe proceedings of the deputy, that in 1637, the whole body of the gentry of the

indeed,” add they, “in those (former) plantations, that favor might better be yielded, where the lands claimed by letters patent, were not in any great or considerable proportion, than here, where almost all the lands falling under plantation are granted, or mentioned to be granted, by letters patent.”

county of Galway offered to make a surrender of their estates to the crown, and for that purpose, sent a letter of attorney to the earl of Clanrickard,* then at London, signed by an hundred and twenty-five persons of the best quality in the county. "At the same time, the still imprisoned sheriff and jurors, instead of seeking redress, petitioned, but in vain, for pardon; offering to acknowledge the deputy's justice, and their own errors of judgment, upon condition only, that they and the rest, might be put upon the same footing with the other planted countries;" for in these cases, the general rule was, that a fourth part of their lands should be taken from the natives, with an increase of rent upon the remainder; "but the county of Galway, on account of its former refractoriness, was planted at a double rate, so that they lost half."†

"For Wentworth was so far from being satisfied

* "It was in lord Clanrickard's house, that Wentworth held this court of inquisition; "and the death of that lord, (which happened soon after) enflamed the popular odium against the deputy. It was imputed to the vexation conceived by this nobleman at the attempts against his property by an insolent governor, who possessed himself of the earl's house at Portumna; and, in his hall, held that court which impeached his title to his lands."

† "Thus secretary Coke writes to Wentworth on this occasion, "That a greater proportion of land should be taken from the pretended owners in the county of Galway, than in the rest, is thought just and reasonable, for the reasons you allege. And such seizures as you intend both against the jurors and all others, that will not lay hold of the grace offered them by the proclamation."

"Mr. Carte indeed asserts (but upon what authority appears not), "that by the interposition of Ulick Burke, earl of

with this submissive petition and offer, that he insisted upon a public acknowledgment from these jurors of their having committed, not only an error in judgment, but even actual perjury, in the verdict they had given; which being refused by them, he, besides planting their country at the rate before-mentioned, procured an order from the king, that their agents in London should be sent prisoners to Dublin, to be tried before himself in the castle-chamber, for having dared to patronise their cause. These severities however, raised no small apprehensions in some that were about the king, and even the king himself, "lest they might disaffect the people of Ireland, and dispose them to call over the Irish regiments from Flanders to their assistance."

"About this time, "the bishops and their chancellors began again to question the catholics, and lay heavy fines upon them for their christenings and marriages. But the deputy wisely considered,

Clanrickard, in England, the fines of the sheriff and jury of Galway, were afterwards reduced, the plantations laid aside, and the inhabitants confirmed in the enjoyment of their estates, upon the like terms as the rest of the kingdom, without suffering the hardships, change of possessions, or other disagreeable circumstances, which attended a plantation."

"The sheriff and jury of Galway were imprisoned about the year 1634; and if we recollect, that upon Wentworth's making a report to the king in council, in the year 1636, of his proceedings towards these gentlemen, his majesty told him, "that it was no severity; and that if he served him otherwise, he should not serve him as he expected;" we shall find but little probability in Mr. Carte's assertion, especially since it appears that they still continued prisoners in the year 1687.

that it would be too much at once to distemper them by bringing plantations upon them, and disturb them in the exercise of their religion; and very inconsiderate to move in the latter, till the former was fully settled, and by that means, the protestant party become much the stronger, which he did not then conceive it to be." Finding, therefore, that these proceedings of the bishops had very much disquieted the catholics, and given them terrible apprehensions of an instant persecution, he wrote to England for orders to put a stop to them; "as," says he, "it is a course which alone will never bring them to church; but is rather an engine to draw money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief in their hearts."

"All this while complaints were every where heard of grievances, arising from the court of wards, and that of the high commission. The former was a new court,* never known in Ireland

* "It is mentioned in the complaints of the Irish nobility and gentry in the year 1614, as an oppressive court. Lord deputy Chichester applauds it, among other reasons, because "there was a clause in every grant of wardship, that the wards should be brought up in the college near Dublin, in English habits and religion; which," adds he, "is the only cause of their grievance in this point."—Desid. Curios. Hibern. vol. i. p. 268.

"The king and English council to sir Arthur Chichester and Irish council, have these words, "Within what bounds his majesty wisheth you to contain yourselves, we mean to touch that point no farther at this time, saving only in answer to one point of your letter of the ninth of July (1606), to let you know, that if any motion shall be made here for reviving of a high commission, it shall appear that his majesty thinketh

till the fourteenth of James I. "It had no warrant from any law or statute, as that in England had." Sir William Parsons, by whom it was first projected, was appointed master of it, a man justly and universally hated by the Irish. And such were the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of that court, that "the heirs of catholic noblemen and other catholics were destroyed in their estates, bred in dissolution and ignorance; their parents' debts unsatisfied, their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for; the antient appearing tenures of mesne lords unregarded; estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoided against law; and the whole land filled with frequent swarms of escheators, feudatories, pursuivants, and others, by authority of that court."

"The unlimited power and great oppression of the high-commission court,* which was still more recent in Ireland, than the court of wards, was not less grievously complained of by the catholics, on account of the incapacity thereby contracted, for all offices and employments;† their disability

the same unseasonable, and therefore, without order from him, we require you to forbear to give any way to it."—*Ib.* p. 496.

* "Lord Wentworth proposed the erecting of the high-commission court in Ireland, in January 1633, "to bring," says he, "the people here to a conformity in religion; and, in the way to that, raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown."—*State Lett.* vol. i. fol. 188.

† "These regulations in the ecclesiastical system, were followed by an establishment too odious, and therefore too dangerous to be attempted during the sessions of parliament, that of an high-commission court, which was erected in

to sue out livery of their estates, without taking the oath of supremacy;* the severe penalties of various kinds inflicted by that court on all those of that religion, they being an hundred to one more than those of any other religion; in which respect, the case of Ireland was very different from that of England or Scotland, where there was scarce one Roman catholic to a thousand protestants."

" Yet, in the midst of so many depredations and pressures, the catholics of Ireland gave such unquestionable proofs of their loyalty and dutiful affection to the crown of England (and that also at a very critical juncture), as cannot, perhaps, be paralleled in the history of any other people under the like circumstances.

" These proofs were exhibited in that parliament which met at Dublin, in 1640, in order to raise large supplies towards suppressing the rebellion in Scotland, which had then risen to a formidable

Dublin after the English model, with the same formality, and the same tremendous powers."—*Leland's History of Ireland*, p. 28.

* " Sir Arthur Chichester, in a letter to the king and council in England, anno 1613, says, " By the statute of 2 Eliz. c. 1. in this kingdom (Ireland), 'tis ordained, that every person suing livery or ouster le maynes, shall, before his livery or ouster le maynes sued forth and allowed, take the oath of supremacy. And therefore they (the Irish) being obstinate recusants, are not permitted to sue forth their liveries under the great seal till they take the oath; and so they continue intruders upon the king's possession; for which intrusion, they are justly sued in the exchequer, and the damage they suffer is by their own wilful default and contempt of the law."—*Desid. Curios. Hibern.* vol. i. p. 263.

height. Their zeal on this occasion, was honorably attested by several privy-counsellors, members of that parliament, "persons," says Wentworth himself, "best able to satisfy, and in themselves most to be trusted." Among these, I find sir William Parsons, sir John Borlase, sir Charles Coote, and others, whose malevolence and enmity to the Irish in general, are well known and confessed; and whose testimony, therefore, in their favor cannot reasonably be suspected.

"After the proposal of such acts of grace, and advantage to the subject," say these privy-counsellors in their letter to secretary Windbank, on this occasion, "as we conceived most fit to lead in order the propounding of the six subsidies, these six subsidies were demanded for his majesty; whereupon some of the natives declared that six or more were fit to be given, it being apparent that the peace and safety of the kingdom were become so nearly concerned. Some also of them said, that his majesty should have a fee simple of subsidies in their estates on such occasions, for the honor of his person and safety of his kingdoms; that it was fit to be done, though with leaving themselves nothing but hose and doublet. Some of them with much earnestness, after forward expressions of readiness towards advancing the business, concluded that, as his majesty was the best of kings, so this people should strive to be ranked among the best of subjects.

"Thus," continues the privy-counsellor's letter, "every of them seeming in a manner to

contend, who should show most affection and forwardness to comply with his majesty's occasions; and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhorred and detested the Scotch covenanters; and how readily every man's hand ought to be laid on his sword, to assist the king in reducing them by force to obedience, they desired that themselves, and others of this nation, might have the honor to be employed in this expedition; and declared, with very great demonstration of chearful affection, that their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty; that twenty subsidies, if their abilities were equal to their desires, were too little to be given to so sacred a majesty.

“ In the end, considering how unable they were, without too much pressure to them, to advance more at this time, they humbly besought that by the lord lieutenant's interposition, four subsidies might be accepted from them; yet with this declaration, made by them with as much demonstration of loyalty, as ever nation or people expressed towards a king, that if more than four subsidies should be requisite, and the occasions of the war continued, they would be ready to grant more; or to lay down their lives and estates at his majesty's feet, to further his royal design for the correction of the disordered factions in Scotland. And this they did declare with general acclamations and signs of joy and contentment, even to the throwing up of their hats and lifting of their hands.”

“ But we are told by some reputable histo-

rians, that in the very next session, the untoward behaviour of these commons discovered the insincerity of their professions;* that they “who had just before devoted their lives and possessions to the service of the best of kings, grew cold, querulous and suspicious; objected to the rates of assessment, though the same which had been used in the late parliament; and in short, that a general combination was formed throughout the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money, until a new manner of taxation should be settled by the parliament; or in other words, until they should annul and rescind the late money bill, enacted with such remarkable zeal and unanimity.”

“The late parliament here alluded to, was that which had met in Dublin in 1634, under lord Wentworth; who, as we have already seen, had formed and managed it entirely for his own and his master’s private purposes. “His lordship regarded Ireland as a conquered kingdom, and from that conception deduced a consequence, at once ridiculous and detestable, that the subjects of this country, without distinction, had forfeited the rights of men and citizens, and for whatever

* “Lord Wentworth, who was certainly a more competent judge of that matter, than any historian that has since appeared, says on this occasion, “It is hardly to be believed, what a forwardness there is in this people to serve in this expedition (against the Scots); certainly, they will sell themselves to the last farthing, before they deny any thing, which can be asked of them, in order to that.” In another letter he tells the king, “that their zeal is all on fire to serve his majesty.”

they were permitted to enjoy, depended solely on the royal grace." Agreeably to these sentiments, he exercised a despotic, and indeed tyrannous, power over that parliament. "With one voice the commons voted a grant of six subsidies, four for paying the debts of the establishment, and two for buying rents and pensions; not that the uses were determined by a formal appropriation: they entrusted the management of their supply solely to the deputy, requesting only by petition, that it might be appropriated to these purposes."

"Such were the proceedings alluded to, as a proper precedent for the commons, in 1640, to have followed in the manner of rating their supplies. But these commons thought very differently of that precedent; for lord Wentworth, now earl of Strafford, having been recalled into England, and having left directions with his deputy, Wandesford, "his lordship's friend and ally, to issue the same instructions, for settling the rates of taxation, with regard to the present subsidies, as had been formerly issued concerning those granted by parliament in 1634" (which was accordingly done), the commons thought fit to make use of the liberty, which they now were possessed of by his absence; and knowing that the former grants were "exorbitant and oppressive," ventured to alter the mode of assessing three of these subsidies; declaring, at the same time, "that in consideration of his majesty's many and pressing occasions, the first of the four subsidies should be levied according to the instructions issued by the deputy and council; not

in deference to these instructions, but merely by their own authority and direction; and that neither these instructions, nor what was done in the late parliament (1634), with respect to the subsidies then raised, should be a guide or precedent, in levying the three other subsidies, which they ordered to be raised in a moderate, equal and parliamentary way. They likewise ordered, "as the second subsidy was not payable till December, and as it might conduce to his majesty's service, to hasten the payment of the third also, that both should be paid together, on the first of December 1640; six months earlier than the third subsidy had been made payable by the original grant."

"This particular care to hasten the payment of the first and third subsidies indicated, one would imagine, in these commons, some attention to his majesty's service. But his majesty, it seems, was persuaded to think otherwise; for we are told, that he looked upon this proceeding to be so ridiculous and insolent, that he ordered, "with a peevish impatience," the leaf in which this resolution was inserted, to be torn from their journals; which order was accordingly executed by the deputy, on the 19th of November 1640."

"But the king was soon after brought to a right way of thinking, concerning this particular. For on the fourth of January following, he wrote to the Irish council, (and ordered his letters to be publicly read in the house), "that having, by a committee of the commons of Ireland, received satisfaction, both in their loyalty and affection.

unto him, and also in those matters which induced him to require his deputy to vacate an order made, concerning the levying of the subsidies granted in the same parliament; he was then graciously pleased, and did thereby authorize and require them, to cause the inclosed (the vacated order) to be again inserted and registered in the same place, to continue and be of equal force, as if the original had remained there."

"From hence it appears, that these commons were actuated by two very just and patriotic motives, viz. Opposition to a measure confessedly "exorbitant and oppressive," and a laudable desire, to recover their antient constitutional right of rating their own grants, which had been violently taken from them in the preceding parliament. But how it could possibly be inferred from such conduct, that they intended to annul and rescind their late money bill, or that they were united in a regular and determined scheme of opposition, for any disloyal or unconstitutional purpose, is, I think, very hard to be conceived.

"For the expedition against the Scottish rebels, lord Strafford had raised an army in Ireland, consisting of about nine thousand men; eight thousand of which number were Irish catholics. For his lordship knew, and did attest, that in the support or defence of his majesty's crown and dignity, "the Irish were as ready to venture their persons, as they were to open their purses."

"Sir William St. Leger, serjeant-major-general of the army, having reviewed these troops at Carrickfergus, saw such willingness and aptness

in them to learn their exercises, and that mettle and gallant appearance, which would recommend them to be chosen for a service where a crown lay at stake, made no scruple to pronounce, that considering how newly they had been raised, no prince in the christian world had, for their number, a better and more orderly body of men in his service.”*

“ Lord Strafford was extremely desirous to have the chief command of this army; but he was conscious, at the same time, that he was represented in England as a person odious to the people of whom it was chiefly composed; in short, “ as a vizier, bashaw, or any thing else that might be worse; and as one hateful both to God and man.” In order to remove that obstacle, he labored privately to persuade the king, “ that the Irish did not distate him so much as willingly to change him; or to desire any new deputy in his stead; and, that if it were left to their choice, they would not have any other general but himself.”

“ But his lordship found means to procure a much more persuasive testimony than his own, for this purpose; even a public and solemn attestation in his favor, from that house of commons; it was given *nemine contradicente*, and passed with loud and general acclamations of applause.”

“ Thus we see, that although this honorable testimony had not then the wished for success in

* “ The raising, cloathing, paying and providing this army, by the latter end of September 1640, when it was dispersed, cost £204,057.”

saving his lordship's person from the rage of his enemies, yet it has been since more effectually made use of by historians, to rescue his memory from that infamy, which his administration of Ireland particularly has brought upon it. But Mr. Carte has very imperfectly related another passage recorded in the same journals of the commons, from whence he took this eulogium, viz. The solemn protestation of these commons against it, (in which they were joined by the lords) to this effect; that the "aforesaid preamble to the act of subsidies, was contrived, penned, and inserted fraudulently, (without the privity of the house,) either by the earl of Strafford himself, or by some other person or persons, advisers, procurors or actors of or in the manifold and general grievances and oppressions of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by the direction and privity of the said earl, on purpose to prevent and anticipate the just and universal complaints of his majesty's faithful, dutiful and loving subjects against him." And they required their committee, then attending his majesty, "to present unto him that their protestation and proofs thereof; and likewise to present unto his majesty, their humble request, that an act might be passed in that parliament for revoking, vacating, and taking from the records of parliament, the before-recited part of the preamble concerning the earl of Strafford."

"The reason they assigned in that protestation, for having suffered this part of the preamble to pass, when it was first communicated to them,

was, “ that before such time as that act (having been formerly transmitted to England, and returned from thence) was read or known in the house, the said earl of Strafford did declare and signify to both houses of parliament, his majesty’s urgent and great occasions; and the near and approaching danger, that Ireland was suddenly to be invaded by the Scots; and thereupon, and not before, the said act was read, and made known in the house of commons; and that their natural and fervent zeal and devotion to his majesty’s service, and the fears of the said declared imminent danger, and the inconveniencies which they suspected might ensue, if they then had excepted against the said part of the preamble, concerning the earl of Strafford, and had expected a new transmission, as a statute of force in this realm, doth require, did occasion and enforce, their not then speaking, or protesting against the said part of the preamble.”

Another fatal tragedy is now to be exhibited on the desolated plains of Erin, so often ensanguined with the blood of its best inhabitants, torn asunder and preyed on by its voracious enemies. The insurrection of 1641, which scourged a country so often wasted, furnishes a theme to the adversaries of the catholic church, and of Ireland, for publishing false and scandalous libels on the inhabitants of this country, and the religion they profess. Whatever part of Europe you travel, especially in countries professing any of the innovation creeds, you will find these calumnies re-echoed in histories, geographies,

and divers other publications, in every diversity of language. Like fame, as described by Virgil, *ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit*, defamation of Ireland, and the true church of Christ, stalks over the earth with colossal strides, and hides its head in clouds and mists.

The historians of those sad times, whether from ignorance, prejudice or malice, have given very contradictory and absurd accounts of the causes, beginnings and progress of that civil war. Determined, at any rate, to find the Irish guilty of a causeless and furious rebellion, to destroy all protestants and English, in they take with the gratuitous aspersions of avowed enemies, the false rumours, played off to answer party purposes in times of civil commotion, as proofs of fact; and thus, instead of handing over an historical picture, in which the characters, with all their faults, are still human, they present us with an hideous caricature, exhibiting heroes on one side, and demons on the other, somewhat like Milton's battle between Satan and Michael. The incongruity and absurdity of such historical sketches, require no great store of information, only a little penetration, to be detected, and exposed to contempt. An exposure of the misrepresentations, divulged by party malice, and ignorant prejudice, may clear the character of a long-suffering, greatly injured, and foully slandered nation, from vile imputations; and cure some, who influence their affairs, of unjust and illiberal prejudices. Written in the spirit of impartial truth, history is, indeed, philosophy

teaching by example. Through a faithful historical display of human nature, in all the relative situations of social life, of peace and war, of politics and religion, we shall learn the powerful action of circumstances on the human mind, and feel some indulgence for the frailties of nations, and great descriptions of men, impelled by their combined pressure. If all the circumstances, antecedent and concomitant, could be now reproduced, the generation, that condemns the troubles, excited in both islands in the latter end of Charles's unfortunate reign, would act them over again; fond as every age is, of claiming to itself superior illumination and political prudence.

The history of calamitous periods, so dreadful to the actors on the scene, and distressing to the feelings of any writer, not destitute of humanity, is not the least useful portion. By furnishing salutary precautions against encouraging or cherishing the animosities of religious or political faction, it will contribute not a little to prevent the recurrence of similar evils. On which account, had Edmund Burke employed his great talents, in giving a just and lively picture of the disastrous civil wars, in the reign of Charles I. such a production would have more effectually served the cause of Louis the unfortunate, than the violent torrent of eloquent abuse poured to little purpose on the French assembly. False history has a contrary effect; for, by feeding the angry passions, that produced and prolonged the miseries so unfairly described, it perpetuates them in

part, and constantly threatens their recurrence. It is much worse, when party malevolence is kept alive and fomented, by annual commemorations of party success or calumny, invented by Machiavel statesmen for the ruin of some party in religion or politics. When such insane exhibitions are countenanced by public authority, they must be considered as annual manifestoes, provoking civil war. Of such pernicious complection have generally been, the malignant satires, calling themselves Histories of the Irish Rebellion. Concealment of truth, utterance of falsehood, distortion of features, and false colouring, abound in their studied misrepresentations.

To understand, and give a clear unbiassed elucidation of that great national event, for which we remain indebted to our masters, it will be necessary to scan its causes, proximate and remote. We must view the collateral impulses, which forced, set it in motion, extended and continued the progressive ruin, until it covered the island with ashes and blood. Among the foremost causes of general discontent, must be numbered, the tyrannic and impolitic government of the Stuarts over this country. When James ascended the throne of England, he found this country completely subdued, yielding chearful obedience to the crown of England. It was some consolation to the humbled Milesians, to behold an acknowledged memorial of their antient greatness in the person of their monarch; to whom, on that very account, had he the

honour to keep his treaty, their gratitude would be perpetual, and the attachments of loyalty heightened into enthusiastic. Of these men lord Bacon said, that policy dictated the expediency of yielding them possession of their lands; because the acquisition of such subjects for the land would be a great purchase. Lord Mountjoy, attesting to James the bravery with which the northern Irish so long withstood the power of England, her Irish allies, and the horrible means employed against them, passed his word that they would continue in their loyalty with equal perseverance; and that the North would be found the most obedient part of Ireland. No. James, misled by the evil genius of his family, adopted the cowardly and perfidious scheme of the fabricated plot, to colour his breach of treaty, five years after signing it. He exterminated a magnanimous race, who would be as pretorian cohorts to his families, and planted in their place those, who, in the reign of his son, proved themselves enemies to him and the monarchy. Not content with plundering one province, he sets up tablets of proscription throughout the nation, by a state inquisition into every man's property; fining and imprisoning gentlemen on juries, for not per-juring themselves to despoil their neighbour and find for the king. Fines, imprisonments, and legal incapacities, as before stated, inflicted for conscience sake. Forty rotten boroughs created, to give the king's arbitrary and tyrannic oppression a semblance of legal sanction! The same infatuated lust of making the Irish groan under

intolerable hardships, led his son to pursue the same illegal course of oppression, mixed with insulting contempt.

The only plea, that can be offered in extenuation, is confined to the democratic policy of the English commons; who, from the very commencement of his reign, studiously involved him in foreign war, and treacherously withheld the supplies necessary for carrying it on; thus leaving him no alternative, but to barter away the prerogative, step by step, until the monarchy either became contemptible, and consequently extinct; or support the government by unconstitutional exactions. He had recourse to the latter, moderately, in England; while, in Ireland, royal plunder exceeded all bounds. It is very remarkable, that the instrument he chose for plundering the Irish of their property, fining, torturing and confining them for their religion, was, while known by the name of Sir Thomas Wentworth, one of the most strenuous assertors of civil liberty, and impugners of arbitrary taxation in the long parliament, of which he was one of the leading members.

“ He, I must confess, is no good subject, who would not, willingly and chearfully, lay down his life, when that sacrifice may promote the interests of his sovereign, and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good subject, he is a slave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom. By opposing these practices, we shall but tread in the steps of

our forefathers, who still preferred the public before their private interest, nay, before their very lives. It will in us be a wrong done to ourselves, to our posterities, to our consciences, if we forego this claim and pretension."

"The grievances, by which we are oppressed, I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgment of lawyers against our liberty.

"I can live, though another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burdened with impositions, beyond what at present I labour under: but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, ravished from me; to have my person pent up in a jail, without relief by law, and to be so adjudged,——O, improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and at the same time, to neglect our personal liberty, and let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without redress or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person."

"The same topics were enforced by sir Thomas Wentworth. After mentioning projectors and ill ministers of state. "These," said he, "have introduced a privy council, ravishing, at once, the spheres of all ancient government: destroying all liberty; imprisoning us without bail

or bond. They have taken from us——What shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? By tearing up the roots of all property, they have taken from us every means of supplying the king, and of ingratiating ourselves by voluntary proofs of our duty and attachment towards him.

“ To the making whole all these breaches, I shall apply myself; and to all these diseases, shall propound a remedy. By one and the same thing, have the king and the people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. We must vindicate: What? New things? No: our antient, legal, and vital liberties; by re-inforcing the laws, enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them. And shall we think this a way to break a parliament? No: our desires are modest and just. I speak both for the interest of king and people. If we enjoy not these rights, it will be impossible for us to relieve him. Let us never, therefore, doubt of a favourable reception from his goodness.”*

In the English commons, Wentworth made no allowance for regal extortion, on the plea of state necessity; while, in Ireland, he carried it to extremities incredible, were not the rapacity of this English Verres made evident, beyond all possibility of doubt or suspicion. The plea of necessity might be suitable to a plundered gentleman, like Redmond O’Hanlon, seeking subsistence on the high way; but very unbecoming a great

* Hume. Hist. of England.

prince. However, one thing is clear, as shall be seen in the sequel, that most of his acts, whether compulsory or voluntary, tended to his own ruin.

Notwithstanding the sufferings of the Irish, briefly recapitulated in their complaint of grievances, they remained the loyal subjects of Charles, until England and Scotland were in full rebellion; whence the first sparks of combustion lighted on the North, and whence continual additional fuel, until the blaze pervaded the whole island.

The grievances which the Irish commons had voted, "of their own knowledge to be so clear and manifest, that no place was left for denial of proof," were great and numerous. Part of those recited in their journals, are the scandalous extortions of the ecclesiastical courts,* for old popish rites and customs, condemned and renounced by those very persons who then so greedily exacted the profits formerly annexed to them, which, it seems, they still deemed orthodox; great sums of money received by several bishops, for commutation of penance, which they converted to their own use; the lord deputy's punishing the natives by fine, imprisonment, mutilation of members, pillory, or otherwise arbitrarily, and without law; and making them

* "The dissenters of Ulster, in their petition to the English house of commons in 1640, did not fail to take notice of these abuses. "The prelates," say they, "and their faction, as they inherit the superstition of the papacy, so of late they exact, with all severity, the obsolete customs of St. Mary's gallons, mortuaries, &c. which, as they were given by superstition, and used to idolatry, so now they are taken by oppression, and applied to riotousness."

forfeit their liberty, possessions and inheritance, merely for infringing an act of state or proclamation; the sentencing the subjects to death, by martial law, in times of profound peace; the issuing quo warrantos out of the king's-bench or exchequer, against boroughs, that antiently and recently sent burgesses to parliament; the censuring of jurors in the castle-chamber, that gave verdict according to their consciences, with mutilation of members, and other infamous punishments; the taking of the testimony of rebels, traitors, protected thieves, and other infamous persons, upon trials of men for their lives. And they particularly complained of the insecurity of their estates, by means of the enquiry into defective titles, which was still carried on with great rigor; humbly praying his majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to direct that bills might be drawn in the house of commons, and transmitted from the chief governor or governors, and privy-council of Ireland, to be passed as acts of that parliament, for the redress of these grievances, and for the security of their estates, as their respective cases, for their better assurance, should require."

"It has been of late objected, that this remonstrance of grievances, was not fairly and deliberately voted in the Irish parliament; but that, on the contrary, it was "abruptly presented to the house, not suffered to be spoken to, and passed in the midst of tumult and disorder." But this objection now appears to be nothing more than a partial and groundless surmise; for

“ some of the grievances in it, had been presented by parliament to the deputy, in June preceding, as found real and enormous, after many debates.” And as for those lately added, viz. the “ tremendous powers” of the high-commission court, the denial of the promised graces, &c. it is notorious, that they had been long before complained of, as intolerable, both in and out of parliament. It appears by the journals, “ that a grand committee was appointed to sit upon the grievances of the country, on the twelfth of October, 1640; and that, on the seventh of the following month, an order was passed, that the particular matters expressed in the remonstrance in question, being thrice read, required present redress, and should be forthwith represented to the right honourable the lord deputy, by Mr. Speaker and the whole house.” Another order was passed on the ninth, “ that Mr. Speaker, for the greater solemnity, should read the remonstrance twice, and that it should be afterwards presented to the lord deputy.” On the eleventh, “ a committee was appointed, consisting, among others, of the vice-treasurer, the master of the rolls, and the chancellor of the exchequer, to wait upon the deputy, to know when he would give his answer to the remonstrance.” And on the twelfth, “ a committee was again appointed, to attend his lordship for his answer;” which appears then to have been, “ that the commons should confer with some of the lords of the privy-council, (not, as has been supposed, with the house of lords) concerning the nature of the grievances complained

of." But to this conference, as being contrary to their privileges, the commons refused to consent; "in regard that the contents of their remonstrance had been already voted in their house for grievances;" for which refusal, the deputy prorogued them on the same twelfth of November. And thus it evidently appears, that this remonstrance, instead of being abruptly presented to the house, not suffered to be spoken to, and passed in the midst of tumult and disorder, was agitated, for several days, with due deliberation and regularity, and at length agreed to, after many readings and debates."*

The catholic nobility and gentry of Ulster, in their address to his majesty, (Charles I.) "with much grief express their sense of their general sufferings and pressures since the beginning of his late majesty's, his royal father's reign, being almost forty years, and the only time of continued peace they enjoyed these latter ages, in all which time, through the corruption of the governors, and state of the realm, though for redress of their grievances frequent suit had been made by them, yet that therein they could never obtain any part of their desires, but rather had endured a continual servitude than the freedom of subjects, being not permitted in all that space to enjoy their birthright, or the benefit of the fundamental laws of the realm, nor admitted to have property in their goods or lands, for that a tyrannical government had been continually

exercised over them all that time, in a more strict and cruel manner than in Turkey or any other infidel country, though by the antient fundamental laws of the kingdom, no subjects in Europe can challenge more freedom or liberty."

In order, therefore, to understand the beginnings and progress of the civil war of 1641, we must, after reviewing the predisposing irritations, occasioned by the long-continued oppression, plunder and persecution of James and Charles, take a view, likewise, of the causes, origin and progress of the combined rebellions of England and Scotland, whose preparatory means unquestionably forced these two kings to illegal extortions, and influenced them to plunder the Irish, and whose collateral impulse kindled and fanned the flame.

The innovations of religion were, as every where else, accompanied in the neighbouring island with a spirit of resistance to all established authorities, that would discountenance or oppose them. Mary of England experienced some of this, and Mary of Scotland became its victim. Their successors having embraced the reformed doctrines, the catholic church, enfeebled by power and wealth, enervated by long ease, luxury and indolence, fell an easy prey to the joint assaults of power, persecution, corruption and fanaticism, managed with matchless fraud and consummate address, under the guidance of artful Bess, the life and directress of the innovators in both kingdoms. The reformers, on their rupture with Rome, appealed to scripture, private judgment, and the

spirit, spurning the authority of the church, the precedents of antiquity, and its prescriptive title, venerable by its descent from the apostles, the consent of the great majority of christians, and sanctioned by the promises of its founder, taken in their obvious meaning. Extremes naturally beget each other. As the exceeding wealth and temporal power of the church, with the abuses engendered therefrom, gave the necessity of a real reform, and pretence for the pretended one, so the usurpation of spiritual authority, on the faculties, in the departments of science, beyond the sphere of its jurisdiction, produced an opposition to its authority, even within its legitimate boundaries. The reformers were more consistent in embracing the extreme of freethinking; since, rejecting all established authorities and precedents, save what might be deduced from the catalogue of heresies, unable to claim divine mission from miracle or prophecy, they had no expedient left, but to invite every one to judge for himself, as freely as he pleased, on religious matters.

The temporal powers, who admitted or encouraged these innovations, sensible of the danger of leaving the wild gas of enthusiastic imaginations, heated by controversial contagion, and bible speculations on mysterious doctrines, conveyed in language almost as mysterious, to rove at large, attempted to restrain the freedom of airy speculations within some limits. They saw, that, without the restraint of some association, confined to the profession of some common form

of prayer and ceremonies, society, on the fundamental principles of the reform, would be dissolved into numberless conventicles, differing from each other in faith and practice, untill, by a necessary progression, it ended in individuality, indifference, and infidelity. It was necessary, therefore, to establish a church, with some officiating, teaching ministry; with some form of discipline, and ecclesiastical constitution, under the control of the civil power. The influence they acquired by the magistrate over the public mind, must be repaid to the ministry in livings and protection. Conscious of its human institution, like a ricketty child, it will cry out, its life is in danger. It must be supported by exclusive privileges, and guarded by pains and penalties, against the horrible dilemma in which it is placed, between opposite adversaries. When it appeals to authority, against dissenters, they repel the insolent usurpation, by an appeal to its own fundamental principle, the bible, the spirit, private judgment. When they argue against the authority of the catholic church, they are asked, why then assume authority? Wherefore a particular creed, to which all must subscribe; and particular forms of prayer, sacraments, and ceremonies, to which all must conform? Above all, why punish non-conformity to your fallible opinions? May it not be error punishing truth; or do you claim, contrary to your own principles, that guidance of the Holy Ghost, which you deny the mother church, to which alone the characters, expressed in your creeds, belong?

Instruction, not punishment, is due to errors of the mind; and Christ inflicted no temporal punishment for disbelief. Will it be said, he had no power to punish. He that raised the dead to life, could he not slay? Who cured all sorts of diseases, could he not chastise with corporal infirmities? To return.

The doctrines of Calvin, with the presbyterian discipline, were established in Scotland; the church of England was established by Elizabeth, on a different model from all other branches of the reformed; approaching nearest in its hierarchy, discipline, prayers, sacraments and ceremonies, to the mother church, Rapin thought, that the reason the Scotch rejected episcopacy, and established presbytery, was on account of the great opposition given by the Scotch bishops to the reform. But the opposition of the English bishops was more unanimous and strenuous; for which they were all deposed and imprisoned. Hence it was, that Bess's preachers, finding no catholic bishops to ordain them, with much complaisance, at the Nag's-head tavern, laid hands on each other, mutually conferring what they had not received. No. Bess would have bishops in the church, as lords in state, ornaments and props to her throne. The Scotch, embracing the doctrine of Knox, and other calvinistic preachers, looked to Switzerland, Geneva and Holland, as models, and established the Kirk. The maxim that determined the Dutch, in chusing their form of church government, might also influence the councils of a nation not very

opulent, "That the cheapest appeared the best;" that bishops were expensive pageants that could be dispensed with. In a vehement rancor against popery and arbitrary power, and a strong attachment to democratical principles, this sect far exceeded that established in England. The long war of Spain against the Dutch, professing nearly similar principles, contending for civil and religious liberty, together with the cruelties practized by the Spaniards, in their vicinity, were of a nature to strengthen their attachment to democracy, and encrease their abhorrence of popery and arbitrary power. The long and destructive wars of religion, waged in France and Germany, furnished incessant fuel to the fury of religious hatred, nor could any ravenous wild beasts, in the center of African forests, persecute or tear each other to pieces, with more merciless rage, than did christian sects, fighting about a religion commanding mutual love and forgiveness of injuries. What infernal malice rankled in people's breasts on this subject towards each other, is evident from the sermons, pamphlets, speeches in parliament, handed down to us from these angry times. Anger, shall I call it? It was a pestilential madness, epidemic to them unhappy times. It was the delirious phrenzy of enraged fanatics, boiling hot from the alembic of hell, metamorphosing them into carnal devils, hurling death and destruction on each other here, and eternal damnation hereafter.

Will any man object to this description of those calamitous times, that it savours of a bigotted

aversion to the new sects, and their religious innovations? The censure would be unjust. For, while I must agree with the catholic principle, that, in the idea and definition of revelation, paramount authority is so essentially included, that it cannot even be conceived without it. While I must admit, that all supernatural communications, made by this divine authority, either directly, or by proxy, or legation, must be implicitly admitted, without dispute or cavil. Though it cannot be denied, that a bequest, for the benefit of all mankind, during all ages, must be universally diffused, and to perpetuity preserved. Though it would be blasphemy to say, that God, who, necessarily, from the sovereign perfection of his nature, annexed these attributes of universality and perpetuity to the promulged gospel of salvation, to all the children of men, who would accept and fulfil the terms, as he caused his other light of the material world to shine on the just and unjust, for their great comfort and happiness here and hereafter, if they will use and not abuse it. Notwithstanding the inconceivable folly and inconsistency of worshipping our Saviour as God, and yet disbelieving his promises of those attributes of revealed religion, so essentially a part of that revelation, as emanating from infinite power, wisdom and love, that it could never have been made without them. Though I cannot admit, that the Son of God built, like a fool, his house on the sandy foundation of private opinion, to tumble when the rain fell and the storm blew. Why? Because

precise private judgment he meant by the sandy foundation. As the sand, heated by the sun, is impregnated with a repulsive power, and is blown away by every gust of wind. As the falling drops of rain are clothed with an electric share of repulsion, forbidding their approach towards each other, and causing them to descend parallel, and not in cataracts; so private judgments, restif to authority, impregnated with a dangerous conceit, deluded by a delirious imagination of I know not what spirit, essentially and necessarily become repulsive. Dissent and redissent, and dissent from dissent, in an infinite series, is the essence and definition of the sandy foundation of private judgment and dissention in matters of faith. Christ built on a rock. What rock? The rock of authority divine: first, immediate and present; then delegated, perpetuated, set upon a high hill, conspicuous to all nations for ever. Rock, meant two things; first, the person in whom, and through whom, the authority of Christ; and the person or persons, to whom he delegated the authority, until his second glorious appearance. Secondly, the declaration and recognition of that authority. In the first sense, his declaration to Peter is to be understood. Asking his disciples, what do people say of me? They answered, some say you are John the Baptist, others Elias, more Jeremias, or some one of the number of the prophets. Whom do you yourselves think I am? Peter answered. Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Thou art blessed, Simon Bar-jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed

this to thee, but my father who is in heaven. And I likewise declare to thee, that thou art the rock, and upon this rock I shall build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I shall give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou loosenest shall be loosened.

This declaration, from the highest authority, is full, satisfactory, evident beyond appeal. By the kingdom of heaven here is meant the spiritual kingdom of God, the church of Christ, like the tunic he wore, one and indivisible. Here he promises perpetual duration, until the awful day that the kingdom is to be changed from terrestrial to celestial, with an assurance that decay or death should never reach her. The words *sheól* admit no other meaning. *Sheól* had two meanings: 1st. The *secundina*, or thin membrane enveloping an infant in the womb. The second, the grave; as a sort of *secundina* or tegument, containing our mortal remains in the dark womb of the earth until the second birth. All we must die, and pass into *sheól*, in the second sense; but the church, declared immortal by its founder, cannot be subdued by *sheól*; i. e. by death, decay, or the grave. To Peter he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, i. e. of his spiritual kingdom, the church, with power of binding and loosening; and that whatsoever he bound or loosened, should be bound and loosened in heaven. Here there is a difference between the kingdom of heaven, and heaven simply without

addition. In the latter, a literal sense is clear, that opposition to the head of the church, in his spiritual capacity, is opposition to God. Peter is called cephas, a rock; but not every rock indiscriminately. It is the angular stone of the foundation of a building. In this sense Christ himself is called a rock, *petra autem erat Christus*. The stone, rejected by the builders, became the corner-stone. Cephas is so called, because the form of the corner-stone must be in conformity to the plan of the building, and the prop of its firmness: thus did he constitute Peter prime minister of his new and imperishable kingdom, in as clear sense as language can convey. First, he pronounced him by his new title the corner stone; secondly, he gave him the keys; thirdly, he gave him the power to loose and bind, with the seal of divine assent. Some dissenters say, that the rock here meant was, the confession of St. Peter; to excuse their separation from the church and its head. Yes, properly understood, that also was meant: not merely the words, thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, for so much was confessed by evil spirits, but the authority on which that confession was grounded. “Flesh and blood hath not revealed that to thee, but my father who is in heaven,” i. e. you sought no proofs from miracles or prophecy, but implicitly submitted to the authority dictating to you. Of this authority Peter was but delegate, conservator and dispensator, to hand it to his successors as he received it. The confession of Peter, is, therefore, not only an acknowledgement of the

Messiahship of Christ, but a recognition of the corner-stone of his church, the cephas of authority divine; immediate, with Christ, delegated to Peter, as head to his colleagues and their successors, co-ministers, co-adjutors, yet subordinate to one common head. Those, who fled from the rock, and betook themselves to sandy foundations, of whose pernicious effects they will be sensible, whenever God, in his mercy, removes the veil of prejudice, obscuring their light for the present, have no foundation for accusing me of prejudice, or partiality, for adhering to principles thus evident. How could I honor him as an inspired prophet, and doubt words so clear and evident, that I must abandon common sense before I question the sense in which the church receives them. If they wanted illustration, or confirmation, which they do not, other passages of the New Testament, clear and strong to the same purpose, might be adduced. Let these suffice for the present.

Having thus far justified, at least to my own satisfaction, the preference to catholic principles, I would zealously oppose any insult to be offered to any individual, belonging to the multifarious species and genera that compose the large and diversified hortus siccus of dissent. As Burke humorously said, in remarking on Dr. Price's exhortation to multiply dissent, in case any one could not please his fancy, or adapt his conscience to any of the existing modes of dissent. First, because, for mental errors, man is responsible to his creator only. Secondly, because any

species of persecution is directly contrary to reason, and is of a nature to defeat the views of the persecutor; inasmuch as it embitters and prejudices the mind against the opinions of the persecutor. Thirdly, because the divine authority of him, who makes his sun shine on the just and unjust, who bid us love our enemies, do good for evil, and gave us a lesson and precept in the parable of the good Samaritan, to love dissenters as if they were of our own communion. Fourthly, because God willed the separation and its consequences, and employs them as instruments in the mysterious operations of his government. In the great laboratory of nature, which is but another name for the workshop of God, whether the physical or moral world be considered, there are wheels within wheels, of awful and inscrutable intricacy, until he chuses to let a little of them be seen. Wherefore did a pretended prophet, in the deserts of Arabia, form a scheme of religion, whose followers over-ran the greatest part of Asia, and great portions of Africa and Europe, humbling the Eastern, and almost annihilating the African church? For the same reason, that Luther and Calvin, with the rest of the fraternity, were enabled to separate considerable portions of the western church. It did not become the spouse of his Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, to court or wed the mammon of iniquity, or temporal power. Her founder and protector declared, that no man can serve God and mammon. She too long served the latter; the inference is inevitable. He told her, that

the enemy offered himself all the kingdoms of the earth, of all which he pretended an authority to dispose. What was this, but a warning not to succumb to the greatest temptation the adversary could throw in her way. Why was he born in a manger, in poverty, and educated by a poor family? Why live and preach in poverty, often destitute of a place whereupon to lay his head? Wherefore was he spit on, scourged and nailed to a cross between two thieves? Was it that preachers of his doctrine should, in opposition to his express command, be lords and princes, and lord it even with a rod of iron over kings and princes? Ecclesiastical history, however cautiously written, cannot be read, without perceiving the decay of religion, discipline and morals, occasioned by the great influx of wealth and temporal power on the hierarchy. Hence an influx of men to fill the higher ranks of the church, without other vocation, than the love of wealth and power. Men of the world, rank with all the pride, luxury and corruption of aristocracy, how could they be the salt of the earth? If salt partake the nature of fat pork, beef and mutton, how will it season or preserve them? It is unnecessary to dwell on what is obvious to every one, ever so little conversant in history. Did he not declare to them, that no man can serve God and mammon? much more applicable to men, who profess to renounce the world for the service of God, and live in celibacy, than to the great bulk of mankind, who, having the burden of rearing and providing for a family,

must bustle through life for bread. Can it be denied, that far too many of God's professed ministers, have zealously served the mammon of iniquity, and have heaped up treasures on earth, as proof that their hearts were there also? What is related of the devil's carrying up our Saviour to the top of a mountain, in whatever way it is viewed, cannot appear but as a strong warning against worldly-mindedness; teaching, that the offer of temporal wealth and power would be the most dangerous temptation the devil could throw in their way. In short, a reform was necessary, and wished for by the most pious and learned of christians, not excepting cardinal Bellarmine, *De Gemitu Columbæ*; not of faith, but of discipline, ecclesiastical constitution, and morals. As no diseased body can reform itself, it must come from without, with much violence, done with fire and sword, and shedding of blood. It was for this, that fanatic Mussulmen prostrated the pride of the eastern empire and church. For this end also, the numerous sects, that with great fury proceeded to overturn all antient institutions, propagating sedition and civil war wherever they succeeded. As Swift humorously said, on pretence of quarrelling with the embroidery, they lacerated the coat; yet their erroneous and violent methods of reform, were necessary, to forward a real and radical reform in the church, to separate the temporal and spiritual authorities, and ease the ministers of religion from the enormous pressure of mammon, that chained down their energies in the pursuit of filthy lucre, making them

indolent and inefficient. As it was pride, wealth, and power, that caused all those schisms between the Greek and Latin churches, as well as in Europe, the absence of these will conduce to revive the primitive charity and humility of christians, in order to heal these wounds. It was for this divine purpose, that, under pretence of zeal for God and religion, those long and bloody wars were carried on, that desolated so great a part of Christendom for centuries. It was for this object England got the dominion of the sea, colonized America, sought to enslave her colonies, whence the unparaelled phenomenon, the French Revolution. Had the English accepted offers of peace, the most submissive, France would not have passed her frontier; nor would Europe have been subdued. This would not have answered the views of providence. Coalition after coalition, called forth those prodigies of genius, valor and success, as inclined all men to behold something supernatural in it; some ascribing it to God, and others to the devil. It was with some knowledge of these principles, that the writer of these pages foretold so many remarkable events, long before they happened; as many living witnesses can attest. Great events are not as yet remote, foreign to the present subject.

If any one ask, what has this dissertation on the movements of the moral system, influencing religion, morality and society, to do with Irish history? It has much connexion with the history of every nation. Without touching on the springs,

that operate so powerfully on the minds and actions of nations. Without tracing events to their causes, remote as well as proximate, occasional and efficient, we view things with the circumscribed optics of a mole confined to its hole and hillock. As St. Paul, rightly translated, says, we know things but superficially and by comparison. 'Tis, therefore, the task of an historian, not to relate the affairs of nations like the adventures of a romance or novel, but to illustrate them by comparisons; by tracing them to their causes, whether these lie in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character, and institutions, civil and religious, and other circumstances materially influencing human conduct. Irish history, as much as that of any other people, is interested in such disquisitions; for religion, at all times, formed à marked feature in her character, and was one of the principal regulators in all her institutions and conduct. Before Christianity, she was, by the unanimous voice of antiquity, denominated the sacred island, and the mart of literature. Since Christianity, she preserved, for many centuries, the same honorable pre-eminence, until the invasion of sanguinary barbarians quenched her glory in the blood of its best inhabitants. Her enemies I heard say, that indeed she was formerly the Island of Saints, but now is become the Island of Devils. If the latter part of the assertion be true, is it not worth while to examine the causes of so deplorable a catastrophe; and ask, with the plaintive Jeremiah, weeping over the ruins of his fallen country,

“How has the purest of gold been tarnished with such base alloy!” However that be, ’tis necessary to relate the progress of religious innovations, and the principal influence they had, in producing those dissensions between king and people, which led to the violent convulsions, that blew up the monarchy and high church, and covered Ireland with ruins. When Elizabeth, from hatred to the pope, and his religion, opened a channel for, and even encouraged these novelties, she did not foresee the wild fervor with which fanaticism would go to work. As soon as she saw the effervescence with which this wild gas was labouring to subvert present order, as established, she endeavored to confine and check its operation. During her reign, it was contented to work unobservedly, preparing the mine and sap, which were successfully worked in the reigns of her two successors. The chief managers and agents, in this horrific tragedy, are thus described by Hume. “Amidst that complication of disputes, in which men were then involved, we may observe, that the appellation, puritan, stood for three parties, which, though commonly united together, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the church; and the doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court-party, the hierarchy,

and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not as yet comprehend all those who were favourable to the church and to monarchy. But, as the controversies on every subject grew daily warmer, men united themselves more intimately with their friends, and separated themselves wider from their antagonists; and the distinction gradually became quite uniform and regular." Their power he states truly. "The puritanical party, though disguised, had a great authority over the kingdom, and many of the leaders among the commons had secretly embraced the rigid tenets of that sect...It is remarkable, that this party made the privilege of the nation as much a part of their religion as the church-party did the prerogatives of the crown; and nothing tended farther to recommend among the people, who always take opinions in the lump, the whole system and principles of the former sect. The king soon found, by fatal experience, that this engine of religion, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, falling under more fortunate management, was played with the most terrible success against him."

These sectaries and patriots, whether real or pretended, chiefly influenced by puritans, from the flames of religious war, raging in France and Germany, incautiously increased by Charles,*

* He encouraged the heroic Gustaphus Adolphus to carry on the memorable thirty years war, for religion and liberty, in Germany, with promise of support.

caught a similar phrenzy of zeal. They longed to copy the examples of Geneva, Switzerland, and Holland, where no king, no bishop, might be proclaimed with applause. Misunderstanding the New Testament, entirely guided by the intolerant spirit of the Old, they thirsted for the extirpation of what they stiled Antichrist, the scarlet whore, popery. "Their (the commons) zeal and jealousy for religion, and their enmity against the unfortunate catholics, ran extremely high....Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the commonwealth, by the commons, anno 1629."*

To accomplish these cherished objects, the extinction of popery, monarchy, and episcopacy, the managers of the puritans proceeded with uncommon vigour and ability. Their plan was, to degrade the monarchy, both in estimation and power, by sapping its prerogatives and revenues; by involving it in difficulties, and leaving it to support itself by illegal means. This Charles experienced in the very beginning of his reign. The commons forced him, by importunities and promises, to declare war against the house of Austria, in support of his son-in-law, the prince palatine, lately created king of Bohemia, as well as in support of the protestant interest; but, as soon as the crown was completely involved in the contest, the commons, under pretence of some domestic grievances, broke their engagements, withholding the supplies. Thus was the unfor-

* Hume. Hist. of England.

fortunate Charles reduced to this distressing dilemma. The crown and nation of England must be disgraced, by abandoning allies, solicited to the war by itself, at the instigation of parliament; or illegal resources must be resorted to, in support of their honour and interest, which would encrease the number and force of his malignant, domestic enemies. “ The house of commons took into consideration the business of supply. They knew, that all the money granted by the last parliament had been expended on naval and military armaments; and that great anticipations were likewise made on the revenues of the crown. They were not ignorant that Charles was loaded with a debt, contracted by his father, who had borrowed money both from his own subjects and from foreign princes. They had learned by experience, that the public revenues could with difficulty maintain the dignity of the crown, even under the ordinary charges of government. They were sensible, that the present war was, very lately, the result of their own importunate applications and entreaties, and that they had solemnly engaged to support their sovereign in the management of it. They were acquainted with the difficulty of military enterprizes, directed against the whole house of Austria; against the king of Spain, possessed of the greatest riches and most extensive dominions of any prince in Europe; against the emperor Ferdinand, hitherto the most fortunate monarch of his age, who had subdued and astonished Germany by the rapidity of his victories. Deep im-

pressions, they saw, must be made by the English sword, and a vigorous offensive war be waged against these mighty potentates, ere they would resign a principality, which they had now fully subdued, and which they held in secure possession, by its being surrounded with all their other territories.

“ To answer, therefore, all these great and important ends; to justify their young king in the first request which he made them; to prove their sense of the many royal virtues, particularly æconomy, with which Charles was endued; the house of commons, conducted by the wisest and ablest senators that had ever flourished in England, thought proper to confer on the king a supply of two subsidies, amounting to 112,000 pounds.

“ This measure, which discovers rather a cruel mockery of Charles, than any serious design of supporting him, appears so extraordinary, when considered in all its circumstances, that it naturally summons up our attention, and raises an enquiry concerning the causes of a conduct, unprecedented in an English parliament. So numerous an assembly, composed of persons of various dispositions, was not, 'tis probable, wholly influenced by the same motives; and few declared openly their true reason. We shall, therefore, approach nearer the truth, if we mention all the views which the present conjuncture could suggest to them.”*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

Mr. Hume goes over the reasons ingenuously enough, but passes by the principal, the republican and sectarian spirit.

Men of splendid ability were leaders of the commons engaged on the side of liberty. Allowed Would not men of ability be able to calculate the expences of a great war, against the two most potent monarchies in Europe? Would men of integrity, friends of liberty and the people, disgrace that people, and their first magistrate, by compelling him to break the public faith, engaged in the most solemn treaties, with foreign powers? Facts best develop the deep designs of these men of abilities. " Charles now found himself obliged to depart from that delicacy, which he had formerly maintained. By himself or his ministers, he entered into a particular detail, both of the alliances which he had formed, and of the military operations which he had projected. He told the parliament, that, by a promise of subsidies, he had engaged the king of Denmark to take part in the war: that this monarch intended to enter Germany by the north, and to rouse to arms those princes, who impatiently longed for an opportunity of asserting the liberty of the empire; that Mansfeldt had undertaken to penetrate with an English army into the Palatinate, and by that quarter to excite the members of the evangelical union; that the states must be supported in the unequal warfare which they maintained with Spain; that no less a sum than £700,000 a year had been found, by computation, requisite for all these purposes; that

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the maintenance of the fleet and the defence of Ireland demanded an annual expence of £400,000; that he himself had already exhausted and anticipated, in the public service, his whole revenue, and had scarcely left sufficient for the daily subsistence of himself and of his family; that, on his accession to the crown, he found a debt of above £300,000, contracted by his father, in support of the Palatine; and that, while prince of Wales, he had himself contracted debts, notwithstanding his great frugality, to the amount of £70,000, which he had expended entirely on naval and military armaments. After mentioning all these facts, the king even condescended to use entreaties. He said, that this request was the first which he had ever made them; that he was young and in the commencement of his reign; and, if he now met with kind and dutiful usage, it would endear him to the use of parliaments, and would for ever preserve an entire harmony between him and his people.

“ To these reasons the commons remained inexorable. Notwithstanding that the king's measures, on the supposition of a foreign war, which they had constantly demanded, were altogether unexceptionable, they obstinately refused any farther assistance. Some members, favourable to the court, having insisted on an addition of two fifteenths to the former supply, even this pittance was refused; though it was known, that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth, in great want of pay and provisions; and that Buckingham, the admiral, and the treasurer of the

navy, had advanced on their own credit near an hundred thousand pounds for the sea-service. Besides all their other motives, the house of commons had made a discovery, which, as they wanted but a pretence for their refusal, inflamed them against the court and against the duke of Buckingham.”*

The fulfilment of a promise made by James, of furnishing some ships of war to Louis of France, against the Genoese, gave the commons a fresh handle for raising popular discontent against Charles, on the score of religion. The leaders of the Hugonots, disgusted in some court intrigue, under the never-failing pretence of religion, without the smallest provocation from the catholics, rebelled against their sovereign. Popish Spain assisted the Protestant rebels, and Protestant Holland aided the Catholic sovereign. The puritan leaders knew it was considered a war of interests, not of religion, except by the meanest of the mobility. Nevertheless, they could not slip so fair an opportunity, of working on the protestant feelings of the most bigotted nation in the world, to excite disaffection towards his majesty's person and government; nor could so apt materials be found to work withal. “When the vessels, by Charles's orders, arrived at Diepe, there arose a strong suspicion, that they were to serve against Rochelle. The sailors were inflamed. That race of men, who are at present both careless and ignorant in all mat-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

ters of religion, were at that time only ignorant. They drew up a remonstrance to Pennington, their commander; and signing all their names in a circle, lest he should discover the ring-leaders, they laid it under his prayer-book. Pennington declared, that he would rather be hanged in England for disobedience, than fight against his brother protestants in France. The whole squadron sailed immediately to the Downs. There they received new orders from Buckingham, lord admiral, to return to Diepe. As the duke knew, that authority alone would not suffice, he employed much art and many subtilties to engage them to obedience; and a rumour, which was spread, that peace had been concluded between the French king and the Hugonots, assisted him in his purpose. When they arrived at Diepe, they found that they had been deceived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded one of the vessels, broke through, and returned to England. All the officers and sailors of the other ships, notwithstanding great offers made them by the French, immediately deserted. One gunner alone preferred duty towards his king to the cause of religion; and he was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle. The care, which historians have taken to record this frivolous event, shews with what pleasure the news was received by the nation, of which the parliamentarians made good use.

“ Great murmurs and discontents still prevailed in parliament. The Hugonots, though they had no ground of complaint against the French

court, were thought to be as much entitled to assistance from England, as if they had taken arms in defence of their liberties and religion against the persecuting rage of the catholics. And it plainly appears from this incident, as well as from many others, that, of all European nations, the British were, at that time, and till long after, the most under the influence of that religious spirit, which tends rather to inflame bigotry than increase peace and mutual charity.

“ On this occasion, the commons renewed their eternal complaints against the growth of popery, which was ever the chief of their grievances, and now their only one. They demanded a strict execution of the penal laws against the catholics, and remonstrated against some late pardons, granted to priests. They attacked Montague, one of the king’s chaplains, on account of a moderate book, which he had lately composed, and which, to their great disgust, saved virtuous catholics, as well as other christians, from eternal torments. Charles gave them a gracious and compliant answer to all their remonstrances. He was however, in his heart, extremely averse to these furious measures. Though a determined protestant, by principle as well as inclination, he had entertained no violent horror against popery; and a little humanity, he thought, was due by the nation to the religion of their ancestors. That degree of liberty, which is now indulged to catholics, though a party much more obnoxious than during the reign of the Stuarts, it suited neither with Charles’s sentiments, nor the humour

of the age, to allow them. An abatement of the more rigorous laws was all he intended; and his engagements with France, notwithstanding that their regular execution had never been proposed nor expected, required of him some indulgence. But so unfortunate was this prince, that no measure, embraced during his reign, was ever attended with more unhappy and more fatal consequences.”*

The pretended patriots, but real republican rebels, having thus successfully played off the engine of fanatical insanity, against their liege lord, had recourse to their old and constant expedient, of forcing him on illegal methods of supplying the exigencies of the state, by withholding supplies, to carry on the Spanish war, in which they had engaged him. “The king, finding that the parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, and would furnish him with nothing but empty protestations of duty, or disagreeable complaints of grievances; took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretence, immediately dissolved them. By finishing the session with a dissolution, instead of a prorogation, he sufficiently expressed his displeasure at their conduct. To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned. By means, however,

* Hume. Hist. of England.

of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet."* When supplies were granted, they were inadequate, and so saddled with limitations and restrictions, as put the head of the executive on a level with a land steward. "The supply was only voted by the commons. The passing of that vote into a law was reserved till the end of the session. A condition was thereby made, in a very undisguised manner, with their sovereign. Under colour of redressing grievances, which, during this short reign, could not be very numerous; they were to proceed in regulating and controuling every part of government, which displeased them: and if the king either cut them short in this undertaking, or refused compliance with their demands, he must not expect any supply from the commons. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by Charles with a method of treatment, which he deemed so harsh and undutiful. But his urgent necessities obliged him to submit; and he waited with patience, observing to what side they would turn themselves."*

It lies not in my province, to detail the weakness, impolicy, or misconduct, which lay Charles more and more open to the assaults of his inveterate enemies. I shall only observe, that it was morally impossible for a monarch, thus beset, and attacked at all points, by the commons, using every engine to increase disaffection towards him, and refusing the necessary support of

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

government, for the purposes either of peace or war, not to fall into a thousand mistakes. How much more honourable would it have been, to resign, and renounce the government of such intractable and perfidious enemies, and subsist on his own means and abilities? What, but infatuation, could retain any man of honour in so harassed a situation? But the party, who persecuted and worried him with such art and persecution, until they excited rebellion in the three kingdoms, and brought him to the scaffold, is my present object. Them, and their accomplices, I mean to pursue, through all the intricacies of their perfidious policy, and all the mazes of their detestable arts, until, by ouvert acts, and their plain consequences, they shall be convicted, of having, under the names of civil liberty and religion, excited all the horrors of civil and religious war throughout the two islands.

One of their most marked features was, a professed abhorrence of Roman catholics, and a declared wish for their eradication. "The never failing cry of popery here served them in stead. They again claimed the execution of the penal laws against catholics; and they presented to the king a list of persons, entrusted with offices, most of them insignificant, who were either convicted or suspected recusants. In this particular, they had, perhaps, some reason to blame the king's conduct. He had promised to the last house of commons a redress of this religious grievance: but he was apt, in imitation of his father, to imagine, that the parliament, when they failed

of supplying his necessities, had, on their part, freed him from the obligation of a strict performance. A new odium, likewise, by these representations, was attempted to be thrown upon Buckingham. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed catholic; his wife was not free from suspicion: and the indulgence given to catholics was of course supposed to proceed entirely from his credit and authority. So violent was the bigotry of the times, that it was thought a sufficient reason for disqualifying any one from holding an office, that his wife, or relations, or companions, were papists, though he himself were a conformist.*

The puritanic republicans, such they were, though not as yet avowed, were evidently bent on the ruin of the monarchy. "The next attack made by the commons, had it prevailed, would have proved decisive. They were preparing a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament. This article, together with the new impositions laid on merchandize by James, constituted near half of the crown revenue; and by depriving the king of these resources, they would have reduced him to total subjection and dependence. While they retained such a pledge, besides the supply already promised, they were sure nothing could be refused them."*

Had that decisive blow succeeded, by withholding supplies, they would soon have forced

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

Charles to surrender the whole executive into their hands. Charles himself was aware of their intentions, but wanted firmness and ability to oppose their schemes. "To-day the commons pretended to wrest his minister from him; to-morrow, they would attack some branch of his prerogative. By their remonstrances, and promises, and protestations, they had engaged the crown in a war. So soon as they saw a retreat impossible, without waiting for new incidents, without covering themselves with new pretences, they immediately deserted him, and refused him all reasonable supply. It was evident, that they desired nothing so much as to see him plunged in inextricable difficulties, of which they intended to take advantage. To such deep perfidy, to such unbounded usurpations, it was necessary to oppose a proper firmness and resolution. All encroachments on supreme power could only be resisted successfully on the first attempt. The sovereign authority was, with some difficulty, reduced from its antient and legal height; but when once pushed downwards, it soon became contemptible, and would easily, by the continuance of the same effort, now encouraged by success, be carried to the lowest extremity."*

By this management, they put him on the resources of a highwayman. In this desperate condition, at war with Spain, and his own subjects at home, without revenue, and, consequently, without sufficient forces by sea or land, he wan-

* Hume. Hist. of England.

tonly declares war against France too. This put him still more in the power of those, who, though not all republicans, were secretly under their influence, during the passing of the Bill of Rights. Their venomous rancour against the unfortunate catholics, is displayed by their petitioning, that the penal laws shall hereafter be more exact and rigid than heretofore. When people are in this humour of reforming down monarchy to a nullity, it is easy to see, that every concession, on the part of the crown, would lead to fresh demands from the commons, according to the adage, 'give but an inch they will take an ell.' Instead of remaining satisfied with the passing of the Bill of Rights, which fully secured the rights and privileges of the people, they now meditated a decisive blow, to deprive the crown of the chief part of its scanty hereditary revenue, Tonnage and Poundage. The house of lords seems to have perceived the drift of these unremitting encroachments on the executive, and rejected the bill, passed by the commons, for depriving his majesty of his little hereditary revenue. " But what was most remarkable in the proceedings of that house of commons, and what proved beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing their prince to dependence, was, that, instead of granting this supply during the king's life-time, as it had been enjoyed by all his immediate predecessors, they voted it only for a year; and, after that should be elapsed, reserved to themselves the power of renewing or refusing the same concession. But

the house of peers, who saw, that this duty was now become more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, and who did not approve of this encroaching spirit in the commons, rejected the bill, and the dissolution of that parliament followed soon after: but in the succeeding parliament, the commons made there some steps towards declaring it illegal to levy Tonnage and Poundage without consent of parliament; and they openly shewed their intention of employing this engine, in order to extort from the crown concessions of the most important nature.”* That they meant to treat him as a master would his menial servant or labourer, by refusing his wages if he did not comply with every command or even wish, “ It was probable, that the commons might renew their former project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reducing their prince to perpetual dependence; they certainly would cut off the new impositions, which Mary and Elizabeth, but especially James, had levied, and which formed no despicable part of the public revenue; and they openly declared, that they had, at present, many important pretensions, chiefly with regard to religion; and if compliance was refused, no supply must be expected from the commons.”* What pretensions they had with regard to religion, they partly avowed, in their many petitions to have the penal laws against catholics enforced with rigorous punctuality. In their intentions

* Hume. Hist. of England.

towards the established hierachy, they were more reserved hitherto; but in the publications of their partizans, some of which have survived the puritanic court of godly and able ministers, upright presbytery, and the popish ceremonies and ritual of the episcopalians, plainly indicate what spirit they were of. Charles himself suspected their design, though not, perhaps, in the totality of its extent. "The plain consequence, he saw, of all these rigours, and refinements, and inferences, was, that he, without any public necessity, and without any fault of his own, must, of a sudden, even from his accession, become a magistrate of a very different nature from any of his predecessors, and must fall into a total dependance on subjects, over whom former kings, especially those immediately preceding, had exercised an authority almost unlimited."* The powerful engine of religion was incessantly hurled at church and state. "The Arminians, finding more encouragement from the superstitious spirit of the church than from the fanaticism of the puritans, gradually incorporated themselves with the former; and some of that sect, by the indulgence of James and Charles, had attained the highest offices and preferments in the hierachy. But their success with the public had not been altogether answerable to that which they met with in the church and the court. Throughout the nation, they still lay under the reproach of innovation and heresy. The commons now levelled against

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

them their formidable censures, and made them the objects of daily invective and declamation. Their protectors were stigmatized; their tenets canvassed; their views represented as dangerous and pernicious. To impartial spectators surely, if any such had been at that time in England, it must have given great entertainment, to see a popular assembly, enflamed with faction and enthusiasm, pretend to discuss questions, to which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never hitherto been able to find any satisfactory solution.”*

The reader may now be satisfied with a tolerable just delineation of the attitudes and weapons of the parties at issue for the sovereignty in church and state. Democracy, with the cant of patriotism and religious zeal, declaiming on grievances and abuses in government and religion, harassed the executive, and drove it to distraction and despotic acts, by impelling it on great and expensive wars; and, when entangled therein, deserting it, by withholding supplies; thus bringing contempt on it, both at home and abroad. Now, as currents, in the moral as well as in the physical world, produce counter currents, so the loyalists gave into the contrary extreme. They dwelt on the hereditary, indefeasible, divine right of kings; and that, in great exigencies, he has a right to take a portion of every man's property, for the honour and interest of the nation; in case the holders of the

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

national purse, from any factious principle, be willing to sacrifice both.

Charles struggled long, though often rashly and imprudently, always unsuccessfully, to preserve the tottering throne. His enemies had him gaffed, and they had prudence enough to wait for the moment favorable to hawl him in. It belongs only to the history of England, to enter further into the detail of a contest, daily becoming more fierce and obstinate. Prerogative making bold and not unprecedented, but ineffectual struggles, for its own preservation. Privilege marching, with a confident, firm and well guided step, to its object; untill the unfortunate monarch, by some unaccountable folly, turned the scale against himself, and kindled the flames of war. His queen too, an accomplished, beautiful, prudent and high-spirited princess, was a disadvantage to the king; because she was a daughter of France, and a catholic. " Charles reserved all his passion for the queen, to whom he attached himself with unshaken fidelity and confidence. By her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed, that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipitated him into hasty and imprudent counsels. Her religion likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune; since it augmented the jealousy, which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the catholics some indulgences, which were generally distasteful to the na-

tion.”* And so they will continue, untill they are divested somewhat of their insolent self-sufficiency, and restored to sobriety of thought. One imprudence of the monarch, before I come to the fatal one, deserves mention, if it were only for its jocular singularity. “The thorough-paced puritans were distinguished by the sourness and austerity of their manners, and by their aversion to all pleasure and society. To inspire them with better humour, was certainly, both for their own sake and that of the public, a very laudable intention in the court; but whether pillories, fines, and prisons, were proper expedients for that purpose, may admit of some question.

“Another expedient which the king tried, in order to infuse chearfulness into the national devotion, was not much more successful. He renewed his father’s edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those, who were puritanically affected, refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. The differences between the sects were before sufficiently great; nor was it necessary to widen them farther by these inventions.

“Some encouragement and protection, which the king and bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other chearful festivals of the common people, were the object of like scandal

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

to the puritans.”* Whoever does not see in this, the prototype of a modern sect, must want penetration. On the strictest comparison, they will be found to resemble, as one egg to another, almost one sect under different names.

It is foreign to the object of this history, to detail the proceedings of Charles, from the time he resolved to govern without parliaments, untill his own imprudence involved him in the absolute necessity of calling one, which brought his head to the block, and laid church and state prostrate. Satisfied with having traced the origin and progress of the combined fanatic and democratic factions, which labored with such perseverance and success for a revolution; it is time to hasten to the moment, when Charles, by indiscreet zeal for the hierarchy, and for uniformity of discipline and worship in England and Scotland, kindled a furious rebellion in the latter kingdom, which was not extinguished untill it involved the other two in similar calamities.

Both James and Charles labored, and with some success too, to produce some degree of uniformity between the church of England and the kirk of Scotland. It was much gained for this end, that the latter admitted the establishment of episcopacy, which the kings of England have always considered as an order of men, not only useful, but necessary for the preservation of the monarchy. The value at which their services to the crown have been rated, may be just enough, as far as it concerns England. As

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

spiritual magistrates there, they are its barriers for legal and illegal acts. They command the body of the clergy, and these preach obedience and submission to the people. In Scotland, their establishment had a contrary effect, injurious to the crown. The king, being both conscientiously and from policy attached to the hierarchy, had them of his privy council in Scotland, and conferred on them the high offices of state, such as chancellor, treasurer, &c. This preference disgusted the haughty noblesse of that country, who looked down on such new men as far their inferiors in rank and descent, and considered the high offices of state as privileges and appurtenances of their own order. The establishment was contrary to the genius of the presbyterian kirk, which acknowledges but one order of priesthood, without other difference than ability and zeal may cause, and viewed the prelacy as an odious, tyrannical imposition. It is astonishing, that Charles, with a knowledge of these circumstances, and managing the reins of government, amidst such difficulties and perplexities in England, over a discontented people, without daring to call a parliament, whose refractory spirit he always found more eager to encroach on his prerogative, than to supply the necessary aids to the executive government, should rashly, and fatally, without compulsion of necessity, or prospect of utility, tempt the irascible temper of his North Britain subjects, with an experiment as tragical as childish. “The liturgy, which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland,

was copied from that of England: but lest a servile imitation might shock the pride of his antient kingdom, a few alterations, in order to save appearances, were made in it; and in that shape it was transmitted to the bishops at Edinburgh. But the Scots had universally entertained a notion, that, though riches and worldly glory had been shared out to them with a sparing hand, they could boast of spiritual treasures more abundant and more genuine, than were enjoyed by any nation under heaven. Even their southern neighbours, they thought, though separated from Rome, still retained a great tincture of the primitive pollution; and their liturgy was represented as a species of mass, though with some less shew and embroidery. Great prejudices, therefore, were entertained against it, even considered in itself; much more, when regarded as a preparative, which was soon to introduce into Scotland all the abominations of popery. And as the very few alterations, which distinguished the new liturgy from the English, seemed to approach nearer to the doctrine of the real presence; this circumstance was deemed an undoubted confirmation of every suspicion, with which the people were possessed.

“Easter-day was, by proclamation, appointed for the first reading of the service in Edinburgh: But in order to judge more surely of men’s dispositions, the council delayed the matter till the 23d of July; and they even gave notice, the Sunday before, of their intention to commence the use of the new liturgy. As no considerable symp-

toms of discontent appeared, they thought that they might safely proceed in their purpose; and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service, the bishop himself and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book, than a multitude of the meanest sort, most of them women, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, **A POPE! A POPE! ANTICHRIST! STONE HIM!** raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop mounting the pulpit, in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him: the council was insulted: and it was with difficulty, that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the rabble, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without: stones were thrown at the doors and windows: and when the service was ended, the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude. In the afternoon, the privy seal, because he carried the bishop in his coach, was so pelted with stones, and hooted at with execrations, and pressed upon by the eager populace, that, if his servants, with drawn swords, had not kept them off, the bishop's life had been exposed to the utmost danger.

“ Though it was violently suspected, that the low rabble, who alone appeared, had been instigated by some of higher condition, yet no proof of it could be produced, and every one spake

with disapprobation of the licentiousness of the giddy multitude. It was not thought safe, however, to hazard a new insult by a new attempt to read the liturgy; and the populace seemed, for the time, to be appeased and satisfied. But it being known, that the king still persevered in his intentions of imposing that mode of worship, men fortified themselves still farther in their prejudices against it; and great multitudes resorted to Edinburgh, in order to oppose the introduction of so hated a novelty. It was not long before they broke out into the most violent disorder. The bishop of Galloway was attacked in the streets, and chased into the chamber, where the privy council was sitting. The council itself was besieged and violently attacked: the town-council met with the same fate: and nothing could have saved the lives of all of them, but their application to some popular lords, who protected them, and dispersed the multitude. In this sedition, the actors were of some better condition than in the former; though nobody of rank seemed, as yet, to countenance them.

“ All men, however, began to unite and to encourage each other, in opposition to the religious innovations introduced into the kingdom. Petitions to the council were signed and presented by persons of the highest quality: the women took part, and, as is usual, with violence. The clergy, every where, loudly declaimed against popery and the liturgy, which they represented as the same: the pulpits resounded with vehement invectives against antichrist: and the popu-

lace, who first opposed the service, was often compared to Balaam's ass, an animal, in itself stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord, to the admiration of the whole world. In short, fanaticism mingled with faction, private interest with the spirit of liberty, symptoms appeared, on all hands, of the most dangerous insurrection and disorder.

“ To so violent a combination of a whole kingdom, Charles had nothing to oppose but a proclamation; in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindesey: and this was the first time, that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advanced by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed out at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four TABLES, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burghesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the hands of the four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed, with the utmost regularity. And among

the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT.

“ The treacherous, the cruel, the unrelenting Philip, accompanied with all the terrors of a Spanish inquisition, was scarcely, during the preceding century, opposed in the Low Countries with more determined fury, than was now, by the Scots, the mild, the humane Charles, attended with his inoffensive liturgy.”*

Not so inoffensive neither, as may seem to a latitudinarian, or deist, or to a mercenary historian, compromising truth to flatter the prejudices of the more opulent nation. If Hume held the different modes of faith in equal contempt, the intrusion of the liturgy of one sect upon another could not but appear inoffensive to him. But if, like the Scotch, he were a zealous religionist of any description, he would view and feel it as an unwarrantable invasion of one of the first and most essential rights and duties of man; an illegal and impious assault on the sacred asylum of conscience, that internal monitor, to whose arbitration the God of nature has committed the choice of the means and modes, through which the grateful homage and adoration of the creature shall be addressed to the throne of the infinite, eternal, omnipotent, ever adorable Creator. The Scotch were therefore right, in considering the faith and worship altogether independent of the civil power; and, that the arbitrary attempts of Charles, to dictate to the consciences of his

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

subjects, was an usurpation of the spiritual kingdom of Christ; as to heaven alone appertains the divine prerogative of dictating to the heads and hearts of all his rational creatures. They knew, that Christianity was thus established, propagated, and preserved, solely by divine authority, without the meddling or dictation of the civil power, and in defiance to their opposition. They saw, that independence of the civil power is an essential attribute of revelation, given to correct the aberrations of the human understanding, (confessed by Cicero, in his masterly epitome of the Greek philosophy, where he confesses, after Plato, that the learned as well as ignorant shall remain in doubt and uncertainty, on subjects of the first importance, unless some God reveal,) should not be left subject to the arbitrary, capricious, weak, fallible decisions of human reason, liable to be misled by passions, prejudices, interests, influence, ambition and various other causes. The controuler and regulator of the passions was not to be impelled by their blind, headlong rage; a truth instanced in Henry VIII. who, by severing his kingdom from the unity of the church, in compliance with his passions, opened the door for the ensuing innovations, notwithstanding his exertions of arbitrary power to protect the antient faith of his schismatical kingdom, of which he lived and died a rigid professor. Least of all was that divine religion, which came to establish charity and peace among men; which taught obedience to subjects, and moderation to princes; whose office it was to bend the stubborn

neck of proud power under the yoke of the gospel, commanding kings and all potentates, to govern their subjects, not alone agreeably to the rules of morality and justice, but as brethren in Christ, on the sublime feelings of christian charity, with the bowels of a father, under pain of experiencing the wrath of the King of kings, and Lord of lords, before whom all human greatness is nothing, to the discretion of that time-serving, fickle, perverse, unfeeling thing, called state policy. Was that heavenly doctrine, revealed for the reform and salvation of man; his consolation here, and the ground of his hopes hereafter; decreed unalterable, perpetual, for these high purposes, to be moulded and fashioned by the whim or malignity of that wisdom of this world, at enmity with God, of which the worst and most depraved species too often domineers in the cabinets of princes, using subjects for any object of revenge, avarice, lust or ambition, as so many counters; prodigal of their lives, as if they were but flies; exhausting, impoverishing, racking them with endless taxations, extortions and oppressions; as a poor animal is tortured to convulsions and death, in the exhausted receiver of an air pump, by an unfeeling, experimental philosopher.

The Scotch covenanters so far reasoned much clearer and more powerfully than David Hume; but, acute as they were, they seem not to have been aware of the necessary consequences flowing from their principles. Their resistance to the encroachments of the civil magistrate on the

rights of conscience; on the substance, or form, of their faith and worship, was wielding a mortal blow on the foundation of the Reformation; perfectly consistent with catholic principles, but utterly irreconcilable with the principles of the Reformation. The schism and innovations, that dismembered, and shall ultimately reform the western church, were not the fruit of any immediate commission from God, under the broad seal of heaven, attested by sanctity of manners, by signs, wonders, and the gift of prophecy. They were accomplished by mere human means, such as the civil power employs; by passions, interest, policy and power. The overgrown wealth of the clergy, both secular and regular, and government, independent of papal jurisdiction, tempted the pride and ambition of princes and their nobles. The love of singularity, and literary fame, or disappointed hopes, attracted several of the learned; but many more pampered young ecclesiastics, weary of the lonesome bed of celibacy, and thirsting for the joys of Hymen, crowded to the standard of evangelical liberty; while all were enticed by the proud presumption of judging a supernatural religion by their own shallow conceits; and the high privilege of the saints, in shaking off the popish yoke of confessions, penances, fasting and chastity, in order to please dear flesh for the salvation of the soul.

The covenanters were not more keen to resent, than prompt to avenge this insult to their rights of conscience. They immediately organized themselves into an independent state. A national

assembly was formed, whose first act was to depose the bishops. "The assembly met at Glasgow: and, besides a great concourse of the people, all the nobility and gentry of any family or interest were present either as members, assessors, or spectators; and it was apparent, that the resolutions taken by the covenanters, could here meet with no manner of opposition. A firm determination had been entered into of utterly abolishing episcopacy; and as a preparative to it, there was laid before the presbytery of Edinburgh, and solemnly read in all the churches of the kingdom, an accusation against the bishops, as guilty, all of them, of heresy, simony, bribery, perjury, cheating, incest, adultery, fornication, common swearing, drunkenness, gaming, breach of the sabbath, and every other crime which had occurred to the accusers."* Their next step was to prepare for war. "But the chief resource of the Scottish malcontents was in themselves, and in their own vigour and ability. No regular established commonwealth could take juster measures, or execute them with greater promptitude, than did this tumultuous combination, inflamed with bigotry for religious trifles, and faction without a reasonable object. The whole kingdom was, in a manner, engaged; and the men of greatest ability soon acquired the ascendant, which their family interest enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, had, at last, embraced the cove-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

nant; and he became the chief leader of that party: a man equally supple and inflexible, cautious and determined, and entirely qualified to make a figure during a factious and turbulent period. The earls of Rothes, Cassils, Montrose, Lothian, the lords Lindesey, Loudon, Yester, Balmerino, distinguished themselves in that party. Many Scotch officers had acquired reputation in the German wars, particularly under Gustavus; and these were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. The command was entrusted to Lesley, a soldier of experience and ability. Forces were regularly inlisted and disciplined. Arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries. A few castles, which belonged to the king, being unprovided of victuals, ammunition, and garrisons, were soon seized. And the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the covenanters hands, was, in a very little time, put into a tolerable posture of defence.

“ The fortifications of Leith were begun and carried on with great rapidity. Besides the inferior sort, and those who laboured for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, even noblemen and gentlemen, put their hand to the work, and deemed the most abject employment to be dignified by the sanctity of the cause. Women too, of rank and condition, forgetting the delicacy of their sex, and the decorum of their character, were intermingled with the lowest rabble; and carried on their shoulders the rubbish requisite

for completing the fortifications.”* They forgot not to ply the powerful engine of superstition, by raising up a prophetess. “ Her name was Michelson, a woman full of whimsies, partly hysterical, partly religious; and inflamed with a zealous concern for the ecclesiastical discipline of the presbyterians. She spoke only at certain times, and had often interruptions of days and weeks: but when she began to renew her ecstasies, warning of the happy event was conveyed over the whole country, thousands crowded about her house, and every word which she uttered, was received with veneration, as the most sacred oracles. The covenant was her perpetual theme. The true, genuine covenant, she said, was ratified in heaven: the king’s covenant was an invention of Satan: when she spoke of Christ, she commonly called him by the name of the covenanting Jesus. Rollo, a popular preacher, and zealous covenant-er, was her great favourite; and paid her, on his part, no less veneration. Being desired by the spectators to pray with her, and speak to her; he answered, “ that he durst not, and that it would be ill manners in him to speak, while his master, Christ, was speaking in her.”* Another potent auxiliary they found in the pulpits. “ The pulpits had extremely assisted the officers in levying recruits, and had thundered out anathemas upon all those who went not out to assist the Lord against the mighty.”* Both parties now took the field. The king, with much difficulty, chiefly

* Hume. Hist. of England.

at the expence of his friends and the catholics, mustered an army, and marched against the rebels, halting at Berwick. The covenanters, with an army equally numerous, more animated in the cause, and commanded by officers of greater reputation, were soon near that bordering town, and drove in his advanced posts. They, however, soon proposed to treat of peace, probably at the instigation of the long parliament, in whose pay they were, and who thought matters not ripe enough as yet for the overthrow of the church and monarchy; and also, because they did not wish their Scottish allies to over-preponderate, by effecting a conquest, whose fruits they meant to reserve for themselves.

The king, embarrassed with difficulties on all sides; his kingdom of Scotland in open rebellion against him; England highly discontented, and ripe for revolt; and the parliament, by the religious and political phrenzy they had created, waging an undisguised war against him, by crippling all the prerogatives of royalty, and withholding the means necessary for the maintenance of the executive government, found himself reduced to the disgraceful necessity of treating with the rebels, and that on terms highly dishonorable to the throne.

After the pacification, the king, for want of money, disbanded his army; which, consisting of mercenaries, could not be easily rallied again, under the standard of a monarch, destitute of revenue, credit and authority, in his rebellious kingdom. “ The more prudent covenanters had

concluded, that their pretensions being so contrary to the interest, and still more to the inclinations of the king, it was likely, that they should again be obliged to support their cause by arms; and they were therefore careful, in dismissing the troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of a pacific disposition. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons: the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion: and the religious zeal, which animated all ranks of men, made them immediately fly to their standards, as soon as the trumpet was sounded by their spiritual and temporal leaders. The credit, which in their last expedition, they had acquired, by obliging their sovereign to depart from all his pretensions, gave courage to every one, in undertaking this new enterprize.”*

The king, on receiving from lord Traquaire an intercepted treasonable letter, dispatched by the covenanters to the king of France, took occasion thence to break with them. He committed lord Loudon, agent to the covenanters in London, and one of those who signed the letter, to the tower. With much difficulty he drew together an army, and applied to the commons for supplies, so urgently demanded by the necessities of the kingdom, stating, that the force he raised, by mortgaging the crown lands for £300,000, for preserving the union of the two kingdoms, could not be kept together, without an immediate

* Hume. Hist. of England.

supply. In vain. His rebellious parliament considered the Scotch rebels as their best allies; and it is not improbable, that the intercepted letter was a concerted trick, to provoke the king to a fresh rupture, and thus involve him in difficulties, while they withheld the means of extricating himself therefrom.

Instead of paying any attention to such reasonable demands from the executive government, they fell to their usual detail of grievances, and their usual furious cant against papists and malignants. The same engines were still employed to fanaticize the public, and render monarchy and prelacy odious. Charles, in disgust, dissolves the parliament, and has again recourse to extra-parliamentary means of raising money. A contribution from the clergy; a loan of £300,000 from his ministers and courtiers, with some other exactions, which, though not unprecedented, considerably encreased the public discontent, in the present enraged temper of the people. With these resources he took the field; but such is the effect of unanimity, that the Scotch, though superior in number, were before him. A large detachment of the king's forces, being stationed under Conway, at Newburn-on-Tyne, were routed by the covenanters; who thereupon communicating their own panic to the rest of the army, they altogether fled to Durham, and afterwards to Yorkshire. If they were destitute of bravery, they did not want discriminating marks of cowardice, mutiny and cruelty. "Several mutinies had arisen among the troops, when

marching to join the army, and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being papists."

Martial law having been abolished, by the petition of right; and payment of the soldiers, by withholding supplies; a multitude of armed men without pay or discipline, is but a mutinous, ungovernable multitude, as Hume justly remarks; an army new-levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill-paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and holding in subjection a discontented and zealous nation. The treasury too was exhausted, and every expedient for supply had been tried to the uttermost. In this distressed situation, Charles consented to an accommodation, and opened a treaty at Rippon. Strafford, on whom the command of the army devolved, by Northumberland's sickness, declared loudly against such ignoble compromise with rebels. His opinion was, that the king should bring the affair to a quick decision; and, if he were ever so unsuccessful, nothing worse could befall him, than what, from his inactivity, he would certainly be exposed to. To shew how easy it would be to execute this project, he ordered an attack to be made on some quarters of the Scots, and he gained an advantage over them. No cessation of arms had as yet been agreed to, during the treaty at Rippon, yet great clamour prevailed on account of this act of hostility. But when it was known, that the officer who conducted that attack, was a papist,

a violent outcry was raised against the king, for employing that hated sect in the murder of his protestant subjects. What a daring stretch of arbitrary power, to employ popish loyalty to chastise protestant rebellion!

Now, at length, the inability of the king to resist the Scotch insurgents, or of keeping an army together without supplies, determined him to summon a parliament, anno 1640, afterwards known by the name of The Long Parliament. One of their first acts was, to decree that they could neither be prorogued nor dissolved without their own consent. Their next care was, a redress of grievances; as a principal branch of which, they prosecuted the king's ministers and friends with the utmost rigor. Strafford, Laud, Windebank, Finch, lord-lieutenants of counties, farmers of the customs, bishops, judges, &c. were attacked with great fury; but the gentlemen of the revenue compounded for a pardon, paying £150,000. "The whole sovereign power, being thus in a manner transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed, in a moment, from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing, for some time, to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it."*

The parliament having assumed the government of the kingdom, chiefly by means of the revolted Scots, were determined to keep so

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

useful an auxiliary in their pay, “ No sooner were the Scots masters of the northern counties, than they laid aside their first professions, which they had not indeed means to support, of paying for every thing; and in order to prevent the destructive expedient of plunder and free quarters, the country consented to give them a regular contribution of 850 pounds a day, in full of their subsistence. The parliament, that they might relieve the northern counties from so grievous a burthen, agreed to remit pay to the Scottish, as well as to the English army; and because subsidies would be levied too slowly for so urgent an occasion, money was borrowed from the citizens upon the security of particular members. Two subsidies, a very small sum, were at first voted; and as the intention of this supply was to indemnify the members, who, by their private, had supported public credit, this pretence was immediately laid hold of, and the money was ordered to be paid, not into the treasury, but to commissioners appointed by parliament: a practice, which, as it diminished the authority of the crown, was very willingly embraced, and was afterwards continued by the commons, with regard to every branch of revenue, which they granted the king. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the parliament: the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection, in which he was now held: the commons for this reason, very openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders, till all their enemies should be sup-

pressed, and all their purposes effected. ‘ We cannot yet spare the Scots,’ said Strode plainly in the house; ‘ the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us:’ an illusion to a passage of scripture, according to the mode of that age. Eighty thousand pounds a month were requisite for the subsistence of the two armies; a sum much greater than the kingdom had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge; the commons took care still to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The Scots being such useful allies to the malcontent party in England, no wonder they were courted with the most unlimited complaisance and the most important services. The king, having, in his first speech, called them rebels, observed, that he had given great offence to the parliament; and he was immediately obliged to soften, and even retract that expression. The Scottish commissioners, of whom the most considerable were the earl of Rothes and lord Loudon, found every advantage in conducting their treaty; and yet made no haste in bringing it to an issue. They were lodged in the city, and kept an intimate correspondence, as well with the magistrates, who were extremely disaffected, as with the popular leaders in both houses. St. Antholine’s church was assigned them for their devotions; and their chaplains, here, began openly to practise the presbyterian form of

worship, which, except in foreign languages, had never hitherto been allowed any indulgence or toleration. So violent was the general propensity towards this new religion, that multitudes of all ranks crowded into the church. Those, who were excluded, clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching, at least, some distant murmur or broken phrases of the holy rhetoric. All the eloquence of parliament, now well refined from pedantry, animated with the spirit of liberty, and employed in the most important interests, was not attended to with such insatiable avidity, as were these lectures, delivered with ridiculous cant, and a provincial accent, full of barbarism and of ignorance.

“ The most effectual expedient for paying court to the zealous Scots was to promote the presbyterian discipline and worship throughout England; and to this innovation, the popular leaders among the commons, as well as their most devoted partizans, were, of themselves, sufficiently inclined. The puritanical party, whose progress, though secret, had hitherto been gradual in the kingdom, taking advantage of the present disorders, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. The prevalence of that sect in the parliament discovered itself, from the beginning, by insensible, but decisive symptoms. Marshall and Burgess, two puritanical clergymen, were chosen to preach before them, and entertained them with discourses seven hours in length. It being the custom of the house always to take the sacrament

before they enter upon business, they ordered, as a necessary preliminary, that the communion table should be removed from the east end of St. Margaret's into the middle of the area. The name of the spiritual lords was commonly left out in acts of parliament; and the laws ran in name of the king, lords, and commons. The clerk of the upper house, in reading bills, turned his back on the bench of bishops; nor was his insolence ever taken notice of. On a day appointed for a solemn fast and humiliation, all the orders of temporal peers, contrary to former practice, in going to church, took place of the spiritual; and lord Spencer remarked, that the humiliation, that day, seemed confined alone to the prelates.

“ Every meeting of the commons produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops, against the high-commission, against the late convocation, against the new canons. So disgusted were all the lovers of civil liberty at the doctrines promoted by the clergy, that these invectives were received without controul; and no distinction, at first, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitancies of the hierarchy, and such as pretended totally to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the church were framed in different parts of the kingdom. The epithet of the ignorant and vicious priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, addicted to the established discipline and worship; though the episcopal clergy in England,

during that age, seem to have been, as they are at present, sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen to the committee of religion, and pretended to be signed by many hundred of the puritanical persuasion. But what made most noise was the city petition for a total alteration of church government; a petition, to which 15,000 subscriptions were annexed, and which was presented by alderman Pennington, the city member.”*

The fury of the puritanical party, now domineering, against catholics, was daily manifested, in a manner the most alarming to that persecuted body. “ Among other acts of regal, executive power, which the commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. The zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed all crosses even out of streets and markets; and from his abhorrence of that superstitious figure, would not any where allow two pieces of wood or stone to lie over each other at right angles.

“ The laws, as they stood at present, protected the church; but they exposed the catholics to the utmost rage of the puritans; and these unhappy religionists, so obnoxious to the prevailing sect, could not hope to remain long unmolested. The voluntary contribution, which they had made, in order to assist the king in his war

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

against the Scotch covenanters, was enquired into, and represented as the greatest enormity. By an address from the commons, all officers of that religion were removed from the army, and application was made to the king for seizing two thirds of recusants' lands; a proportion to which, by law, he was intitled, but which he had always allowed them to possess upon very easy compositions. The execution of the severe and bloody laws against priests was insisted on: and one Goodman, a jesuit, who was found in prison, was condemned to a capital punishment. Charles, however, agreeably to his usual principles, scrupled to sign the warrant for his execution; and the commons expressed great resentment on that occasion. There remains a very singular petition of Goodman, begging to be hanged, rather than prove a source of contention between the king and his people. He escaped with his life: but it seems more probable, that he was overlooked, amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity.

“ Hayward, a justice of peace, having been wounded, when employed in the exercise of his office, by one James, a catholic madman, this enormity was ascribed to the popery, not to the phrenzy of the assassin; and great alarms seized the nation and parliament. An universal conspiracy of the papists was supposed to have taken place; and every man, for some days, imagined that he had a sword at his throat. Though some persons of family and distinction were still at-

tached to the catholic superstition; it is certain that the numbers of that sect did not compose the fortieth part of the nation: and the frequent panics, to which men, during this period, were so subject, on account of the catholics, were less the effects of fear, than of extreme rage and aversion entertained against them.

“ The queen-mother of France, having been forced into banishment by some court intrigues, had retired into England; and expected shelter, amidst her present distresses, in the dominions of her daughter and son-in-law. But though she behaved in the most inoffensive manner, she was insulted by the populace on account of her religion; and was even threatened with worse treatment. The earl of Holland, lieutenant of Middlesex, had ordered an hundred musqueteers to guard her; but finding that they had imbibed the same prejudices with the rest of their countrymen, and were very unwillingly employed in such a service, he laid the case before the house of peers: for the king's authority was now entirely annihilated. He represented the indignity of the action, that so great a princess, mother to the king of France, and to the queens of Spain and England, should be affronted by the base multitude. He observed the indelible reproach, which would fall upon the nation, if that unfortunate queen should suffer any violence from the misguided zeal of the people. He urged the sacred rights of hospitality, due to every one, much more to a person in distress, of so high a rank, with whom the nation was so nearly con-

nected. The peers thought proper to communicate the matter to the commons, whose authority over the people was absolute. The commons agreed to the necessity of protecting the queen-mother; but at the same time prayed, that she might be desired to depart the kingdom; “for the quieting those jealousies in the hearts of his majesty’s well affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about that queen’s person, by the flowing of priests and papists to her house, and by the use and practice of the idolatry of the mass, and exercise of other superstitious services of the Romish church, to the great scandal of true religion.”*

In their attacks on the monarchy, the puritans proceeded with great ability and perseverance. First, by depriving the king of all revenue, except the precarious supply, granted by the enemies of royalty, for sacrifices of the royal prerogative, and the erection of democracy on their ruins. Secondly, by driving him, through necessity, on unpopular and unconstitutional measures, in support of the crown. Thirdly, by encouraging and giving popularity to the canting, hypocritical, furious zealots, professing puritanism, or reformation reformed, they drove Charles and his friends on the opposite extreme of over-strained high-church principles. Fourthly, the rage against popery, so long encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in England, was now wielded against themselves with tremen-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

dous success. Fifthly, they deprived the monarch of council and ministers, by making the former responsible for their opinions, delivered at the council-board, and by impeaching the latter. They began with the earl of Strafford, as the ablest and most obnoxious of the ministry. During his prosecution, they made great use of a deputation, sent from the Irish parliament, to impeach him of many grievous and tyrannical oppressions, on the persons, consciences, and goods of the people. Through this deputation, they labored to infuse some of their own spirit into the Irish parliament.

The session of 1641 proves the success of their intrigues. "Charles, unable to resist, had been obliged to yield to the Irish, as to the Scotch and English parliaments; and found too, that their encroachments still rose in proportion to his concessions. Those subsidies, which themselves had voted, they reduced, by a subsequent vote, to a fourth part: the court of high commission was determined to be a grievance: martial law abolished: the jurisdiction of the council annihilated: proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority: every order or institution, which depended on monarchy, was invaded; and the prince was despoiled of all his prerogative, without the least pretext of any violence or illegality in his administration."*

"To this must be added that the committee of parliament from Dublin, which had this

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

summer attended with their complaints against Lord Strafford, most of them papists who had a great share in the rebellion which ensued, had seen a vast deal of the spirit which was then gone forth against the government. They had been engaged, in concert with the leading men of the house of commons, in the prosecution of that minister; and though enemies as to religion, might be let into the secret of their operations against the state; at least, Lord Clarendon seems to have thought so; and the measures afterwards in Ireland till the rebellion, were so exact a transcript of the methods which the others had pursued in England; that if they were not suggested, they were at least encouraged here. A spirit of turbulency and sedition appears to have been the distemper of those times; as it prevailed in France and other places as well as in the dominions of the English monarch. But it seems clear to me, I confess, that if the Scotch army had been quelled on its first invasion, as it easily might, and as it certainly should have been, and if the officers and commissioners belonging to it had not been suffered to come to London or to remain in England, the troubles which ensued here had never happened, or at least would not have been carried to the height they were. Nor does it seem less clear, that if the committee from the Irish parliament had not been countenanced, nor permitted to remain here, and to apply as they did to this house of commons, that the rebellion in Ireland would not have been undertaken at that time, or would

easily have been defeated....When discerning some distempers which arose in England upon the Scotch invasion, and the countenance which was given to those people here by many leading men, the same sort of jealousies and discontents were transplanted into Ireland, and entertained and cherished at Dublin. Did the English parliament accuse several counsellors and ministers of state upon vague and general imputations, in order to remove out of their way the persons trusted by the crown, and whose wisdom might have prevented the ensuing mischief? Even so men of turbulent and seditious spirits in Ireland, impeached their lord chancellor and several of their judges: and the very same parliament which had passed an act the year before for four subsidies to the king, “as thinking nothing too much to shew their zeal and affection for his service”—in the preamble of which they sound the praise of the earl of Strafford in the most fulsome strains—veering about all on a sudden with the wind from England, reduced three of the subsidies to a sum so inconsiderable as to be scarce worth collecting; drew up a remonstrance against the earl as the author of their grievances and a destroyer of the natural freedom of their parliament; and conspired even with their enemies to bring his lordship to the scaffold. This remonstrance, obtained in a forcible unparliamentary manner, and which was fuller of passion and party than of truth or candour, was sent over to the king, against the consent of the lord deputy, by a committee of four lords and twelve

of the house of commons; almost all of them Roman Catholics. The king, to give them contentment, and the lord deputy being dead, appointed lord Dillon and Sir W. Parsons lords justices of that kingdom; but finding the former not agreeable to the committee and the English parliament, because of his intimacy and alliance with the earl of Strafford, his majesty imprudently cancelled the commission, and put Sir John Borlase, master of the ordnance, in the room of the lord Dillon.* That is, two violent puritans, nominally the king's deputies, but in reality the zealous servants of his enemies, who, in obedience to their instructions, did every thing to connive at the rebellion, and make it general, or at least extend it, for the prospect of confiscations. That they adhered punctually to the instructions sent them by the English commons, is evident from their conduct.

“ In the month of March 1641, the king had ordered Sir Henry Vand, one of the secretaries of state, to acquaint the lords justices, with an advice that had been given him from abroad, and confirmed by his ministers in Spain and other places, that there had then lately passed from Spain, and it was likely from other parts, an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers under pretext of asking leave to raise men for the king of Spain: whereas it is observed among the Irish friars in Spain, that a

* Warner. Hist. Reb. Irel.

whisper runs as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland, and particularly in Conaught. Wherefore his majesty thought fit to give their lordships this notice, that in their wisdoms they might manage the same with that dexterity and secrecy as to discover and prevent so pernicious a design, if any such there should be; and to have a watchful eye on the proceedings and actions of those who come thither from abroad on what pretext soever." It was necessary to recite particularly this letter: and the reader is desired to keep it in remembrance for reasons that will appear. But whatever wisdom or dexterity those lords justices might be possessed of, there is no account in any of the histories of that time, that they took any steps whatever in consequence of this advice; and I believe it is very certain that none were taken.

"An obscure intimation of some secret practices was also given to them, in a letter from sir William Cole, eleven days before the insurrection; informing them "that he had received intelligence from people of credit, that there had of late been a more than ordinary resort of people, and some of them from abroad, at the house of sir Phelim O'Neil in the county of Tyrone; which had bred a suspicion in the minds of honest people, that something of evil intention was then in agitation. They were the more apprehensive, he says, of this, because lord MacGuire had been observed to take frequent journeys lately to Dublin, into the Pale, and to sir Phelim's house. He had likewise received advice,

that his lordship had been writing letters a whole night together lately, and had dispatched away every man he had about him with them the next morning: and on the day sir William Cole wrote this account to the lords justices, he had received an information, “ that lord Mac-Guire had appointed seven captains to entertain men for the service of the king of Spain; of the truth of which service, on account of the privacy which was observed, and for other reasons, he was much in doubt.” To this letter the lords justices and council returned an answer; desiring sir William Cole to be very vigilant and industrious in order to find out the occasion of those meetings he had mentioned, and to give them intelligence of that or any other particular which he might think of service to the state.... It is certain however that on the twenty-first of October, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion, sir William Cole sent another letter to the council to give them notice of it; and it is as certain, according to sir John Temple, who was one of them, that those letters never came to their hands: though he does not pretend to say how, or where, they were intercepted.”*

None so blind as he who WILL not see. The justices did not lay them before the privy council, because they chose not to follow them up with any measures. They had their motive and order for this, as they had for commanding the earl of Ormond to burn and lay waste the Pale, twenty-

* Warner. Hist. Reb. Irel.

five miles by seventeen, to force them to rebellion.

That the conductors of English democracy had, for several years, managed the plan of humbling church and state with great ability and perseverance, especially during the reign of Charles I. is obvious enough, from a summary of their proceedings. That they wished to involve Scotland and Ireland in insurrection and rebellion, before they drew the sword against his majesty, was a natural and easy policy; as the king would thereby be deprived of the resources of two kingdoms. They were sure of the alliance of the Scots, by bribery, and an affectation of zeal for the faith and discipline of the kirk. By getting the executive of Ireland into their hands, their deputy or deputies, acting in the name and by authority of the king, would be able to keep the Irish parties so distracted, by hostile divisions, that the king should derive no benefit from any of them. That the design was entertained by the leaders of the puritan faction, appears from a declaration of the duke of Argyle, head of the Scotch covenanters. On being asked, how he could expect to resist the king's forces and resources from the other two kingdoms? his answer was, in substance, the following. In England we are strong enough for him; as for Ireland, I can kindle such a spark there, as shall not soon, if ever, be extinguished.

From unbiassed consideration it becomes manifest, that the republican party, both puritanic and politician, needed great precaution, and deep

policy, to effect the great revolution in church and state at which they aimed. While they were constantly innovating, by their encroachments, on the prerogative; reducing the first magistrate to a king only by name, but in reality a dependent tool, under the management of a tyrannical, persecuting faction, they must wear the appearance of securing the hereditary rights and privileges of the people, and their representatives. By a treasonable use of the constitutional rights, vested in the commons, of withholding supplies until redress of grievances, they must make the crown odious and contemptible, both at home and abroad. In the very beginning of Charles's reign, they importuned him into a war with the two powerful houses, of Bourbon and Austria, in support of the Protestant interest, a topic very popular in the most bigotted country in the world; when they found him deeply engaged in foreign alliances, and involved in expence, by withholding supplies, they forced him to forfeit the confidence and friendship of foreign powers, by a sudden breach of treaty; and also to diminish his credit at home, by breach of contract with individuals and companies. This great and deliberate blow at the power and credit of the monarchy, could not be struck without a design, which becomes more and more visible as we peruse the history of that unfortunate period, and observe the steady uniformity with which it was followed up, as occasions created or fortuitous offered. By withholding supplies, they put him on unparliamentary methods of raising

money; not unprecedented indeed, but irregular, inefficient, and contrary to the growing spirit of liberty, which they carefully disseminated and nurtured. These irregularities furnished items for fresh lists of grievances; topics for inflammatory, seditious declamations against bog-a-boo popery. Viewing the established church as a strong pillar of the monarchy, they encouraged, by example, authority and rewards, the growth of the fanatical sect of levellers, called Puritans, whose topics, and manner of address, were better accommodated to the mass of the people. As extremes beget each other, the church and monarchy clung closer, for mutual support: the one, preaching the indefeasible divine right of kings, and passive obedience, a prime duty of all subjects, not only for anger but for conscience sake: the other, lavish in bestowing honours, privileges, and powers royal, on the heads of the hierarchy: both studious of preserving ceremonies and forms, and even improving on them, so much detested as popish and satanical by the growing, dangerous sect.

Now comes on the reaction against the new church of England. The very artifices and plots, employed by herself to supplant the antient church; the panic terrors and horrors, excited by her constant hue and cry against popery, by her outrageous philipics against the scarlet whore and Antichrist, are now played off, with terrible success, against herself. She is accused of leaning to popery; of a settled plan, in conjunction with the king, to re-establish it. This

artifice was remarked by Hume, but acted on earlier than it dates in his book. “ The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of the discontents, which prevailed among these two orders; and where real grounds of complaint were wanting, they greedily laid hold of imaginary ones. The same horror against popery, with which the English puritans were possessed, was observable among the populace in Scotland; and among these, as being more uncultivated and uncivilized, seemed rather to be inflamed into a higher degree of ferocity. The genius of religion, which prevailed with the court and prelacy, was of an opposite nature; and having some affinity with the Roman worship, led them to mollify, as much as possible, these severe prejudices, and to speak of the catholics in more charitable language, and with more reconciling expressions. From this foundation, a panic fear of popery was easily raised; and every new ceremony or ornament, introduced into divine service, was part of that great mystery of iniquity, which, from the encouragement of the king and bishops, was to overspread the nation. The few innovations, which James had made, were considered as preparatives to this grand design; and the farther alterations, attempted by Charles, were represented as a plain declaration of his intentions. Through the whole course of this reign, nothing had more fatal influence, in both kingdoms, than this groundless apprehension, which, with so much industry, was propagated, and

with so much credulity, was embraced by all ranks of men.”*

When the indiscreet attempt of Charles, to force the English liturgy on Scotland, produced rebellion and revolution in that kingdom, the friendly sympathy of the party in England with the rebels are evidence enough of their own intentions. “The king’s conduct, surely, in Scotland, had been, in every thing, except in establishing the ecclesiastical canons, more legal and justifiable, than in England; yet was there such a general resemblance, in the complaints of both kingdoms, that the English readily assented to all the representations of the Scottish malcontents, and believed that nation to have been driven, by oppression, into the violent counsels, which they had embraced. So far, therefore, from being willing to second the king in subduing the free spirits of the Scots, they rather pitied that unhappy people, who had been pushed to those extremities: and they thought, that the example of such neighbours, as well as their assistance, might, some time, be advantageous to England, and encourage her to recover, by a vigorous effort, her violated laws and liberties. The gentry and nobility, who, without attachment to the court, without command in the army, attended in great numbers the English camp, greedily seized, and propagated, and gave authority to these sentiments:”*

Advantages taken of the Scotch rebellion;

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

further evidence. " Affairs likewise, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discontents in England, were drawing so near a crisis, that the leaders of the house, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope, that the time, so long wished for, was now come, when royal authority must fall into a total subordination on popular assemblies, and when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. By reducing the crown to necessities, they had hitherto found, that the king had been pushed into violent counsels, which had served extremely the purposes of his adversaries: and by multiplying these necessities, it was foreseen, that his prerogative, undermined on all sides, must, at last, be overthrown, and be no longer dangerous to the privileges of the people. Whatever, therefore, tended to compose the differences between king and parliament, and to preserve the government uniformly in its present channel, was zealously opposed by these popular leaders; and their past conduct and sufferings gave them credit sufficient to effect all their purposes. The house of commons, moved by these and many other obvious reasons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances; and a speech, which Pym made on that subject, was much more hearkened to, than that which the lord-keeper had delivered them in the name of their sovereign."*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

Charles himself was not ignorant of their plan, though his proclamation could neither convince or reclaim his mislead fanaticised subjects. "The chief topic, on which he insisted, was, that the commons imitated the bad example of all their predecessors of late years, in making continual encroachments on his authority, in censuring his whole administration and conduct, in discussing every circumstance of public government, and in their indirect bargaining and contracting with their king for supply; as if nothing ought to be given him but what he should purchase, either by quitting somewhat of his royal prerogative, or by diminishing and lessening his standing revenue. These practices, he said, were contrary to the maxims of their ancestors; and these practices were totally incompatible with monarchy."*

Conjunction of the new fanaticism with mutiny and rebellion. "It may be worthy of remark, that several mutinies had arisen among the English troops, when marching to join the army; and some officers had been murdered, merely on suspicion of their being papists. The petition of right had abolished all martial law; and by an inconvenience, which naturally attended the plan, as yet new and unformed, of regular and rigid liberty, it was found absolutely impossible for the generals to govern the army, by all the authority, which the king could legally confer upon them."*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

By the policy of the republican leaders in parliament, the king was thus deprived of army as well as of revenue.

Scots too were well acquainted with the views of the English leaders. "As many difficulties occurred in the negotiation with the Scots, it was proposed to transfer the treaty from Rippon to London: a proposal willingly embraced by that nation, who were now sure of treating with advantage, in a place, where the king, they foresaw, would be, in a manner, a prisoner, in the midst of his implacable enemies, and their determined friends."*

The long-parliament leaders, considering the season ripe for commencing the demolition of monarchy, began the war with an attack on the king's ministers and counsellors, impeaching lord Strafford and primate Laud; many took to flight, and dismay seized them all, whereupon the whole sovereign power, being thus in a manner "transferred to the commons, and the government, without any seeming violence or disorder, being changed, in a moment, from a monarchy almost absolute, to a pure democracy; the popular leaders seemed willing, for some time, to suspend their active vigour, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it."*

Further weapons used by the republicans were the press and the pulpit. "The harangues of members, now first published and dispersed,

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

kept alive the discontents against the king's administration. The pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. Vengeance was fully taken for that long silence and constraint, in which, by the authority of Laud and the high commission, these preachers had been retained. The press, freed from all fear or reserve, swarmed with productions, dangerous by their seditious zeal and calumny, more than by any art or eloquence of composition. Noise and fury, cant and hypocrisy, formed the sole rhetoric, which, during this tumult of various prejudices and passions, could be heard or attended to.”*

Seditious libellers against the king and government, liberated, rewarded, honored by the commons. “The severe sentence which had been executed against Prynne, Bastwic, and Burton, now suffered a revisal from parliament. These libellers, far from being tamed by the rigorous punishments, which they had undergone, shewed still a disposition of repeating their offence; and the ministers were afraid, lest new satires should issue from their prisons, and inflame still farther the prevailing discontents. By an order, therefore, of council, they had been carried to remote prisons; Bastwic to Scilly, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey; all access to them was denied; and the use of books, and of pen, ink, and paper, was refused them. The sentence for

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

these additional punishments was immediately reversed by the commons: even the first sentence, upon examination, was declared illegal; and the judges, who passed it, were ordered to make reparation to the sufferers. When the prisoners landed in England, they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended with a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. On their approach to any town, all the inhabitants crowded to receive them, and welcomed their reception with shouts and acclamations. Their train still increased as they drew near to London. Several miles from the city, the zealots of their party met them in great multitudes, and attended their triumphant entrance: boughs were carried in this tumultuous procession, the roads were strewed with flowers; and amidst the highest exultations of joy, were intermingled loud and virulent invectives against the prelates, who had so cruelly persecuted such godly personages. The more ignoble these men were, the more sensible was the tumult upon royal authority, and the more dangerous was the spirit of disaffection and mutiny, which it discovered among the people. Lilburne, Leighton, and every one that had been punished for seditious libels during the precedent administration, now recovered their liberty, and were decreed damages on the judges and ministers of justice.”*

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

New methods of giving publicity and celebrity to libels, encouraged by the commons, who published them in the shape of petitions to parliament, for redress of grievances, real or fictitious. "Not only the present disposition of the nation ensured impunity to all libellers: a new method of framing and dispersing libels was invented by the leaders of popular discontents. Petitions to parliament were drawn, craving redress against particular grievances; and when a sufficient number of subscriptions were procured, the petitions were presented to the commons, and immediately published. These petitions became secret bonds of association among the subscribers, and seemed to give undoubted sanction and authority to the complaints, which they contained."*

Forgery employed by the commons, to give the sanction of moderate or reputable men to what they never would subscribe. "It is pretended by historians favourable to the royal cause, and even asserted by the king himself in a declaration, that a most disingenuous or rather criminal practice prevailed, in conducting many of these addresses. A petition was first framed; moderate, reasonable, such as men of character willingly subscribed. The names were afterwards torn off, and affixed to another petition, which served better the purposes of the popular faction. We may judge of the wild fury, which prevailed throughout the nation, when so scanda-

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

lous an imposture, which affected such numbers of people, could be openly practised, without drawing infamy and ruin, upon the managers.”*

Means employed to encrease the terrors and fury of the fanaticized public, ridiculous in themselves; but it seems no absurdity is too gross for the bigotted palate of the Bull family in a rage. “ Alarms were every day given of new conspiracies: in Lancashire, great multitudes of papists were gathering together: secret meetings were held by them in caves and under-ground in Surry: they had entered into a plot to blow up the river with gun-powder, in order to drown the city: provisions of arms were making beyond sea: sometimes France, sometimes Denmark, was forming designs against the kingdom.”*

The decreeing, levying, and receipt of the revenue, and consequently the power of raising loans, being now vested in the commons, they use that as a pretext for decreeing themselves indissoluble and perpetual. “ The commons, from policy, more than from necessity, had embraced the expedient of paying the two armies by borrowing money from the city; and these loans they had repaid afterwards by taxes levied upon the people. The citizens, either of themselves or by suggestion, began to start difficulties, with regard to a farther loan which was demanded. We make no scruple of trusting the parliament, said they, were we certain, that the parliament was to continue till our repayment. But, in the

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

present precarious situation of affairs, what security can be given us for our money? In order to obviate this objection, a bill was suddenly brought into the house, and passed with great unanimity and rapidity, that the parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, nor adjourned, without their own consent. It was hurried in like manner through the house of peers; and was instantly carried to the king for his assent. Charles, in the agony of grief, shame, and remorse, for Strafford's doom, perceived not that this other bill was of still more fatal consequence to his authority; and rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as it was already uncontrollable."*

Further rewards and honors granted to the Scots for their successful rebellion. "The Scots, who first began these fatal commotions, thought, that they had finished a very perilous undertaking, much to their profit and reputation. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of £300,000 for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification, they were declared to have ever been good subjects: and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprizes calculated and intended for his majesty's honour and advantage. To carry farther the triumph over their sovereign, these terms, so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a vote of parliament, to

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

be read in all churches, upon a day of thanksgiving, appointed for the national pacification: all their claims, for the restriction of prerogative, were agreed to be ratified: and what they more valued than all these advantages, they had a near prospect of spreading the presbyterian discipline in England and Ireland, from the seeds, which they had scattered, of their religious principles. Never did refined Athens so exult in diffusing the sciences and liberal arts over a savage world; never did generous Rome so please herself in the view of law and order established by her victorious arms; as the Scots now rejoiced, in communicating their barbarous zeal, and theological fervour, to the neighbouring nations.”*

Charles, meanwhile, endeavours by humiliation and complaisance to gain over or mollify his Scotch enemies; and, with a base policy, disgraceful and fatal to his family, courts and promotes his enemies, while he neglects his friends.

The republican party gave a fatal blow to royal authority, by voting that no privy councillor, or judge, should be appointed but by advice of parliament, and should continue during good behaviour, consequently, removeable by the advice of the commons.

The reader will perceive the necessity of this brief sketch on the progress of the republican party, civil and spiritual, during the reign of

* Hume. Hist. Engl.

Charles; and also on the weak and wicked measures of the Stuart family; because there is no understanding the convulsions of Ireland without them. It is not by detaching Irish affairs from those of Great Britain, as if utterly unconnected and uninfluenced by the latter, they can be explained or understood. Whoever, like Warner, in his history of the Irish rebellion, attempts to give such an insulated scrap of history, convicts himself of wilful prevarication or incapacity. From the forementioned succinct account, every man of common sense will perceive, that a republican party long existed in England, partly puritans, partly patriots. The contiguous example of republican, presbyterian Holland, rapidly risen to commercial greatness and naval power, under them institutions, raised envy and emulation in Great Britain; and the commonwealth party was gradually gaining ground, by the influence of these motives and example, but much more by the numerous and fatal errors of Charles. That their plan of undermining the monarchy was, by involving the king in difficulties, and refusing the means of extricating himself with honor, becomes evident from the very beginning. Another part of their plan was, to drive him on illegal means of supporting the executive, by withholding legal support, except on such terms as would, if complied with, overturn the monarchy. We have seen, that the party never missed any opportunity of seizing on every branch of the executive; witness the advantage they took of the king's unfortunate error in

attempting to enforce conformity on the Scotch. They fraternized immediately with the Scotch rebels. They not only absolved them from any disloyalty, they panegyricized, subsidized, and flattered them, by publicly adopting their mode of worship, and endeavouring to make it national. Through that alliance, they made themselves perpetual. They took the revenue and loans into their own hands. They took the appointment and dismissal of all privy counsellors, officers of state, and judges. They had all Scotland, and a powerful party in England, to back them, in the meditated attack on monarchy, by the sinews and means of war of which they had deprived it. There was no part of his dominions whence he might derive any considerable aid against them, but Ireland. It therefore entered early into their plan, to excite commotions there; as we observe in the declaration of the duke of Argyle. In their refusal to permit eight thousand Irishmen to be conveyed to Flanders; lest, after being disciplined, they should be at the king's devotion. In their refusal to allow five thousand men on the Irish establishment. In their appointing Parsons and Borlase, their creatures, to be nominally the king's, but in reality their own deputies, who were to manage matters so as to keep the wisp alive once kindled. Finally, they saw great advantages to themselves therefrom, as well as disadvantages to the king. It would furnish a pretext for raising troops, money, and amassing military stores, for the intended campaign, not to be fought in Ireland, but in

England. It would supply ample nutriment to the furious zeal against popery, with which they had intoxicated the nation, and which put absolute power in their hands. It would furnish topics of abuse and defamation against Charles, to make him odious to Englishmen and protestants; and detach as many as possible from his party, by representing him as the author of a sanguinary popish rebellion, and the massacre of his Irish protestant subjects, by Irish papists. The number massacred should, in sound policy, be exaggerated as much as possible, even beyond credibility, or even possibility, in order to increase the general horror and consternation, and therewith their own power. They would thence have the further advantage of classing the king's friends under the name of malignants. "The Irish rebellion was the event, which tended most to promote the views, in which all their measures terminated. A horror against the papists, however innocent, they had constantly encouraged; a terror against the conspiracies of that sect, however improbable, they had at all times endeavoured to excite. Here was broke out a rebellion, dreadful and unexpected;* accompanied with circumstances the most detestable, of which there ever was any record:† and what was the peculiar guilt of the Irish catholics, it was no difficult matter, in the present disposition of mens' minds, to attribute to that whole

* Feigned to be unexpected.

† Heightened by the exaggerations of sectarian, national, and political enemies, with unparalleled impudence.

sect, who were already so much the object of general abhorrence. Accustomed, in all invectives, to join the prelatical party with the papists, the people immediately supposed this insurrection to be the result of their united counsels. And when they heard, that the Irish rebels pleaded the king's commission for all their violences; bigotry, ever credulous and malignant, assented without scruple to that gross imposture, and loaded the unhappy prince with the whole enormity of a contrivance so barbarous and inhuman.

“ By the difficulties and distresses of the crown, the commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, had aggrandized themselves; and it seemed a peculiar happiness, that the Irish rebellion had succeeded, at so critical a juncture, to the pacification of Scotland. That expression of the king's, by which he committed to them the care of Ireland, they immediately laid hold of, and interpreted in the most unlimited sense. They had, on other occasions, been gradually encroaching on the executive power of the crown, which forms its principal and most natural branch of authority; but with regard to Ireland, they at once assumed it, fully and entirely, as if delivered over to them by a regular gift or assignment. And to this usurpation the king was obliged passively to submit; both because of his inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the reproach of favouring the progress of that odious rebellion.

“ The project of introducing farther innova-

tions in England being once formed by the leaders among the commons, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with regard to Ireland would, all of them, be considered as subordinate to the former, on whose success, when once undertaken, their own grandeur, security, and even being, must entirely depend. While they pretended the utmost zeal against the Irish insurrection, they took no steps towards its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give them the superiority in those commotions, which, they foresaw, must so soon be excited in England. The extreme contempt, entertained towards the natives in Ireland, made the popular leaders believe, that it would be easy at any time to suppress their rebellion, and recover that kingdom: nor were they willing to lose, by too hasty success, the advantage, which that rebellion would afford them in their projected encroachments on the prerogative. By assuming the total management of the war, they acquired the courtship and dependence of every one, who had any connexion with Ireland, or who was desirous of inlisting in these military enterprizes: they levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition; but reserved it for purposes, which concerned them more nearly: they took arms from the king's magazines; but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself: whatever law they deemed necessary for aggrandizing themselves, was voted, under colour of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was

imputed to those pernicious counsels, which had at first excited the popish rebellion, and which still threatened total ruin to the protestant interest throughout all his dominions. And though no forces were for a long time sent over to Ireland, and very little money remitted, during the extreme distress of that kingdom; so strong was the people's attachment to the commons, that the fault was never imputed to those pious zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the Irish rebels.

“ To make the attack on royal authority by regular approaches, it was thought proper to frame a general remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; and accordingly the committee, which, at the first meeting of the parliament, had been chosen for that purpose, and which had hitherto made no advance in their work, received fresh injunctions to finish that undertaking.

“ The committee brought into the house that remonstrance, which has become so memorable, and which was soon afterwards attended with such important consequences. It was not addressed to the king: but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. The harshness of the matter was equalled by the severity of the language. It consists of many gross falsehoods, intermingled with some evident truths: malignant insinuations are joined to open invectives: loud complaints of the past, accompanied with jealous prognostications of the future. Whatever unfortunate, whatever invidious, whatever suspicious measure, had been embraced by the king from the commencement of

his reign, is insisted on and aggravated with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé are mentioned: the sending of ships to France for suppression of the hugonots: the forced loans: the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands: the violent dissolution of four parliaments: the arbitrary government which always succeeded: the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the house: the levying of taxes without consent of the commons: the introducing of superstitious innovations into the church, without authority of law: in short, every thing, which, either with or without reason, had given offence, during the course of fifteen years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present parliament. And, though all these grievances had been already redressed, and even laws enacted for future security against their return, the praise of these advantages was ascribed, not to the king, but to the parliament, who had extorted his consent to such salutary statutes. Their own merits too, they asserted, towards the king, were equally great, as towards the people. Though they had seized his whole revenue, rendered it totally precarious, and made even their temporary supplies be paid to their own commissioners, who were independent of him; they pretended, that they had very liberally supported him in his necessities. By an insult still more egregious, the very giving of money to the Scots for levying war against their sovereign, they represented as

an instance of their duty towards him. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavoured, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland; and who had now, at last, excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland.

“ This remonstrance, so full of acrimony and violence, was a plain signal for some farther attacks intended on royal prerogative, and a declaration, that the concessions, already made, however important, were not to be regarded as satisfactory.

“ The first instance of those parliamentary encroachments, which Charles was now to look for, was, the bill for pressing soldiers to the service of Ireland. This bill quickly passed the lower house. In the preamble, the king's power of pressing, a power exercised during all former times, was declared illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject. By a necessary consequence, the prerogative, which the crown had ever assumed, of obliging men to accept of any branch of public service, was abolished and annihilated: a prerogative, it must be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. In order to elude this law, the king offered to raise ten thousand volunteers for the Irish service: but the commons were afraid lest such an army should be too much at his devotion. Charles,

still unwilling to submit to so considerable a diminution of power, came to the house of peers, and offered to pass the law without the preamble; by which means, he said, that ill-timed question with regard to the prerogative would for the present be avoided, and the pretensions of each party be left entire. Both houses took fire at this measure, which, from a similar instance, while the bill of attainder against Strafford was in dependence, Charles might foresee, would be received with resentment. The lords, as well as commons, passed a vote, declaring it to be a high breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill, which was in agitation in either of the houses, or to express his sentiments with regard to it, before it be presented to him for his assent in a parliamentary manner. The king was obliged to compose all matters by an apology.”*

But what connection have their affairs with the rise of the Irish rebellion? Indeed were we to credit the gratuitous assertions of Warner, Leland, and Hume, together with other partial historians, little or none. The first of these gentlemen gravely prefaces his party-coloured account of that disastrous event in the following words, in flat contradiction to facts, known to every one but those who wilfully shut their eyes to truth. “Amidst a general tranquillity, which had been established in Ireland for many years, when all former animosities seemed to have been extinguished, and every principle of distinction

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

seemed to have been laid aside, that a rebellion should have been concerted, and without the knowledge or suspicion of any but the contrivers, should break out on a sudden into acts of cruelty in several parts of the kingdom, on one and the same day, is an historical event so very astonishing and improbable as posterity can scarcely credit, yet the fact is undeniable. “After all this rant he attempts to assign causes, but certainly not the true. What Hume says of it is a virulent retorical scolding, in which there is scarce a line without a lie.

It was not unknown to every one but the Irish contrivers; for many in England and Scotland had an active share in promoting it. First, the Stuart family powerfully paved the way for it, by tyrannizing and plundering the Irish. For the plunder of all the lords and gentlemen of six counties in Ulster, James had no other pretence than an Irish plot, forged in concert by himself and his Satanic minister Cecil. There was no pretence looked for, to dispossess the O’Farrels of the county of Longford, and plant Englishmen in their places. What plea had Charles or Strafford, but that of robbers, in demanding the estates of Irish gentlemen, and fining and imprisoning jurors for not swearing them away from the rightful owners to the king? ’Tis true, the king had some qualms in receiving the plunder of his subjects, but was reconciled by the indigence to which the parliament had reduced him, and by the logic of Strafford and cash. Was there no provocation in the cruelty with which the penal laws were enforced

by the puritan governors and bishops? from which, when the catholics endeavoured to liberate themselves, by a large offer of subsidy, Usher and his colleagues declared it impious and blasphemous to compound for toleration with an idolatrous religion! Such and so great were the oppressions and extortions, practised on the Irish, briefly mentioned in the foregoing pages, as made lord Mountjoy, the too successful enemy of Ireland, declare, according to the testimony of his secretary Morrison, they were sufficient to throw the quietest state into confusion. Nevertheless, though the oppressions left irritation and discontent in the public mind, they were not capable of raising any general insurrection. The sufferers by the late iniquitous plantations would, no doubt, gladly seize the first opportunity of revenge and restitution; but the majority would, probably, have discountenanced them, and remain tranquil, or rise only in defence of the king.

This statement may appear inconsistent with the oppressions and grievances forementioned, suffered by the Irish; but a little reflection will reconcile them. The English settlers were now become the most powerful and leading men among the Irish catholics, almost equal, even in number, to the antient natives. Two principal motives, besides the hazard of the contest, and the apprehension of discord, would deter those from countenancing or abetting the insurrection of the dispossessed Irish, or a general commotion. First, their dread of a similar resumption of

lands from themselves, if the rebellion succeeded; an apprehension of which was manifested by the Catholic council, on refusing O'Neil's petition for the restitution of their lands to the northern Irish. Secondly, as catholics, though they had sustained many injuries from the king's government, yet they justly apprehended much heavier calamities from his enemies, the furious persecuting Covenanters. Through the whole of the rebellion, their inclination to the king's service was as palpable, as that of the royal and catholic army of la Vendee was to the service of Louis XVI. Notwithstanding former injuries, therefore, it was their interest to preserve the general tranquillity, and reserve the means of the kingdom for Charles, in his arduous conflict with his rebellious subjects of England and Scotland. They might easily foresee, that, if the royalists triumphed, though the Stuarts were not noted for gratitude, their condition would be far more tolerable than if they fell under the yoke of the sanguinary, intolerant Covenanters. Here we cannot but admire the justice and wisdom that presides in the moral government of God over his creatures, dispensing by unseen, but irresistible power, retributive justice and retaliation on the powerful of the earth as well as the weakest. Had James I. permitted the northern Irish to enjoy the benefit of the treaty of 1603, he would have them, in the opinion of their conqueror, Mountjoy, the most loyal and peaceable subjects in Ireland; and, in the opinion of chancellor Bacon, he would have got a va-

luable acquisition in such subjects for such lands. Satisfied with the lowlier honors of their new situation, on a more secure and permanent basis, they would willingly take their share in the legislative, judicial and magistratical functions; contribute to support the military and civil establishments; and their new superiors might, by experience, have known their worth and their valor. Had James suffered the Irish to enjoy their religion unmolested, and their parliament free, unpacked, his son, in the day of his need, would have a catholic nation rising in his defence, whose energies would be guided by catholic officers, and a catholic legislature. The only emulation between the old and new Irish would be, that of zeal for the service of the king. What powerful auxiliaries they would prove, we may collect from two grounds, one of fact, the other of opinion. Two thousand Irish, accompanied by eight hundred Germans, marched into England, with Perkin Warbeck, where, met by a royal army above twenty times their number, they were all cut to pieces, after performing prodiges of valor. The malignity of English and Anglo-Irish historians, attributes the glory of this desperate conflict almost exclusively to the steady bravery of the Germans; but inadvertently they mention an opinion, current in England after this battle, that, if the king of England was king of Ireland, so as to fill his armies with Irishmen, he might conquer Europe and Turkey, and be crowned emperor of the west.

The long parliament knew how to profit by the crimes and follies of the Stuarts. They were well acquainted with the vulnerable parts, the plundered north, and other displanted parts, and that the reigning power had planted in Ulster the enemies of their house, and allies of the Covenanters, in the place of those antient proprietors, who would, in this emergency, prove faithful subjects, if worthily treated. Such, at least, was the opinion of lord Mountjoy, who, after subjugating them by inhuman methods, recommended the terms of the treaty to be faithfully kept; by which conduct the north would prove the most peaceable and obedient part of the kingdom. So thought likewise chancellor Bacon, in his advice to Cecil, to deal liberally with the Irish in the distribution of their lands; i. e. not to rob them of all, but leave them some portion thereof, as her majesty would make a good purchase of such subjects for such lands. Instead of following the sage counsel of these statesmen, James and his minister Cecil, with a profligate and perfidious contrivance of a sham plot, took pretence of confiscating six counties in Ulster, whereby they planted the thorn of distress and anguish in the hearts of the brave sufferers, and their descendents, and thus prepared the combustible materials, that first caught flame: without which acts of royal robbery there would be no insurrection in the island, except one in favor of the king and constitution. How slight were the causes of disaffection in England and Scotland, compared with

the heavy grievances, long and patiently endured by the Irish, appears from comparing the records of the times. The former revolted against a king, whose whole reign was a series of concessions and graces to them; whose administration was frugal and patriotic, as a prudent parent would administer for favored children. The latter were governed with a rod of iron, insecure in their persons and properties, persecuted for their religion, wounded in every feeling of the heart.

When the ill adviser, and tyrannic deputy, Strafford, was arraigned for high treason, and a committee of the Irish house of commons attended to prefer complaints of their grievances against him, the king seems to have become sensible of his mal-administration, and gave orders to the justices, Parsons and Borlace, to transmit bills for the purpose of securing the Irish in the possession of their estates. The lords justices, of the covenanting faction, creatures of the rebel parliament, were better inclined to obey the secret instructions of their patrons, than the orders of Charles; besides, an insurrection opened a prospect of gaining estates from confiscated lands. Private interest being thus combined with the views of the faction, led them to disobey the king's commands, and frustrate his conciliatory measures. "Had his majesty's commands, to pass the bills for securing the estates of the natives, and for confirming the other promised graces, been duly executed, or rather not positively disobeyed by their lordships, the dreadful

insurrection of the following year, either would not at all have happened, or would have been quickly suppressed. Such, at least, was his majesty's opinion; as we find by his answer to a declaration of the English commons on that occasion; for there he tells them, "that if he had been obeyed in the Irish affairs, before he went to Scotland, there had been no Irish rebellion; or after it had begun, it would have been in a few months suppressed, if his directions had been observed: for if the king had been suffered to perform his engagements to the Irish agents, and had disposed of the discontented Irish army beyond sea, there is nothing more clear, than that there could have been no rebellion in Ireland, because they had wanted both pretence and means to have made one."

"At this time it was confidently reported in Ireland, that the Scottish army had threatened never to lay down their arms, till an uniformity of religion was established in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed. "A letter," says Mr. Carte, "was intercepted coming from Scotland, to one Freeman, of Antrim, giving an account, that a covenanting army was ready to come for Ireland, under the command of general Leslie, to extirpate the Roman catholics of Ulster, and leave the Scots sole possessors of that province; and to this end, a resolution had been taken in their private meetings, and councils, to lay heavy fines upon such as would not appear at their kirk, for the first or second Sunday; and on failure the third, to hang, without mercy,

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all such as were obstinate, at their own doors."

"The whole body of the catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland declared in their remonstrance at Trim, which was delivered in due form to his majesty's commissioners, in March 1642, that previous to the insurrection, "certain dangerous and pernicious petitions, contrived by the advice and counsel of sir William Parsons, sir Adam Loftus, sir John Clothworthy, and sundry others of the malignant party in the city of Dublin, in the province of Ulster, and several other parts of the kingdom, directed to the commons house in England, were at public assizes and other public places made known and read to many persons of quality; which petitions contained matters destructive to the said catholic religion, lives and estates."*

This dread of an extirpation, as appears from a multitude of depositions taken before Dr. Henry Jones, and other commissioners appointed by the lords justices, prevailed universally among the catholics of Ireland, and was insisted upon, as one of the principal reasons for their taking arms.

* "Some time before the rebellion broke out, says Mr. Carte, it was confidently reported, that Sir John Clothworthy, who well knew the designs of the faction that governed the house of commons in England, had declared there in a speech, that the conversion of the papists in Ireland, was only to be effected by the bible in one hand and the sword in the other; and Mr. Pym gave out, that they would not leave a priest in Ireland. To the like effect sir William Parsons, out of a strange weakness, or detestable policy, positively asserted before many witnesses, at a public entertainment, that within a twelvemonth, no catholic should

The earl of Ormond, in his letters of January 27th, and February 26th, 1641, to William St. Leger, imputes the general revolt of the nation, then far advanced, to the publishing of such a design.”*

Considering all the wrongs and oppressions, heaped on the Irish nation during two successive reigns, their attachment to the Stuart family would appear at first sight unaccountable; yet, on some consideration, the causes thereof will appear. The far greater part of the landed property of Ireland was by this time vested in English colonists, settled thereon at different periods. All these, entertaining jealousies of the antient proprietors, held the connexion with England as necessary to their secure possession of what had been ravished from the Milesians. Even those who adhered to the catholic faith, chose rather to endure the penalties and disqualifications, inflicted by a protestant government, than risk the revival of old claims by a separation. In a situation, presenting according to their judgments but a choice, they naturally adopted

be seen in Ireland; he had sense enough to know the consequences that would naturally arise from such a declaration; which, however it might contribute to his own selfish views, he would have hardly have ventured to make so openly, and without disguise, if it had not been agreeable to the politics and measures of the English faction, whose party he espoused, and whose directions were the general rule of his conduct.”

“It is evident,” says Dr. Warner, “from the lord justice’s letter to the earl of Leicester, then lord lieutenant, that they hoped for an extirpation, not of the meer Irish only, but of all the old English families also, that were Roman catholics.”

* Curry. Civil Wars, Ire.

what appeared to them the least. In the conflict between the king and his rebellious subjects, both catholics and church-established protestants espoused the royal cause, from motives equally strong. Tis true, the former suffered penalties and pains under the monarchy, but then its enemies proclaimed the utter suppression of popery, and the extermination of papists, of whatsoever nation, rank or condition, without respect of persons; as may be seen in that canting, fanatical, intolerant libel on religion and common sense, called the solemn league and covenant,* subscribed by James VI. of Scotland, his parliament &c. an. 1580, subscribed again, an. 1584, an. 1590, an. 1638, an. 1639; the next year, 1640, the blessed fruits of the covenant appeared in a horrid rebellion, raised by the covenanters against their

* “ The National Covenant, or the Confession of Faith. We all, and every one of us under written protest, that after long and due examination of our consciences in matters of true and false religion, we are now throughly resolved of the truth, by the word and spirit of God: and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm before God and the whole world, that this is the only true christian faith and religion pleasing God, and bringing salvation to man, which now is by the mercy of God revealed to the world, by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and received, believed, and defended by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the kirk of Scotland, and the king's majesty, and three estates of this realm, as God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation, as more particularly is expressed in the confession of our faith, established, and publicly confirmed by sundry acts of parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the king's majesty, and whole body of this realm, both in burgh, and land. To, the which

lawful sovereign, who had behaved towards his English and Scotch subjects as one of their best kings. The hierarchy and faith by law established in England and Ireland was in like manner threatened with suppression from the same quarter, which consequently could not be favoured by their real partizans. “Every measure pursued by the commons, and still more, every attempt made by their partizans, were full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and shewed a determined resolution of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment.”*

Every partial historian, writing with the base design of vilifying Irishmen, strangely perplex and confound themselves and their readers, by misrepresenting the transactions of these times. With Warner, all was tranquillity, peace and

* Hume. Hist. Eng.

confession and form of religion, we willingly agree in our consciences in all points, as unto God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only upon his written word: and therefore, we abhor and detest all contrary religion, and doctrine: but chiefly, all kind of papistry in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned, and confuted by the word of God, and kirk of Scotland. But in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman antichrist upon the scriptures of God, upon the kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against the sufficiency of the written word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and his blessed evangel, his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect sanctification and obedience to the law, the nature, number, and use of the holy sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacra-

good government, during forty years antecedent to the insurrection. Leland too, though he allows that individuals suffered oppression from lord Wentworth, yet commends his administration, as advantageous to the nation at large. If the enquiry into defective titles, together with other intolerable grievances, already stated, may be considered as advantageous to Ireland, let the reader judge. Certainly, impartial consideration will suggest to every reflecting mind, sentiments coincident with the crocodile pity, simulating the language of candour and truth, flowing from the insidious policy of Pitt and his colleagues, debating for the downfall of Ireland. “ When the connexion with Ireland was something more than a name, when that connexion was ascertained, and the imperial parliament of this country, ex-

ments without the word of God: his cruel judgment against infants, departing without the sacraments; his absolute necessity of baptism: blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men: his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and decrees of marriage forbidden in the word: his cruelty against the innocent divorced: his devilish mass: his blasphemous priesthood: his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick: his canonization of men; calling upon angels or saints departed: worshipping of imagery relicks and crosses; dedicating of kirks, altars, days vows to creatures; his purgatory prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions, blasphemous letany and multitude of advocates or mediators: his manifold orders, auricular confession: his general and doubtful faith: his satisfactions of men for their sins: his justification by works, opus operatum, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, peregrinations, and stations: his holy water, baptizing of

exercised a supremacy over Ireland; it did happen, that during that period, the narrow policy of Great Britain, influenced with views of trade and commercial advantage, tainted and perverted with selfish motives, treated Ireland with partiality and neglect; and never looked on her growth and prosperity as that of the empire at large; I reprobated that policy—as much as the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Fox)—as mischievous, and pregnant with the most fatal consequences to both countries.”

“ Let no man think that I consider the conduct of Great Britain before the Settlement of 1782, liberal. We certainly had acted previously with a narrow selfish policy towards Ireland, jealous of their commercial prosperity, looking upon them as rivals of our property, we only re-

bells: conjuring up of spirits: hallowing of God's good creature, with the superstitious opinions joyned therewith: his worldly monarchy: and wicked hierarchy: his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts: his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all this subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody bond, conjured against the kirk of God. And finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs and traditions brought in the kirk, without or against the word of God, and doctrine of this true reformed kirk: to the which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our head, promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up by satan, and that Roman

garded them as the instruments of our own aggrandisement.

“ Lord Hawkesbury agreed with the right honourable gentleman in depreciating that system which had long prevailed with respect to Ireland ; no one more than he abhorred the code of laws, and the whole policy which England had for ages exercised towards Ireland :—since it was evident, that the system under which Ireland was governed, was some how or other constitutionally defective.”

Though I differ with all the partizan writers, who oppose facts ; in asserting that grievances pressed on the Irish, during the reigns of James and Charles, sufficient to throw the best settled country into confusion, yet these were so far counterpoised by the dread of far greater evils,

antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the kirk deceitfully against their own consciences, minding thereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the kirk ; and afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hopes of the popes dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion ; and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus ; we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest ; and call the searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription, so that we are not moved for any worldly respect but are persuaded only in our consciences, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion, printed in our hearts, by the holy spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And because we perceive, that the quietness and stability of our religion and

even extermination, from the puritanic covenanters, that Charles apprehended no rebellion in Ireland; and declared, after it broke out, that if his orders had been obeyed by the justices, Parsons and Borlase, there would have been none, or, if any, but partial, and soon suppressed.

Anglo-Irish and English writers labour to render the cause of the Irish insurgents indefensible, by declaiming on the equity and justice of Strafford's administration. In support of their erroneous relations, they cite an encomium on the deputy, fraudulently entered on the journals by his own contrivance; altogether omitting, with Carte, or affecting to discredit, with Warner, the protest of the Irish commons against the forgery. It will appear obvious to the impartial enquirer, whether it be more probable, that a

kirk, doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the king's majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy, granted to this country for the maintaining of his kirk, and ministration of justice amongst us, we protest and promise with our heart, under the same oaths, hand-write, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority, with goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ his evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all euemies within this realm, or without; as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us, in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally."

"A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, &c. We noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland by the providence of God living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the

deputy would endeavour to sanction his mal-administration, by a sub reptitious commendation; or that a house, so divided in blood, interest and religion, should be unanimous in protesting against their own act, if that eulogy were really their act. Independently of this strong probability, Strafford's correspondence with Charles evidently convicts him of high misdemeanors towards the Irish gentry. Charles had sense enough to perceive, and conscience enough to scruple, the iniquitous scheme of robbing gentlemen in Munster and Connaught, of estates, held by the most antient tenure in the world, long before charters and patents were invented, merely because they had no royal charter. Strafford encourages him to lay aside his remorse, promising to fill his coffers, raise a strong army

glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty, and his posterity, and the true publick liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included: and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption, are of late, and at this time increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick testimonies. We have now at last (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations and sufferings) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the

to defend him against his English and Scotch enemies, and take all the odium of the robbery on himself.

Besides the remote, preparatory foundations of discontent, laid by the two first kings of the Stuart line, in their perfidious plunder of Ulster, Connaught and Munster, other immediate causes were more effectually accessory in kindling the flames of war. The puritans knew, that the great majority of Ireland would, in the event of a rebellion, declare for the king, and early resolved to deprive him of that resource. Notwithstanding their affected contempt of the Irish, they knew and dreaded their bravery in the field, which their incessant importunity with the king, to disband Strafford's levy of eight or nine thousand men demonstrates. Argyle, leader of the covenanters,

example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant: wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us, for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God; do swear:

1st. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches. And shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising: that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government, by arch-bishops, their chancellors and commis-

being asked, how they might prevail against the resources his majesty could draw from his other two kingdoms; replied, 'In England we have allies enough to balance his power. In Ireland, I shall kindle a spark, that can hardly, if ever, be extinguished.' Here he evidently alludes to his intrigues with the displanted Irish and Scots of Ulster. To give more effect to these intrigues, he entered into a treaty of marriage and alliance with the young O'Neil, earl of Tyrone, then residing at Brussels; a treaty broken off by the murder of that nobleman in his bed; whether contrived by the rebel or royal party, as yet remains a secret. The covenanters were strongly interested to promote insurrection in Ireland, and so deprive the king of the resources he could draw from the mistaken loyalty of that people.

saries, deans, deans and chapters, arch-deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresie, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness; lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliament, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malig-

The English commons infected the Irish commons, through their committee in London, with a portion of their democratic spirit, as Carte, Leland and Warner testify; and the dependents of puritans were employed as instruments to stir the northern Irish to revolt, and then betray them. What machinations were used by the Scotch and long parliament to foment the civil war, are but imperfectly recorded: yet it is visible from their declarations, their recorded transactions, and the result, that they did contrive and effectuate that great calamity. Their emissaries and agents gave it birth, nor would it have long survived or become general, were the flame not fanned by the detestable perfidy of the long parliament's creatures, the justices. The most authentic record of its commencement, hitherto published, is lord

nants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this league and covenant, that they may be brought to publick trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supream judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient:

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace, and union, to all posterity: and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

6. We shall also according to our places and callings, in

Macguire's narrative, acknowledged by him as true, before his execution.

“ Being in Dublin Candlemas-term last was twelvemonth—meaning February sixteen hundred forty one—the parliament then sitting, Mr. Roger Moore did write to me, desiring me if I could in that spare time I would come to his house (for then the parliament did nothing but sit and adjourn, expecting a commission for the continuance thereof, their former commission being expired) and that some things he had to say unto me that did nearly concern me: and on receipt of his letter, the new commission for continuing the parliament being landed, I did return him an answer that I could not fulfil his request for that present; and thereupon he himself came to town presently after, and sending to me I went to see

this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant, in the maintaining thereof: and shall not suffer ourselves directly or indirectly by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn, from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God; the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: all which we shall do as in the sight of God: and because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as it is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers the fruits thereof; we profess and declare before God and the world our unfeigned desire to be humbled

him at his lodging: and after some little time spent in salutations, he began to discourse of the many afflictions and sufferings of the natives of that kingdom, and particularly in those late times of my lord Strafford's government, which gave distaste to the whole kingdom: and then he began to particularize the suffering of them that were the more antient natives, as were the Irish; how that on several plantations they were all put out of their ancestors estates; all which sufferings, he said, did beget a general discontent through

for our own sins and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us, and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves and all other under our power and charge both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people. Encouragement to other christian churches groaning under or in danger of the yoke of antichristian tyranny; to join in the same or like association and covenant to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

all the kingdom in both the natives, to wit, the old and new Irish: and that if the gentry of the kingdom, were disposed to free themselves furtherly from the like inconveniences, and get good conditions for themselves for regaining their ancestors estates, (or at least a good part thereof) they could never desire a more convenient time than that time, the distempers of Scotland being then on foot, and did ask me what I thought of it. I made him answer that I could not tell what to think of it, such matters being altogether out of my element. Then he would needs have an oath of me of secrecy, which I gave him; and thereupon he told me, that he had spoke to the best gentry of quality in Leinster, and a great part of Conaught, touching that matter; and he found all of them willing thereunto, if so be they could draw to them the gentry of Ulster, for which cause, said he, I came to speak to you. Then he began to lay down to me the case that I was in there, overwhelmed in debt, the smallness of my estate, and the greatness of the estate my ancestors had, and how I should be sure to get it again, or at least a good part thereof; and moreover how the welfare and maintaining of the Catholic religion, which, he said, undoubtedly the parliament now in England will suppress, doth depend on it. For, said he, it is to be feared, and so much I hear from every understanding man, the parliament intends the utter subversion of our religion; by which persuasions he obtained my consent; and so he demanded if any more of Ulster gentry were in town. I told him that Philip Reily,

Mr. Tirlogh O Neil, brother to Sir Phelim, and Mr. Macmahon were in town; so for that time we parted.

“ The next day he invited Mr. Reily and I to dine with him, and after dinner he sent for those other gentlemen Mr. O’Neil and Macmahon; and when they were come he began the discourse, formerly used to me, to them; and with the same persuasion, formerly used to me, he gained their consent: and then he began to discourse of the manner how it ought to be done, of the feasibility and easiness of the attempt, considering matters as they then stood in England, the troubles of Scotland, the great numbers of able men in the kingdom—meaning Ireland—what succours they were then more to hope for from abroad, and the army then raised, all Irishmen, and well armed; meaning the army raised by my lord Strafford against Scotland. First that every one should endeavour to draw his own friends into that act, and at least those that did live in one county with them; and when they had so done they should send to the Irish in the Low-Countries and Spain, to let them know of the day and resolution, so that they might be over with them by that day, or soon after, with supply of arms or ammunition as they could: that there should be a set day appointed, and every one in his own quarters should rise out that day and seize on all arms he could get in his county, and this day to be near winter, so that England could not be able to send forces into Ireland before May, and by that time there was

no doubt to be made but that they themselves should be supplied by the Irish beyond the seas, who could not miss of help, he said, from either Spain or the Pope; but that his resolutions were not in all things allowed. For first it was resolved nothing should be done, until they had sent over to the Irish over-seas to know their advice, and what hope of success they could give; for in them, as they said, all their hope of relief was, and they would have both their advice and resolution before any further proceedings, more than to speak and to try the gentlemen of the kingdom, every one as they could conveniently, to see (in case they would at any time grow to a resolution) what to be, and strength they must trust to. Then Mr. Moore told them that it was to no purpose to spend much time in speaking to the gentry; for there was no doubt to be made of the Irish that they would be ready at any time; and that all the doubt was in the gentry of the Pale, but he said that for his own part, he was really assured when they had risen out, the Pale gentry would not stay long after, at least that they would not oppose them in any thing but be neuters; and if in case they did, that they had men enough in the kingdom without them. Moreover he said he had spoke to a great man, who then should be nameless, that would not fail at the appointed day of rising out to appear and to be seen in the act, but that until then he was sworn not to reveal him; and that was all that was done at that meeting, only that Mr. Moore should the next lent following make

a journey down into the North to know what was done there, and that he also might inform them what he had done: and so on parting, Mr. Philip Reily and I did importune Mr. Moore for the knowledge of that great man that he spake of; and on long entreaty, after binding us to new secrecy not to discover him till the day should be appointed, he told that it was the lord of Mayo, who was very powerful in command of men in those parts of Connaught where he lived, and that there was no doubt to be made of him no more than was of himself; and so we parted.

“ The next lent following, Mr. Moore according to his promise came into Ulster, by reason it was the time of assizes in several counties. There he met only with Mr. Reily and nothing was then done, but all matters put off till May following, where we or most of us should meet at Dublin, it being both parliament and term time. In the mean time there landed one Neil O’Neil, sent by the earl of Tyrone out of Spain to speak with the gentry of his name and kindred; to let them know that he had treated with cardinal Richlieu for obtaining succour to come for Ireland, and that he prevailed with the cardinal so, that he was to have arms, ammunition and money, from him on demand to come for Ireland, and that he only expected a convenient time to come away; and to desire them to be in a readiness and to procure all others whom they could to be so likewise; which message did set on the proceedings very much, so that Mr. Moore, Mr. Reily, my brother, and I, meeting the next

May at Dublin, and the same messenger there too, it was resolved that he should return to the earl into Spain with their resolution; which was that they would rise out twelve or fourteen days before or after Allhallontide as they should see cause, and that he should not fail to be with them by that time. There was a report at that time, and before, that the earl of Tyrone was killed, which was not believed by reason of many such reports formerly which we found to be false; and so the messenger departed with directions, that if the earl's death were true he should repair into the Low-Countries to colonel Owen O Neil and acquaint him with his commission from the earl, whereof it was thought he was not ignorant, and to return an answer sent by him, and to see what he would advise or would do himself therein. But presently after his departure, the certainty of the earl's death was known; and on further resolution it was agreed, that an express messenger should be sent to the colonel, to make all the resolutions known to him, and to return speedily with his answer; and so one Toole O Conolly, a priest, (as I think parish priest to Mr. Moore) was sent away to colonel O Neil. In the interim there came several letters, and news, out of England to Dublin, of proclamations against the catholics in England, and also that the army raised in Ireland should be disbanded and conveyed into Scotland; and presently after, several colonels and captains landed with directions to carry away those men; amongst whom colonel Plunket, colonel Birne, and captain Brian O Neil

came, but did not come altogether; for Plunket landed before my coming out of town, and the other two after: wherein a great fear of suppressing of religion was conceived, and especially by the gentry of the pale; and it was very common amongst them that it would be very inconvenient to suffer so many men to be conveyed out of the kingdom: it being, as was said, very confidently reported that the Scottish army did threaten never to lay down arms until an uniformity of religion were in the three kingdoms, and the catholic religion suppressed: and thereupon both houses of parliament began to oppose their going, and the houses were divided in their opinions, some would have them go, others not; but what the definitive conclusion of the houses was touching the point I cannot tell: for by leave from the house of lords I departed into the country before the prorogation. But before my departure, I was informed by John Barnwell a friar, that those gentlemen of the Pale and some other members of the house of commons had several meetings and consultations how they might make stay of the soldiers in the kingdom, and likewise to arm them in defence of the King; being much injured both by England and Scotland then, as they were informed, and to prevent any attempts against religion: and presently after I departed into the country, and Mr. Reily being a member of the house of commons stayed the prorogation, and on his coming into the country sent to me to meet him, and I came to his house; where he told me that

he heard for certain that the former narration of Barnwell to me—for I did acquaint him with it—was true, and that he heard it from several there, and also that Ever Macmahon, made firmly privy to all our proceedings at Mr. Reily's, was lately come out of the Pale, where he met with the aforementioned John Barnwell who told him as much; and he formerly told me moreover that those colonels that lately came over did proffer their service and industry in that act, and so would raise their men under colour to convey them into Spain and then seize on the castle of Dublin, and with the arms there to arm their soldiers and have them ready for any occasion that should be commanded them; but that they had not concluded any thing because they were not assured how the gentlemen of the remote parts of the kingdom, and especially of Ulster, would stand affected to that act, and assurance of that doubt was all their impediment. Then we three began to think how we might assure them help and of the assistance of Ulster gentlemen. It was thought one should be sent to them to acquaint them therewith, and they made choice of me to come; by reason, as they said, that my wife was allied to them and their countrywoman, and would believe me and trust me sooner than other of their parts; they, or most of them, being of the Pale: and so, without as much as to return home to furnish myself for such a journey, "*volens nolens*" they prevailed, or rather forced me to come to Dublin to confer with those colonels, and that was the last August was twelvemonth.

“ Coming to town I met Sir James Dillon accidentally, before I came to my lodging, who was one of those colonels; and after salutations he demanded of me where my lodging was, which when I told him we parted. The next day being abroad about some other occasions in town, I met him, as he said, coming to wait on me in my chamber; but being a good way from it he desired me to go into his own chamber being near at hand; and then began to discourse of the present sufferings and afflictions of that kingdom, and particularly of religion, and how they were to expect no redress; the parliament in England intending, and the Scots resolving never to lay down arms until the catholic religion were suppressed. Then he likewise began to lay down what danger it would be to suffer so many able men as was to go with them to depart the kingdom at such a time: neither, said he, do their other gentlemen that are colonels and myself affect our own private profit so as to prefer it before the general good of the kingdom: and knowing you are well affected thereunto, and I hope, said he, ready to put your helping hand to it upon occasion, I will let you know the resolution of those other gentlemen and mine, which is, if we are ready [meaning the conspirators] to raise our men and after to seize on the castle, where there is great store of arms, and arm ourselves. This was the first motion that I ever heard of taking the castle; for it never came into our thoughts formerly, nor, I am persuaded, ever would, if it had not proceeded from those colonels who

were the first motioners and contrivers thereof, for ought known to me; and then to be ready to prevent and resist any danger that the gentlemen of the kingdom like thereof, and help us: for we of ourselves neither are able, nor will do any thing therein without their assistance. I began, according to the directions that were sent with me, to approve of their resolution, and also to let him know how sure he might be of the assistance of those of Ulster. Then he told me, that for my more satisfaction I should confer with the rest of the colonels themselves, as many as are privy to the action; and accordingly a place of meeting was appointed for that afternoon.

“ At the time and place appointed, there met Sir James himself, colonel Birne, and colonel Plunket; and that former discourse being renewed, they began to lay down the obstacles to that enterprise, and how they should be redressed. First, if there should war ensue, how there should be money had to pay to the soldiers. Secondly, how and where they should procure succours from foreign parts. Thirdly, how to draw in the Pale gentlemen. Fourthly, who should undertake to surprise the castle, and how it should be done. To the first it was answered, that the rents in the kingdom every where, not having respect whose they should be due, due to the lords and gentlemen thereof, should be collected to pay the soldiers: and moreover they might be sure, nay that there was no doubt thereof, to procure money from the pope, who gave several promises formerly to my lord of Tyrone—in case he could

make way to come into Ireland—to maintain six thousand men yearly at his own charge; and notwithstanding my lord of Tyrone was dead, yet that he would continue the same forwardness now. To the second it was answered by colonel Birne, that help from abroad could not fail them: for said he, colonel O'Neil told me that he had, or would procure in readiness—I do not remember which of those the colonel spake, or whether he spoke positive that colonel O Neil had arms, or would procure them—arms for ten thousand men, and moreover said he, I make no great question that if we send into Spain we shall not miss of aid; for I being in London the last year in the Scots troubles; I was in conference with one of the Spanish ambassadors then there, and taking of their troubles then a-foot, he said, that if the Irish did then rise too and send to Spain, their messengers would be received under canopies of gold. These last words he told me, and some one man of those that wese present privately, whose name I cannot call to mind; neither remember I whether he spoke to them all or no: then it was thought that when they were both in arms for the defence of the catholic cause, they would be succoured by the catholic princes of Christendom. [Here is an evident mistake in the copy, and the word “both” should be omitted, it being well known that the Scots were not in arms in defence of the catholic cause.] To the third it was answered by colonel Plunket, that he was as morally certain—for those were his words—as he could be of any thing, that the

Pale gentlemen would join with them and assist them. For he said, I have spoke to several of them since my landing in the kingdom, and I find them very ready and willing: and withal I have at London spoke to some of the committee, and particularly to my lord of Gormanston to let them know his resolution and they approved it very well.

“ All this was not done at the first meeting, but at three or four meetings; and so on the last meeting, it was resolved to the last doubt touching seizing the castle, that colonel Plunket and colonel Birn should undertake that task, because they were nearer to it than any other; and also seize on the forts, garrisons, and other places where they think any arms should be, and in particular Londonderry, which should be undertaken by those of Ulster; and then there was a set day appointed for execution thereof, that was the fifth of the ensuing October—this being the latter end of August, or the beginning of September sixteen hundred forty-one, I do not know whether—and every one should make provision to rise out that day. They were named that should first succour them that would take the castle with men presently, namely Sir James Dillon who did undertake to be with them within three, or at most, four days with a thousand men, and so much more should come to them out of the North. For these two colonels did not intend to use above an hundred men in the surprisal, whereof they were to have twenty good able gentlemen: for they made account that having

the castle, they with the artillery would master all the town until they were relieved by men from the country: and because there was a doubt how all this should be done in so short a time, they did appoint that all that were there present should not fail to meet there again the twentieth of September to give an account of all things, as well hopes as impediments; and if on that interview all things should happen to be well, they should go forward, or if otherwise to prolong the execution of it to a more convenient time; and so we parted, every man into the country about his own task.

“ In my way home I came to Mr. Reily’s house, and there I received a letter from Sir Phelim O’Neil, that his lady was dead and to be buried on the Sunday following—this being on the Saturday—and desiring me in all kindness to come to the burial: and Mr. Reily, having received another letter to the same effect, would needs have me go thither—whereunto I was very unwilling, being weary, and withal not provided to go to such a meeting—as well, he said, to prevent any jealousy from the lady’s friends, as also to confer with Sir Phelim touching all those proceedings. For neither he nor I spoke to Sir Phelim concerning the matter before, but to his brother Tirloch O’Neil: and coming thither we found captain Brian O’Neil lately come out of the Low-Countries, sent over by colonel O’Neil to speak to, and to provoke those of Ulster to rise out in arms, and that he would be with them on notice of their day, the same day or soon after it;

and it was asked of the said captain what aid he could send or procure, being but a private colonel, or where he could get any. He replied that the said colonel told him, that he had sent to several places that summer to demand aid, and in particular to cardinal Richlieu into France, to whom he had sent twice that year, and had comfortable and very hopeful promises from them, and especially from that cardinal, on whom he thought the colonel did most depend; so that there was no doubt to be made of succour from him; and especially when they had risen out that would be a means to the cardinal to give aid. We did the more credit him, in regard of the former treaty between the cardinal and the earl of Tyrone, as formerly is said. For my own part I did, and do believe, that the colonel doth depend on France for aid more than any other place, as well for those reasons, as also that Ever Macmahon, formerly mentioned, told me, that presently after the isle of Rhee's enterprise—he being then in the Low-Countries—did hear for certain, that the earl of Tyrone, together with the colonel, did send into France to the marshall of France that was general of the French forces at the isle of Rhee, to deal with him for procuring of aid to come then for Ireland; and that he received an answer from the said marshall, that he was most willing and ready to contribute his endeavours for his furtherance therein; but that he could not for the present answer my lord's expectations, by reason that the king had wars in Italy, which he thought would be at an

end in half a year or little more, and then my lord should not doubt of any thing he could do for his assistance: but these continued a great deal longer; so for that time the enterprise failed. After the burial was done, I gave those gentlemen knowledge of what I had done at Dublin, and how I was to retire thither; and then they began to think how they should surprise Londonderry, they being near it, but could not then agree in the manner; and so Sir Phelim desired me to take his house in my way going to Dublin, and that I should have a resolution to carry with me touching Londonderry; and there-upon I parted home.

“ Soon after I came to Dublin to the fore-appointed meeting of those colonels; but first I took in my way Sir Phelim O Neil’s house, to be certain what he had done; and his answer was, that he knew that matter could not be put in execution by the fifth of October as was appointed, and that they would make another longer day for it, and he would provide for the taking of Londonderry by that day; and so I came to Dublin to give an account of that was done, and also know what further should be done. I was not two hours in my lodging when Mr. Moore came to me, who knew what was done by those colonels formerly from colonel Birn; and told me that the messenger sent to colonel O Neil was come with an answer, desiring us not to delay any time in rising out, and to let him know of that day before hand, and that he would not fail to be with us within fourteen days

of that day with good aid; also desiring us by any means to seize the castle of Dublin if we could, for he heard that there was great provision in it for war: and Mr. Moore moreover said, that that time was not to be over-slipped, and desired me to be very pressing with the colonels to go in their resolution. But on meeting with the colonels, they were fallen from their resolution, because those of the Pale would do nothing therein first; but when it was done, they would not fail to assist us, as colonel Plunket did affirm: and so by several meetings, it was resolved on by them to desist from that enterprise for that time, and to expect a more convenient time. But before that their resolution, Sir Phe-
lim O Neil, and the aforesaid captain Brian O Neil followed me to Dublin to assist, as they said, and advise me how to proceed with that colonel; but neither they nor Mr. Moore would be seen therein themselves to those gentlemen, but would meet me privately and know what was done at every meeting; alledging for excuse, that I being first employed in that matter, it would not be expedient that they should be seen in it. Moreover they would not be known to be in town but by a few of their friends, until they were in a manner ready to depart the town; at least as long as I was in town, for I left them there. But when I made them acquainted with their determination of desisting from that enterprise, they thought it convenient we should meet with Mr. Moore and colonel Birn to see what was further to be done concerning the further inten-

tion of their own, and according we did send to them that they should meet us; and on that meeting it was, where was only Sir Phelim, Mr. Moore, colonel Birn, captain Neil, and myself. After long debate it was resolved, that we with all those that were of our faction should go on with that determination that was formerly made, and concluded to rise out: moreover to seize on the castle as the colonels were purposed; for if it were not for their project and the advice sent by colonel Neil we would never venture to surprise it: neither was it ever thought on in all the meetings and resolutions between us before those colonels did resolve on it; but by reason that the other gentlemen that were privy to those proceedings were not present, the certainty of the time and the manner how to execute it, was put off to a further meeting in the country; and this was resolved in Dublin upon the Sunday at night, being the twenty-sixth or twenty-seventh of September, and the meeting was appointed on the Saturday following at Macalloe, Macmahon's house in Farney in the county of Monaghan: and thereupon we all left the town; only Sir Phelim staid about some other his private occasions, but did assure his being there at that day; and by reason that at that meeting the gentry of Leinster could not be, considering the remoteness of the place from them, it was thought fit that Mr. Moore should there meet to receive the final resolution and should acquaint them therewith; and in the mean time colonel Birn, who had undertaken for colonel Plunket, should inform

them of all the intention conceived, and dispose them in readiness against that day that should be appointed."

"On Saturday I came to Mr. Macmahon's house; there met only Mr. Macmahon himself, captain Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myself: and thither that same day came the messenger that was sent to colonel Neil, and did report the colonel's answer and advice "verbatim," as I have formerly repeated from Mr. Moore; and by reason that Sir Phelim, his brother, or Mr. Philip Reily that were desired to meet, did not meet, we staid that night to expect them; and that night I received a letter from Sir Phelim, intreating us by any means not to expect him till the Monday following, for he had not, nor could dispatch some occasions nearly concerning him, but whatever became of them he would not fail on the Monday: on the next day after receipt of the letter, being Sunday, by Mr. Moore's advice we departed from colonel Macmahon's house, to prevent, as he said, the suspicion of the English there,—many living near—to Loghrosse in the county of Ardmagh to Mr. Tirloch O Neil's house—not Sir Phelim's brother but son to Mr. Henry O Neil of the Fewes, son-in-law to Mr. Moore—and left word, that if Sir Phelim, or any of those gentlemen did come in the mean time, they should follow us thither; whither only went Mr. Moore, captain O Neil, and myself, and therewe expected them until the Tuesday subsequent before any of those did come. On the Tuesday came Sir Phelim, and Ever Mac-

mahon; all the rest failing to come. Mr. Macmahon's wife was dead the night before, which was the cause he was not there; but I gave his assent to what should be concluded to therein and to execute what should be appointed him: And then we five, viz. Sir Phelim, Mr. Moore, captain O Neil, Ever Macmahon, and myself, assuring ourselves that those gentlemen absent should both allow and join to what we should determine, did grow into a final resolution, grounding all or most part of our hope and confidence on the succours from colonel O Neil, to seize on the castle, and rise out all in one day; and the day was appointed on the twenty third of that month, this being the fifth day of October: having regard therein to the day of the week whereon that day did fall, which was the Saturday being the market-day; on which day there would be less notice of people up and down the streets. Then began a question who should be deputed for the surprisal of the castle; and then Mr. Moore said he would be one of them himself, and that colonel Birn should be another, and what other gentlemen of Leinster they could procure to join with them: and seeing the castle had two gates, the one the great, the other the little gate going down to my lord lieutenant's stables—hard by which stables without the castle was the store-house for arms—they of Leinster would undertake one gate, and that should be the little gate; and the great gate should be undertaken by those of Ulster, and said he, of necessity one of you both—meaning Sir Phelim and

me—must be there for the mere countenance of the matter, it being the glory of all our proceedings; and all that his speech was well liked of all present. But Sir Phelim would be exempted from that employment, and so would I; but then all of them set on me desiring me to be one, alledging for reason that their proceedings and resolutions were very honourable and glorious, it being for religion, and for to procure more liberty for their country, as did, said they, of late Scotland; and that in taking the castle consisted all the glory and honour of the said act: all which should be attributed to them which should be employed therein; and so by consequence all, or most part to be there, being, as they said, the chief in that enterprise: and more Sir Phelim said, that he would endeavour to take, or procure others to take Londonderry the same day, and if he should be away that place would not be taken. With these, and many other persuasions, they obtained my consent, and then the captain offered himself. They began to think what number should be employed in that act, and they concluded on two hundred men, one hundred from each province, for those gates which they were to seize on; of which number Sir Phelim O Neil should send forty, with an able sufficient gentleman to conduct them, and likewise captain Neil twenty, Mr. Macmahon, Mr. Reily, ten more, and I should bring twenty two. Then began a doubt how they should raise those men and convey them to Dublin without suspicion; and it was answered, that under pre-

^tence of carrying them to those colonels that were conveying soldiers out of the kingdom, [the copy says, "into," but it is evidently a mistake] it might safely be done: and to that purpose Sir Phelim O Neil, Mr. Moore, and the captain had several blank patents with deputations to make captains to those colonels, which they sent to those that should send men to Dublin. For the more colour, they bethought of what was to be done in the country that day; and it was resolved that every one privy to that matter in every part of the kingdom, should rise up that day and seize on all the forts and arms in several counties, to make all the gentry prisoners, the more to assure themselves against any adverse fortune, and not to kill any but where of necessity they must be forced thereunto by opposition—and that those that were appointed for taking of the castle should observe—and in particular the gentry. All their army in Ulster were to take that day Londonderry, which Sir Phelim did undertake, and Knockfergus, which they thought Sir Henry Mac O Neil would do; and to that end Sir Phelim's brother Tirlogh O Neil should be sent to them; and the Newry which should be undertaken by Sir Conn Maggennis and his brothers, for whom Sir Phelim, in regard they were his brothers-in-law—his deceased lady being their sister—did undertake. Moreover it was agreed, that Sir Phelim, Mr. Reily, Mr. Macmahon, and my brother, should with all the speed they could after that day raise all the forces they could and follow us to Dublin; but

to arm the men, and succour and attend, and garrison the town and castle: and likewise Mr. Moore should appoint Leinster gentlemen to send like supply of men; then there was fear of the Scots conceived, that they should personally oppose themselves, and that would make the matter more difficult; and to avoid which danger it was resolved on not to meddle with them or any thing belonging to them, and to demean themselves towards them, as if they were of themselves, which they thought would pacify them from any opposition: and if the Scots would not accept of that offer of amity but would oppose them, they were in good hope to cause a stir in Scotland that might divert them from them; and I believe the ground for that hope was, that two years before, in or about the beginning of the Scots troubles, my Lord of Tyrone sent one Tirlogh O Neil, a priest, out of Spain (and that this I take it was the time that he was in treaty with Cardinal Richlieu) to my lord of Argyle, to treat with him for help from my lord for him to come into Ireland, as was said, for marriage between the said earl and my lord of Argyle's daughter, or sister—I know not which;—and this messenger was in Ireland, with whom Mr. Tirlogh O Neil Sir Phelim's brother, had conference; from whom this relation was had. That said messenger went into Scotland, as I did hear from the said Mr. Neil, or from Ever Macmahon aforementioned, I know not from which of them; but what he did there I could never hear, by reason that my lord of Tyrone was

presently after killed. They were the more confirmed therein, hearing that my lord of Argyle did say—near to the same time as I guess, and when the army was raised in Ireland, as I think—to a great lady in Scotland—I know not her name, but did hear that she was much embarked in the troubles of that kingdom, and she questioning how they could subsist against the two kingdoms of England and Ireland—that if the king did endeavour to stir Ireland against them, he would kindle such a fire in Ireland as would hardly or never be quenched: and moreover they knew my lord to be powerful with the Highlanders, Redshanks in Scotland, whom they thought would be prone and ready to such actions; they for the most part descending out of Ireland, holding the Irish language and manners still; and so we parted.

“The next day being Wednesday, from Lough-rosse every man went about his own task; and so when I came home I acquainted my brother with all that was done, and what they had appointed him to do; and did like according as they had appointed me send to Mr. Reily to let him know as much, and the eighteenth of the same month I began my journey to Dublin: and when I came to Dublin—being the day before the appointed day for putting that resolution into execution there—I met with captain Con O Neil, sent out of the Low-countries by colonel O Neil, who was sent, after the messenger sent by us formerly to the said colonel was by him disappointed of his answer, to encourage us in our

resolution and to speedy performance, with assurance of succour; which he said would not fail of the colonel's behalf: and for the more certainty of help from him, and to assure us that the colonel had good hopes to procure aid from others, he said that it was he himself that was employed from him to cardinal Richlieu twice; that some men gave fair promises to assure the colonel's expectations, with which he said that the said colonel was really assured with himself of the cardinal's aid; and that he was likewise commanded by the colonel, upon our resolution of the day, to give notice thereof to him, and that he would be within fourteen days over with them with aid: but he landed nine or ten days before, and meeting with captain Brian O Neil, who made him acquainted with what was resolved, he did write all the matter to colonel O Neil, so as he was sure of his speedy coming; and so he and I came to meet the other gentlemen: and there were met Mr. Moore, colonel Birn, colonel Plunket, captain Fox, and other Leinster gentlemen, a captain I think of the Birn's—but I am not sure whether a Birn or a Toole—and captain Brian O Neil; and taking an account of those that should have been there, it was found that Sir Phelim O Neil, and Mr. col. Macmahon did fail of sending their men; and colonel Birn did miss Sir Morgan Cavenagh that had promised him to be there, but he said he was sure he would not fail to be that night or the next morning in town: and of the two hundred men there were only eighty present; yet not-

withstanding they were resolved to go on in their resolution, and all the difference was, at what time of the day they would set on the castle; and after some debate it was resolved in the afternoon; for they said, if they should take the castle, and be enforced by any extremity for not receiving timely succour out of the country, having them they could not want; and so parted that night, but to meet in the morning to see what was further to be done: and immediately thereupon I came to my chamber, and about nine o'clock Mr. Moore and captain Fox came to me, and told me all was discovered, and that the city were in arms and the gates were shut up; and so departed from me: and what became of them and the rest I know not, nor think but they escaped; but how, and what time, I do not know, because I myself was taken that morning."

From this narrative it appears, that few were in the secret of the conspiracy; and that, relying on the discontents of the vast numbers dispossessed of their lands, persecuted for their religion, and not allowed even as tenants on their own estates, they thought their appearance in arms would draw a sufficient number of followers. It appears, also, that Owen O'Conolly, the informer, was entrusted with the secret, and was in company with Mac Mahon, on the eve of the attempt on the castle, when he made the discovery of the attempt. But the relation of party historians, on this subject, will not easily be followed by any dispassioned reader. Warner says,

that Owen O'Conolly, a gentleman of the old Irish stock, bred a PROTESTANT, was made privy to the secrets of a great and general plot, by which all PROTESTANTS were to be dispossessed, or cut off, and that on the eve of its execution! Gentleman O'Conolly was servant to Sir John Clotworthy, a worthy trustee of the long-parliament, a puritan, who attended at lord Macguire's trial, and Conolly was not bred, but became a protestant. It is therefore highly improbable, had he not been before in the secret, that he would then become acquainted with it, when so little time remained to know his dispositions, talents, or the services he could perform. But if we argue from facts, it is certain, that government had information of the conspiracy from the king, when in Scotland, where it was no secret, on account of the part acted by the leading covenanters in fomenting it; and from Sir William Cole, who, by letters and in person, gave several particulars concerning the same. It is therefore very likely, that the informer was sent, well instructed, to volunteer among them, rip up his pedigree, complain of grievances, vow revenge, and thus gain their confidence; an artifice, easier played on men, heated by zeal, and so convinced of the justice of their cause, that warmth of hypocritical professions gain upon them. Such artifices were practised on the United men, in our own memory; and the pretended surprize, at the discovery of the plot, is exactly of a piece with the surprize of James and Cecil at the discovery of the gun-powder, hid,

by their own order, under the parliament-house. " Roger Moore was at the head of a once powerful Irish family of Leinster. His ancestors, in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their princely possessions, by violence and fraud ; and their sept harassed and almost extirpated by military execution. Their remains were distinguished by an hereditary hatred of the English, which O'Moore of queen Elizabeth's reign, expressed by the violence and obstinacy of his hostilities. The resentment of Roger was equally determined, irritated, as he was, by the sufferings of his ancestors, his own indigence and depression, and the mortifying view of what he called his rightful inheritance possessed by strangers, rioting in the spoils of his family. But his conduct was cautious and deliberate; for he had judgment, penetration, and a refinement of manners unknown to his predecessors. He was allied by intermarriages to several of the old English, and lived in intimacy with the most civilized and noblest of their race. Some part of his youth had been spent on the continent, where his manners were still further polished, and his hatred of the English power confirmed, by an intercourse with his exiled countrymen. He attached himself particularly to the son of the rebel earl of Tirone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and who was caressed at the court. It was natural for such companions to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cause of their countrymen, and the hopes of still reviving the antient splendour of their families. With

such men, in such a place, an aversion to that power, which had subverted all the old establishments in Ireland was heroic patriotism. The spirit of Moore was on fire. He vowed to make one brave effort for the restoration of his brethren, was applauded by his associate, and returned to Ireland, totally engaged by the bold design.

“ From the moment that the idea had first dawned in his mind, Moore wisely contrived by every possible means to conciliate the esteem and affection of the native Irish: he had the qualities most effectual for this purpose; a person remarkably graceful, an aspect of dignity, a courteous and insinuating address, a quick discernment of men’s characters, and a pliancy in adapting himself to their sentiments and passions. The old Irish beheld the gallant representative of one of their distinguished families, with an extravagance of rapture and affection; they regarded him as their glory and their protection; they celebrated him in their songs; and it became a proverbial expression, that their dependance was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

“ He proceeded to practise cautiously with his friends and kinsmen, and by fomenting their discontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his design. Among these was Richard Plunket, younger son of that Sir Christopher Plunket, who, in the government of Chichester, was a distinguished leader of opposition in the Irish parliament; a man well descended and allied. He had been bred in England, obtained military command in Flanders, was distinguished

and advanced; he had a politeness which recommended him to his numerous connections, and a plausibility which enabled him to influence and govern them. Vain in his temper, indigent in his fortune, and bigoted in religion, he was a fit instrument for Moore. The artful conspirator exaggerated the insults which the whole nation had sustained from the oppressive government of Strafford, enumerated all the public grievances, lamented the tedious and ineffectual measures taken for redress, extolled the gallantry of the Scots, who had at once established their religion and liberties, condemned the supineness of his own countrymen, who instead of making a brave effort worthy of their valour, at a juncture the most favourable to such a purpose, waited with submission, until the puritanic party of England and Scotland should utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Such suggestions had an instant effect on the mind of Plunket; he resigned himself to the direction of his kinsman, and became an active agent in his conspiracy.

“No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the leaders of the Ulster Irish, who had been so severely chastised by the arms of Elizabeth, and so grievously despoiled by the plantations of James.—Of these, Moore first applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniskillen. This lord was regarded as chieftain, by the remains of his sept still left in the county of Fermanagh. His ancestor had forfeited in the rebellion of Tirone: part of the forfeited lands had been res-

tored to his grand-father for good services, and descended to the present lord, a youth of mean understanding, and a licentious and expensive life, already overwhelmed with debts, proud, and impatient of his distress. Moore reminded him of the antient affluence and splendour of his family, pathetically lamented his present difficulties, inveighed against that power which had despoiled the old and rightful possessors of the island, and planted a race of aliens and foreigners on their patrimony. The English government, he observed, was now become universally odious; that all the old inhabitants of Ireland, as well of the English as Irish race, were impatient of their numerous oppressions; and surely no juncture could be more favourable than the present, for a brave attempt to assert their liberties and regain their inheritance. When such general intimations proved insufficient, he demanded an oath of secrecy from Maguire; and under this seal assured him that he had conferred with several of the best quality in Leinster, as well as with numbers in Connaught, on the scheme of a general insurrection; that he found them ready to engage, provided the Irish of Ulster would unite in the design; a design which would restore him to the possessions, and establish the religion of his ancestors, unless he should meanly submit to his present distress, and suffer the English parliament to extend their persecution of the catholics into Ireland, and exterminate every professor of the Roman faith. His artifice at length pre-

vailed; and with still greater ease, he wrought to his purpose three other Irishmen of the northern province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reily, and Torlagh, brother of Sir Phelim O'Nial the most considerable of his name and lineage now resident in Ulster.

“ In his conferences with these new associates, he observed, that a general insurrection might be easily effected, in the present disordered state of England and Scotland, and when such numbers of their kinsmen and followers were in arms, and would gladly revolt to their natural leaders; that the time of execution should be chosen at the approach of winter, when no succours could be sent from England; that each should practise with his own friends; and as there was no doubt of receiving aid from abroad, they should notify their resolutions to the Irish on the continent. The northern conspirators cautiously insisted on the necessity of being fully and particularly assured of foreign succours before any measures should be hazarded on their part, except that of sounding the dispositions of their countrymen. Moore, who was impatient of delay, laboured to convince them of the futility of a tedious application to individuals, all friends to their design, and ready to rise in arms on the first alarm. Even the inhabitants of the Pale, he observed, would readily follow the example of the native Irish, or at least would stand neuter in the public commotion; that the scheme had been already communicated to several persons of power; that one leader was engaged who could command an

extensive district: and when urgently pressed to declare him, he named lord Mayo, descended from a branch of the degenerate De Burghs, and of an extensive following in the western province.”*

Allowing the causes and promoters of insurrection, thus detailed, we must agree with Charles, that they were inadequate to produce a general conspiracy; and that a partial one would soon be suppressed, if his orders had been obeyed.

The success of the Scotch, in overthrowing episcopacy, in their irruption into England,† where they were rewarded for their rebellion, and dictated to their sovereign, “seemed to reproach the supineness of their neighbours, and to challenge them to a bold emulation of their conduct. If the Scots were suffered to establish a new religion, the Irish deemed it more meritorious, and less offensive, to labour for the restoration of an ancient model; if the Scots complained of temporal grievances, those of the Irish were more afflicting; if the valour of the Scots had extorted the amplest concessions, it was shameful for the Irish to resign the palm of valour.”‡ Yes. But the generality of the Irish abhorred their rebellion and principles.

“The spirits of the male-contents, even of those not actually engaged in the conspiracy, were still further enflamed by new intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations issued

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 97.

† See ut supra, p. 426, &c.

‡ Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 92.

against the catholics of England, and the denunciations of the Scots against all of their communion. Fears of extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were seriously conceived by some, and affected and propagated by the more designing. They possessed men's minds with the imagination of a Scottish army, in all the phrensy of religious zeal, ready to land on the Irish shores, and to persecute the Romanists with sword and fire. Even the loyal catholics were alarmed at the thoughts of sending the disbanded Irish army into foreign service, when the regal authority, as well as their religion, was in danger."*

That is coming near the point. The covenanters, in England, Ireland and Scotland, were principally instrumental in exciting this insurrection. To this tended, the furious denunciations of the English parliament against popery and papists: the cruelties practised on several of that persuasion, lay and ecclesiastical: the extravagant rumours of dangerous machinations, formed by Jesuits and other papists; such as, blowing up the Thames, and eight hundred Jesuits intending to come on dromedaries, and take London by surprise, &c.† Certainly, the rebel parliament, which had staked all on the overthrow of the monarchy and the monarch, had the greatest interest to deprive him of every resource from Ireland, the only one of his kingdoms which, though worse and inhumanly treated by his father and himself, was known to be most loyal to

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 98.

† See *ut supra*, pp. 413, 416, 440, 447, 448, 459, 473.

him. No method of effecting this was neglected by them. First, they procured the government of Ireland for Parsons and Borlase, two of their creatures, entirely devoted to them. “ Sir Wm. Parsons, the first in the commission, and the most active in the exercise of the government, was an Englishman of mean extraction; and reading and writing was all the learning he had. With these qualifications, and about forty pounds in money, he went over to Ireland to seek his fortune. He began the world in that country in the service of the escheater general; and being of a plodding indefatigable genius, and much addicted to avarice, he was so good a proficient in the arts of making the most of his employment—which is no difficult matter for a man of indifferent parts to do, in an employment which gives opportunity, and when he is not troubled with scruples about the ways of getting it—he soon grew rich. After this he married a niece of the surveyor general; and being employed under him in that post, upon his uncle’s resignation succeeded him in it. At the death of his uncle, he obtained another place which he held as commissioner of the revenue; and to this was added in a short time after, the place of a commissioner of the lands escheated or vested in the crown; by which he procured eighteen hundred acres in the province of Ulster to be allotted him. Thus having the sole care of the admeasurement of the lands as surveyor general, and as commissioner a great influence in the disposal of them, here was a fair opportunity for such a man to amass an immense fortune; and

he did not miss it. Though great complaints were made against him with too much reason in both these respects, yet he had the art or the good fortune by making his court to Buckingham the favourite, at the expence of other ministers, to retain his post of surveyor general, and to be master of the court of wards; of which he had been the projector. In this employment he acquired new grants of lands and manors to a very considerable amount; which had made him very obnoxious to all the Irish, and not a little disliked by the rest of the people. He had in his early days imbibed the sentiments of the Puritans; and had all that gravity in his exterior which is often mistaken for true wisdom, of which it is only the semblance. Though he owed the posts which had enabled him to amass his riches, and the grants of his estate, to the king's bounty, yet being still as selfish and greedy of wealth as ever, and finding that his majesty's power was sunk in that of the parliament, he struck into their measures, and by their recommendation was made one of the lords justices.

“ Sir John Borlase had been bred a soldier in the wars of the Low-Countries at the beginning of that century; and was a man of a quiet, easy nature, of no extraordinary parts, but honest, open, and without design. His behaviour in the commands which had been entrusted to him had been unexceptionable; and he had acquired a good share of reputation for his military skill. Therefore when he returned home to Ireland, he was thought a proper man to keep up the disci-

pline of that army; was preferred to a company of foot and a troop of horse; and made master general of the ordnance. Avarice was not his vice; and having made no great profit by his commissions, his fortune was very moderate. The genius that he had was wholly confined to his profession of arms; and when he was made a lord justice, he was grown old, indolent, and inactive; giving himself little trouble about the exercise of his power, and leaving all to the management of his colleague.

This appointment, together with the character of Parsons, explains the extraordinary conduct of the justices, on receiving the information, and during the rebellion.*

The breaking out of the insurrection was a complete triumph to the English rebels. The horrors they had so industriously propagated, of popish plots and massacres, seemed to be realized. The king, partly to evade the imputation, charged on him by his enemies, of participating in, and commissioning by his authority, the Irish revolt; partly, by reason of the poverty in which he was kept by his rebel parliament, surrendered to it the prosecution of the war; and with it, of course, the executive government of Ireland. Of these powers they availed themselves to raise men and money, nominally for the service of Ireland, but in reality to fight against their sovereign, which they shortly after put in execution. Warner furnishes a number of facts, whose force he vainly

* See *ut supra*, p. 454.

endeavours to elude. Leland, more candid, acknowledges the treason of the parliament, and their representatives, Parsons and Borlase, in fomenting the Irish insurrection. For, though the leading covenanters were busy in contriving and stirring it up, the latter must, of course, be well apprized of the design, beside information from the king, from Vane and Cole, "yet even to this moment the chief governors of Ireland seemed to sleep in full security. The temper and principles of Parsons, the progress of his fortune, and the measures he had already taken to advance it, made it by no means incredible that he might artfully connive at a wild scheme of rebellion, to enrich his coffers by new forfeitures. His known attachment to the popular party of England, might also have given him some degree of secret satisfaction in a public commotion, which would prove embarrassing to the crown. However this may be, both the lords justices were equally deficient in their vigilance and their affection to the king."*

The Irish insurrection was but a part of the revolutionary scheme, formed in England and Scotland, by the puritans. This is the master-key to the proceedings of the party in both islands. The furious denunciations against popery, contained in the solemn league and covenant, in sundry acts of parliament, and in fanatical petitions to parliament, for the extermination of papists, encouraged, pompously received and

* See ut supra, p. 454.

published, torture and death inflicted on many professors of that religion, were all directed to that end. It is difficult to conceive, that any persons, calling on the name of Christ, and not quite insane, would seriously intend the diabolical project of exterminating a nation, for religious opinions; but all these threats, alarms, and false rumours of fictitious plots, however ridiculous, were among the revolutionary schemes of working up the many-headed hydra to the utmost fury. It was deemed necessary to fanaticize the public, to prepare for great changes in church and state; and the hue-and-cry against popery, involving the established prelacy, partly, through the affinity of the two churches, partly, through the imprudence of Charles and Laud, was a potent engine, to work on minds, ignorant and credulous, especially to tales of malignity. The Bible and the Spirit, canting, hypocrisy and fanaticism, were, to the English democrats of the seventeenth century, what the age of reason and infidelity were, to the French democrats of the eighteenth. The means different, for a similar object; as a revolution of opinion must precede a revolution in the state.

Such was the plan for revolutionizing England, and depriving the king of the resources of Ireland; which, without an Irish rebellion, could not be done. It was evident, that, if Ireland were tranquil, when the covenanters went to war with Charles, the Irish would join the banners of their sovereign, and, in all probability, turn the scales against the rebels. To avert such

a calamity, they took very effectual measures. By kindling an insurrection in Ireland, and getting the executive power thereof, they fought the king of Ireland by his own authority, and by soldiers fighting under his own banners. This treacherous plan was so faithfully adhered to, by the justices and Ormond, creatures of the rebel parliament, that all the endeavours of the king and his Irish subjects, to come to an accommodation, were frustrated, until both were ruined.

This is the clue to all the manœuvres of the democrats.* Another method of spreading alarm was, the assassination of catholic clergymen; as the flock must needs abhor and dread the murderers of the shepherd. “ For, not to mention the lords justices, cruel injunctions to the officers of the army, to shew no mercy to that order of men, (whom, therefore, these officers promiscuously murdered, wherever they met them,) “ the English house of commons gave them reason to apprehend every thing that is dreadful to human nature†... When men have every thing to dread in peace, and much to hope from a war,

* See ut supra, p. 486.

† To this his majesty seems to have alluded, when he said, and certainly it is thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew into those horrid flames the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel for rebellion in Ireland; where despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easy to provoke them to open rebellion.—Eikon Bas,

it is natural for them to chuse the latter, and use their utmost endeavours to make it successful. Nor is it any wonder that those priests, in such a situation of affairs, should have recourse to arms, for the safety of their lives: and despairing of indulgence in quiet times, should seek in troublesome ones for an establishment, never to be obtained but by the prevailing force of an insurrection.”* “ The condition of a missionary, in the beginning of this reign, was different from what it was at the latter end of it; when religious zeal against popery was heightened and inflamed with all the rage of faction. If a Turkish dervise had then preached Mahomet in England, he would have met much better treatment than a popish priest.”† A third method of extending the insurrection, consisted in the false and fraudulent impeachment of all Irish catholics, published by proclamation. On the 23d‡ of October, 1641, the lords justices declared by proclamation, “ that a discovery had been made of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy intended by some evil affected Irish papists, universally throughout the kingdom;” which gave a just

* Carte’s *Life of Ormond*.

† Grainger’s *Biogr. Hist. of England*, Vol. II. p. 206.

‡ This day was commonly called Macguire’s day, because Lord Macguire was a principal leader in the insurrection which commenced on it; and yet we find by the journals of the Irish commons, that one of the first private discoverers of it to Sir William Cole, was one Bryan Macguire, (probably his lordship’s relation,) for which service, said Bryan’s grandson, Connaght Maguire, in 1662, obtained a grant of his grandfather’s estate.

alarm to the catholic nobility and gentry of the kingdom, who knew themselves to be perfectly innocent, and entirely unconscious, of any such conspiracy. The earl of Clanrickard, who had arrived in Ireland some short time before, tells us, that he “ was at first, on a sudden, surprised with the fatal news of a desperate rebellion in the North, and a rumour of a general combination and conspiracy all over the kingdom. But we begin to recover our wits, scared away by the first reports; and do discern, that none appears in this detestable conspiracy, or enters into action, but the remains of the antient Irish rebels in the North, and some of the planted county of Leitrim.”*

The rebellion furnished the English rebels with further weapons against his majesty; first, by calumniating him, as authorizing it, even after he had, in order to clear himself from the foul charge, surrendered the management of the Irish war and executive into their hands. Secondly, by fanaticizing the multitude, with hideous tales of massacres, committed on protestants by Irish papists; and an avowed intention of massacring every British man, woman and child. To gain greater credit for these falsehoods, they were communicated to the English commons by the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant, the lord keeper, &c. Though these scandalous fictions had their day, and executed their mischief, their falsehood is so notorious, as to be owned by writers otherwise prejudiced.

* Clarendon's Memoirs.

“ Both the lord keeper in the house of lords, and the lord lieutenant in the house of commons, did exceed the informations that had been given, either in the letters, or in the examinations transmitted over. No historian hath taken notice of this falsification: and yet one cannot believe that it was owing in both these lords to accident or mistake. The lord keeper hath said, that the rebels had committed divers murders; and the lord lieutenant, besides affirming that they had information of shedding much blood of the protestants there, added moreover, that the design of the rebels was to kill the lords justices, and all the king’s privy-council; whereas neither in the letters, nor the examinations, is there a single word of any murder being committed; nor was there the least thought among the conspirators, for any thing that appears, of killing, particularly, the lords justices and the king’s privy-council. And the council in their letters, after having given an account of several robberies, burning of houses and villages, and seizing some forts and castles, expressly say, and this, though too much, is all that we yet hear is done by them.”*

“ It is worthy of notice, that about this time, viz. before the end of October, 1641, Temple himself confesses, “ that the rebels had got possession of all the towns, forts, castles, and gentlemen’s houses within the counties of Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, Cavan, Londonderry, Monaghan, and half the county of Down;

* Warner’s History of the Rebellion.

except the cities of Londonderry and Colerain, the town and castle of Enniskillen, and some other places and castles. And that besides the above-mentioned, these rebels had taken a multitude of other castles, houses of strength, towns and villages, all abundantly peopled with British inhabitants.”* Yet in none of those places does it appear, from Temple’s account, that any massacre or murder was committed by the insurgents within that space of time.

If men of the first quality could, in both houses of parliament, for the evil purposes of faction, circulate shocking lies, what stress is to be laid on the evidences of the meaner sort, influenced by prejudice, revenge, exasperated by suffering, bewildered by reports, or looking for compensation? Yet such are the only testimonies of the Irish massacre; such as Sir Richard Musgrave cites in his affidavit history. Let us take, for instance, the evidence of the protestant ghosts, appearing on the river Ban, crying out for vengeance against the bloody papists. Were the evidence cross-examined, his tale would be found at war with his creed. Whence did his protestant ghosts come from? From heaven. No revengeful spirit issues from that abode of happiness, charity and peace. From purgatory? A protestant disowns such a place. We know but a third place mentioned, a doleful residence for ghosts of any description, whose tenants are not admissible as valid witnesses. One of the libellers’ (Sir John Temple) account of the

* Temple’s Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

rebellion is so disgraced and self-confuted by glaring contradictions, that he appears to have been ashamed of it himself. "This we gather from a letter of Capel, earl of Essex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, Jan. 1674-5, to Mr. secretary Coventry, wherein we find these words: "I am to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 22nd of December, wherein you mention a book that was newly published, concerning the cruelties committed in Ireland, at the beginning of the late war. Upon further enquiry I find Sir John Temple, master of the rolls here (Ireland,) author of that book, was, this last year, sent to by several stationers of London, to have his consent to the printing thereof; but he assures me, that he utterly denied it, and whoever printed it, did it without his knowledge. Thus much I thought fit to add to what I formerly said upon this occasion, that I might do this gentleman right, in case it were suspected he had any share in publishing this new edition."*

We have already observed the different provocations to insurrection, deliberately and perseveringly given, by the king's enemies, as well as his friends, to his Irish subjects; provocations, sufficient to disturb the peace of the best settled country;† horrible denunciations of ex-

* State Letters, page 2.

† The heads of the causes which moved the northern Irish, and catholics of Ireland to take arms, anno 1641, from *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii. p. 78.

1. It was plotted and resolved by the puritans of England, Scotland and Ireland, to extinguish quite the catholic religion, and the professors and maintainers thereof, out of all

terminating papists and popery, published in acts of parliament, and in the solemn league and covenant, first signed in Scotland, and lately by their covenanting partizans in great Britain and Ireland. Various petitions to the same effect from different parts of England, and also from

those kingdoms; and to put all catholics of this realm to the sword, that would not conform themselves to the protestant religion.

2. The state of Ireland did publicly declare, that they would root out of this realm all the natives, and make a total second conquest of the land, alledging, that they were not safe with them.

3. All the natives here were deprived of the benefit of the antient fundamental laws, liberties, and privileges, due by all laws and justice to a free people and a nation, and more particularly due by the municipal laws of Ireland.

4. That the subjects of Ireland, especially the Irish, were thrust out forcibly from their ancient possessions, against law, without colour or right; and could not have propriety or security in their estates, goods, or other rights, but were wholly subject to an arbitrary power, and tyrannical government, these forty years past, without hope of relief or redress.

5. Their native youth here, debarred by the practice of state, from all learning and education, in that the one only university here excludes all catholics thence; neither are they suffered to acquire learning or breeding beyond seas, of purpose to make them rude and ignorant of all letters.

6. The catholics of this realm are not admitted to any dignity, place, or office, either military or civil, spiritual or temporal, but the same conferred upon unworthy persons, and men of no quality, who purchase it for money, or favour, and not by merit.

7. All the trading, traffick, shipping, and riches of this whole isle, by the corruption of the state, are engrossed by the Dutch, Scottish, and English, not residing here, who exclude the natives wholly from the same; and who return the

some parts of Ireland, which were serious cause of alarm to Irish catholics; more particularly to those of Ulster, having the Scotch puritans planted in the midst of them, and threatened with a visit from Scotland, of an army of Scotch covenanters, in order to reclaim them from

product, and all their stock and coin back into their native countries.

8. All the staple and rich commodities of the realm are turned to monopolies, and heavy impositions against law laid on all merchandize.

9. The principal native wares of the land exported into foreign parts, unwrought and unmanufactured, thereby depriving the kingdom of all manual trades and occupations; and driving the natives to furnish themselves from head to foot, with manufactures from abroad, at very dear rates.

10. All their heavy and insufferable pressures prosecuted and laboured by the natives of this kingdom, with much suit, expence, and importunity, both in parliament here, and in England before his majesty, to be redressed, yet could never be brought to any happy conclusion, or as much as hope of contentment, but always eluded with delays.

11. Common justice, and the rights and privileges of parliament, denied to all the natives of the realm; and the ancient course of parliamentary proceeding wholly declined.

12. His majesty's royal power, honour, prerogative, estate, revenue, and rights, invaded upon, by the puritan faction in England.

13. The government of all his realms, his queen, children and family, usurped by the parliament of England, and especially by the house of commons; as likewise, the nominating and disposing of his privy council, judges, clergy, officers, navy, forts and castles, arrogated by the said house of commons, leaving his highness nothing, but the bare name of a king.

14. The many affronts and wrongs done by the said house, to the ambassadors of foreign princes, confederates of his majesty, residing in England, and their chaplains and ser-

popery by cutting their throats; it will be sufficient to give a few instances of these violent audacious proceedings, and of the continuance of grievances, by the puritan justices, for the express purpose of throwing the country into confusion, and depriving his majesty of its resources, in defence of his crown and life, against a rebellious

vants, against the conditions of their league, and the law of nations.

15. The gross injuries and scandal given by the said house of commons to the queen's majesty, and her chaplains and servants, in breach of the articles made upon her marriage.

16. The many horrid murders, robberies, pillages, waste, burnings, and other execrable cruelties, perpetrated of late by the protestant armies here, by publick direction of the state of this realm, upon his majesty's good subjects of the English pale, and other parts of this land, they not offending against the laws or peace of the realm, but merely standing upon their own defence; and this done them against his majesty's pleasure, and without his privity.

17. All the natives in the English plantations of the realm, were disarmed by proclamation, and the protestant plantators armed, and tied by the conditions of their plantations to have arms, and to keep certain numbers of horse and foot continually upon their lands, by which advantage, many thousands of the natives were expelled out of their possessions, and as many hanged by martial law, without cause, and against the laws of this realm; and many of them otherwise destroyed, and made away, by sinister means and practices.

18. Half this realm was found to belong unto his majesty, as his ancient demesne and inheritance, upon old feigned titles of three hundred years past, by juries, against law, their evidence and conscience, who were corrupted to find the said titles, upon promise of part of those lands so found for the king, or other reward, or else were drawn thereunto by threats of the judges in the circuits, or by heavy fines, mulcts, and censure of pillory, stigmatizings, and other like cruel and unusual punishments.

people and parliament. "The native Irish being well informed, as they thought, (in 1641,) that they must now either turn protestants, or depart the kingdom, or be hanged at their own doors, they betook to arms in their own defence, especially in Ulster, where the six counties had been forfeited."* A petition was presented to the English house of commons, "signed by many thousands in the county of Down, Tirone, and others, against episcopacy, and the established religion itself, complaining, that the most learned and seemingly moderate and pious prelates, did publicly, in sermons at Dublin, exclaim against and condemn the Scottish covenant, and the religion professed in Scotland; and therefore they most humbly pray, that that unlawful hierarchical government, with all its appendixes, may be utterly extirpated."† "These incentives to the insurrection in Ulster are chiefly insisted upon in that impartial remonstrance of grievances from Cavan, drawn up by bishop Bedel, a prelate too wise to be imposed upon, and too just and resolute to advance any facts, in excuse of these insurgents, of the truth of which he was not very certain. As bishop Burnet, in his life, owns that this remonstrance gives the best colours to their proceedings of any of all their papers, that he ever saw, I will here transcribe it entire from that bishop's copy. 'To the right honorable the justices and council, the humble remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of

* Dr. Anderson's Royal Genealogies, p. 786.

† See Pryn's Antipathy to Bishops, part ii. p. 369.

Cavan, of their grievances, common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland: whereas we, his majesty's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have, of long time, groaned under many grievances and pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honor of his majesty, or the welfare of his subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his highness, by our agents, sent from the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just grounds given on our parts, to alter his majesty's goodness, so long continued to us. Of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceedings of our neighbour nations; and do see it already attempted by certain petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof, in a compulsory way; so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement, which hitherto hath been held inviolable, between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all his majesty's other dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honor, and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his highness's use

and service, such forts and other places of strength as coming into the possession of others might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom; and we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his majesty; or purpose any hurt to his highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty; only we desire, that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrances to his majesty for us, of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled, by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniencies that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any others, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have already done. An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may, by your lordships, be thought most convenient, for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages, without any order, consenting, or privity of ours. All which we leave to your lordships' wisdom, and shall humbly pray," &c.*

* See Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

The petitions for the abolition of episcopacy clearly shew, that the main object of the puritans, in England and Scotland, was, the overthrow of the established church, richly endowed, and whose members were possessed of the principal power and wealth of England; not the poor conventicle of English papists, whose prosperity and number were inconsiderable, and as to power were a nullity. The denunciations against popery were, in England, to fanaticize the multitude against the establishment, as a branch thereof; and, in Ireland, to excite commotions, by proclaiming it a religious war, as Clanrickard says, in his letter to the king. That such was their intention, appears plain enough, from the proclamation issued by Parsons and Borlace, calling the insurrection a conspiracy of Irish papists generally; whereas, at that time, their information limited it to the descendents of the plundered northern Irish. Their refusal of arms to the catholic lords of the Pale, on their volunteering in the service of government against the insurgents, on the false plea, that they had not arms enough for the defence of the castle, while they had ten thousand stand of arms idle there, shews, that they wished not catholics to appear in arms against the rebels, but to implicate them all in that description.

A question here occurs, concerning the disturbances of 1641, which I have not seen proposed or considered. Did not the revolutionary party, in England and Scotland, plainly foresee, that, in case of their making war on his majesty,

Ireland could not remain neuter? If that country was to remain tranquil, its resources, in men, money and provisions, would, unquestionably, be at his majesty's disposal. Not that he or his father merited the attachment of a people, so long and severely persecuted in their persons, properties and consciences; but, because the terror of extermination, impressed by the speeches, writings and conduct of the king's enemies, would necessarily determine them in his favour.

Having now pretty clearly demonstrated, that the cruel, perfidious and arbitrary government of James and Charles, were predisposing causes to the troubles in Ireland; which, nevertheless, through the counteraction of the state of England and Scotland, would not have risen to a general insurrection, but for the assiduous exertions of the leading rebels in the neighbouring island, and their creatures here, unfortunately for the king and country, entrusted with the government, 'tis time to turn our attention to the hideous martyrology, publised by protestant historians, of the massacres committed by Irishmen and catholics. Were the exaggerations literally true, the writers must own, that massacre and perfidious murder was no Irish invention. It was no Irish invention, to invite people to dinner, or treat of peace, in order to cut their throats, under cover of hospitality or the olive branch. It was no Irish invention, to murder people after surrendering, as at Waterford; or to surprize and slaughter them, while confiding in a negociation, as at Dublin; contrary to the laws of war among

all civilized nations. It was no contrivance of Irishmen, to offer pardons, on surrendering arms, &c. then massacre naked, disarmed men; nor were they Irish, who made the cannibal repast at Derry, eating eight Scotch prisoners there. Had they slain every one of the British, they would have only copied the examples set by Britons; first, towards the Danes, whom they treacherously murdered in one night; and next towards the Irish, myriads of whom they cut off by famine, and other detestable means.

As to the charge of massacre, so generally circulated through Europe by the enemies of Ireland, during the war of 1641, it shall be found to recoil on their own party, who first began the bloody tragedy with the massacre in Island-Magee. "An apology, however, is made for it, which, even, if it were grounded on fact, as I shall presently shew, it is not, would be a very bad one, and seems at least to imply a confession of the charge. 'Tis pretended, that this massacre was perpetrated on those harmless people, in revenge of some cruelties before committed by the rebels on the Scots in other parts of Ulster. But as I find this controversy has been already taken up by two able protestant historians, who seem to differ about the time in which that dismal event happened, perhaps, by laying before the reader the accounts of both, with such animadversions, as naturally arise from them, that the time may more clearly and positively be ascertained.

"A late learned and ingenious author of an history of Ireland, has shifted off this shocking

incident from November 1641, (in which month it has been generally placed) to January following, many weeks after horrible cruelties (as he tells us) had been committed by the insurgents on the Scots in the North. "The Scottish soldiers," says he, "who had reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus, were possessed of an habitual hatred of popery, and enflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish, by multiplied accounts of their cruelties. In one fatal night, they issued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent district called Island-Magee, where a number of the poor Irish resided, unoffending and untainted with the rebellion. If we may believe one of the leaders of this party, thirty families were assailed by them in their beds, and massacred with calm and deliberate cruelty. As if," proceeds the historian, "the incident was not sufficiently hideous, popish writers have represented it with shocking aggravation. They make the number of the slaughtered, in a small and thinly inhabited neck of land, to amount to three thousand, a wildness and absurdity, into which other writers of such transactions have been betrayed; they assert, that this butchery was committed in the beginning of November, 1641, that it was the first massacre committed in Ulster, and the great provocation to all the outrages of the Irish in this quarter. Mr. Carte seems to favor this assertion: had he carefully perused the collection of original depositions, now in the possession of the university of Dublin, he would have found his doubts of facts, and dates cleared most satis-

factorily; and that the massacre of Island-Magee, as appears from several unsuspecting evidences, was really committed in the beginning of January, when the followers of O’Nial* had almost exhausted their barbarous malice.”

“ Before I examine the several particulars of the foregoing account, I must observe, that the objection taken from the smallness of the place, as if it were incapable of containing three thousand inhabitants, is grounded on a misapprehension of some circumstances in this event. For the Irish that were destroyed, consisted not only of the inhabitants of the place, but also, and for the greatest part, of the country people, residing in its neighbourhood; who, upon the invitation of colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyrningham, had fled to Carrickfergus for protection, on the

* “ Sir Phelim O’Nial. This assertion has no other foundation but the depositions now in the possession of the university of Dublin; what credit is due to these, we shall just now see; but if any regard at all is to be had to such of them as have been carefully selected from the rest, and published by Temple and Borlase, in their histories of this rebellion, we shall find some of them vouching the contrary of this relation, viz. that Sir Phelim O’Nial did not order the cruelties he is charged with ordering, till many weeks after January, 1641. For by captain Parkin’s examination, “ Sir Phelim began his massacres after his flight from Dundalk.—Temple, Ir. Reb. “ Now his flight from Dundalk did not happen till about the latter end of March following.”—Carte. “ Sir Henry Tichbourne’s history of the siege of Drogheda, Mr. Carte, and most other adverse writers agree, “ that it was Sir Phelim O’Nial that first began and encouraged these imputed massacres.”—Carte. And Temple himself owns it “ to be a truth, that those British, whom the rebels suffered to live among them, and such as they kept in prison, were

first eruption of these tumults. "The town of Carrickfergus," says Mr. Carte, "was then the place of the greatest strength in the North; and as colonel Chichester and Sir Arthur Tyrningham had, on the evening of the 23d of October, received intelligence of the insurrection, they immediately, by beat of drum and kindling of fires, apprised all the country people round them of their danger; so that the poor country people, who had not yet stirred, flocked to that place continually, with all they could of their substance, (another temptation to commit the massacre) in such multitudes of men, women, and children, that the town was overthronged." The same author also informs us, "that colonel Chichester and sir Arthur Tyrningham, invited several of the most eminent of the Irish thereabouts, who yet

not put to the sword by the Irish, until, in their several encounters they had with his majesty's forces, they suffered loss of their men, and so were enraged."—Carte.

"Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had the chief command in that driving of O'Nial from Dundalk, performed that service, and afterwards pursued it with such an amazing slaughter of the Irish, in them parts, that he himself boasts that for some weeks after, "there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles, between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrickmacross, a strong pile 12 miles distant."—Carte. It is therefore not strange, though absolutely inexcusable, if this incensed leader, or rather his savage followers, should be provoked to retaliate, in some measure, such cruelty and destruction on the unhappy English, whom they had in their power. Sir Phelim himself, in his last moments, declared, "that the several outrages committed by his officers and soldiers in that war, contrary to his intention, then pressed his conscience very much."

remained quiet in their houses, to come to Carrickfergus for security; who accordingly went thither, but were made prisoners on their arrival."

"And because it is allowed, that Mr. Carte seems to favor the assertion, "that near three thousand innocent Irish were massacred in the Island-Magee, in the beginning of November, 1641," it is but just to produce the reasons which appear to have inclined him to that way of thinking, by inserting the passage at large, wherein they are contained.

"On the fifteenth of November, the rebels, after a fortnight's siege, reduced the castle of Lurgan; sir William Bromlow, after a stout defence, surrendering it on the terms of marching out with his family and goods: but such was the unworthy disposition of the rebels, that they kept him, his lady, and children, prisoners: rifled his house, plundered, stripped, and killed most of his servants; and treated all the townsmen in the same manner. This was the first breach of faith, which the rebels were guilty of in these parts (there was then no other insurrection in any of the other parts of Ireland) in regard of articles of capitulation; for when Mr. Conway, on the fifth of November, surrendered his castle of Bally-aghie, in the county of Derry, to them, they kept the terms for which he stipulated, and allowed him to march out with his men, and to carry away trunks with plate and money in them. Whether the slaughter made by a party from Carrickfergus, in the territory of Magee, a long narrow island, in which it is affirmed, that near

three thousand harmless Irish, men, women and children, were cruelly massacred, happened before the surrender of Lurgan, is hard to be determined; the relations published of facts, in those times, being very indistinct, and uncertain, with regard to the time they were committed; though it is confidently asserted, that the said massacre happened in this month of November.”*

“ Let us now try these different accounts by the only sure test of dates and facts. It is confessed on all hands, that the chiefs of the insurgents, through fear of the Scots in Ulster, (“who, as the earl of Clanrickard informs us, were forty thousand well armed men, when the rebellion commenced;” at the same time that the rebels were at least by half less numerous, and furnished with few better weapons than staves, scythes, and pitchforks,”) published a proclamation, forbidding their followers, on pain of death, to molest any of the Scottish nation, in body or goods.” Temple acknowledges, that this proclamation was for a time observed; and from Mr. Wallbank’s report, already mentioned to the house of commons, of the constant success of his majesty’s forces in defeating the insurgents in different parts of Ulster, from the twenty-third of October to the sixteenth of November following, we may reasonably suppose, that it was at least observed till that day; for it is surely in the highest degree improbable, that these chiefs would, at any time before, have wantonly pro-

* Carte’s Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i.

voked the resentment of so formidable a body of men, by any cruel outrage or hostile act. But it is unquestionably evident, that the Scots in Ulster did some remarkable execution on the Irish, several days before the fifteenth of November, the day on which Lurgan was surrendered. For Sir William Parsons, in a letter from Dublin, of the thirteenth of that month, to the earl of Clanrickard, acquaints him, as with a welcome piece of news, “ that the Scots did hold the northern Irish hard to it, having killed some of them.” And sir William St. Leger,* grudging, as it were, the Scots the honour of that action, told the earl of Ormond, on the fourteenth, “ that had it pleased God that his lordship had been there with his hundred horse, and himself to wait upon him, the Scots should never have had the honour to put such an obligation on Ireland.”†

* “ This gentleman, who was lord president of Munster, seems to have been very well qualified for acquiring such honor. For lord Upper Ossory, in a letter to the earl of Ormond about this time, informs him, “ that he was so cruel and merciless, that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed; and that he ordered among others, a woman great with child to be ript up, from whose womb three babes were taken out, through every of whose bodies, his soldiers thrust their weapons; which act (adds his lordship) put many into a sort of desperation.”

† In the course of the lord justices letters to the earl of Clanrickard, from October 26th, 1641, to the 5th of the following month, there is no mention made of any murders having been committed by the insurgents on the English. But in the postscript of the letter of the 5th of November, they expressly say, “ we have intelligence that five thousand

“ From hence, I think, may fairly be deduced the only reason, why the behaviour of the insurgents to sir William Bromlow, on the fifteenth of November, was so very different from that which they had before shewn to Mr. Conway, on the fifth of the same month, viz. because the massacre in question was perpetrated on their innocent unoffending people, in that interval of time; which, no doubt, provoked them to the above-mentioned breach of articles at the surrender of Lurgan, and to several other acts of injustice and cruelty in the prosecution of this war.

“ The deduction now made is so agreeable to dates and facts, that I am surprised to find this first breach of articles by the insurgents, ascribed to any other cause; especially to one, which appears manifestly repugnant to both. This cause, we are informed, was the repulse, defeat,

Scots have risen in arms against the rebels, and those Scots lie now at Newry, where they have slain many of the rebels.”

“ Lord Clanrickard in his account of the progress of this insurrection in Connaught, to January 18th, 1641, mentions not a syllable of murders committed by the insurgents, but of spoils, preys, and the like. In his letter of the twentieth of that month to the earl of Essex, he says, “ an archbishop, bishop, and many of the clergy, are in the town of Galway inclined to go for England by sea, for fear of the people, not so much for religion, as their great extortions upon them; this being a time to be mindful of former injuries; and, to speak the truth, I believe the greediness of some of them, and reports out of England, hath drawn much prejudice on the other English inhabitants of this kingdom. It is now told me they make orders among themselves, to relieve and preserve English tradesmen.”

and slaughter of a considerable body of the rebels at the siege of Lisburn, by a Scottish garrison stationed there; for thus the before-cited history relates the immediate effects, which that disaster produced in these rebels. "But such success (of the Scots) was attended with consequences truly horrible; the Irish incensed at resistance, carried on hostilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was surrendered by Sir William Bromlow, on terms of security to the inhabitants, and permission of marching out with his family, goods and retinue; but all was instantly seized, and the whole town given up to plunder." Thus have we a cause plausibly assigned, which did not exist until many days after its supposed effect was produced. For the defeat and slaughter of the rebels at Lisburn, or, as it was then called, Lisnagarvy, did not happen, according to Borlase, till the twenty-eighth of November; but Lurgan, as we have seen, was surrendered to them on the fifteenth of that month, thirteen days before.

"Let us now see upon what grounds this massacre in Island-Magee is transferred, from November 1641, to the beginning of January following. One would expect to find an assertion so singular supported by some solid or at least plausible proof; but instead of meeting with any such, in the place before quoted from this history, we are only there directed to look out for it (where certainly it can never be found) in the collection of original manuscript depositions, now in the possession of the university of Dublin.

But we shall presently demonstrate the insufficiency, not to say futility, of proofs drawn from these depositions. And, in truth, if they were to be admitted as proofs, or evidence in any degree, there is hardly any thing so incredible or absurd, that might not with equal reason, be obtruded upon us for genuine history. Every suggestion of phrenzy and melancholy; miraculous escapes from death, visions of spirits chaunting hymns; ghosts rising from rivers, brandishing swords, and shrieking revenge, would have a just and rational title to our belief, having all of them received the sanction of these vouchers.”*

Every lover of historical truth will be satisfied of the futility of this huge collection of fables, in thirty-two volumes, from the character given of them by Warner, an historian no way partial to Irishmen or catholics, after having undergone the painful drudgery of their perusal. “ Besides the examinations, signed by the commissioners, there are several copies of others, said to be taken before them, which are therefore of no authority; and there are many depositions taken ten years after, which are still less authentic. As a great stress has been laid upon this collection in print and conversation, among the protestants of Ireland; and as the whole evidence of the massacre turns upon it, I spent a great deal of time in examining these books; and I am sorry to say, that they have been made the foundation of much more clamor and re-

* See Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

sentment, than can be warranted by truth and reason."

"These is one circumstance in these books, not taken notice of by any before me, which is, that though all the examinations signed by the commissioners are said to be upon oath, yet in infinitely the greater number of them, the words 'being duly sworn,' have the pen drawn through them, with the same ink with which the examinations are written: and in several of those where such words remain, many parts of the examinations are crossed out. This is a circumstance which shews, that the bulk of this immense collection is parole-evidence; and what sort of evidence that is, may be easily learned by those who are conversant with the common people of any country, especially when their imaginations are terrified, and their passions heated by sufferings. Of what credit are depositions worthy, (and several such there are,) that many of the protestants, that were drowned, were often seen in erect postures in the river, and shrieking out revenge?"*

* "Dr. Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore, the most seemingly credible of these deponents; and "who" says Borlase, "was a person, whose integrity and candor none ever dared to question," has given a kind of sanction to these fictions, having described, in his own prolix examination, the different postures and gestures of these apparitions; "as sometimes having been seen, by day and night, walking upon the river; sometimes brandishing their naked swords; sometimes singing psalms; and at other times, shrieking in a most fearful and hideous manner." He adds, "that he never heard any man so much as doubt the truth thereof; but

“ Hundreds of the ghosts of protestants,” (says Temple, from these depositions,) “ that were drowned by the rebels at Portnadown-bridge, were seen in the river bolt-upright, and were heard to cry out for revenge on these rebels. One of these ghosts was seen with hands lifted up, and standing in that posture, from the 29th of December to the latter end of the following lent.”

As to the choice collection of affidavits, affirmed by the Doctor to be in his own possession, and for whose existence we barely have his word, since he did not favour the public with a single extract therefrom, we may know how little credit they deserve, from an anecdote related by himself. This anecdote imports, “ that soon after the restoration, when the claims in favor of innocents were canvassed, and the house of commons desired,* that none of those whose names could be found in the depositions, might be heard, relating to such claims of innocency, the duke of Ormond, though no friend to the

that he obliged no man's faith in regard he saw them not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as could morally be required of such matters.”

* “ The whole house, with their speaker, waited on his grace the duke of Ormond, with an address to that purpose; in which they proposed, among other things, “ that all examinations and depositions whatsoever, taken for discovery of the rebellion, or proceedings of the rebels and their adherents, as well during his late majesty's reign, as in time of the usurped authority; and that all books, rolls and writings, remaining in any office, &c. should be taken for good evidence, in behalf of his majesty, to bar such person or persons of their innocency.”—Commons Journals.

Irish, for good reasons, rejected the proposal. The duke, probably knew too much of these examinations, and of the methods used in procuring them, to give them such a stamp of authority; or otherwise it would have been the clearest and shortest proof of the guilt of such as were named in them."

At this day 'tis not so material to know, how many were massacred by either side, as to discover the motives that prompted the parties to these atrocities, and the prime movers of the rebellion, at whose door all the cruelties are to be laid. First, it is notorious, as already proved, from the covenant, the denunciations of the English commons, the sanguinary petitions received and encouraged by them, that they kindled a fanatical enthusiasm for the extermination of popery and papists; a furious zeal for such infernal project being diligently propagated among the ignorant multitude. Nor were men of education exempt from the contagion; witness the anathema, pronounced by doctor Usher against any toleration of popery; declaring, on the catholics proffering a considerable composition for the relaxation of the penal laws, "that it was sacrilege to compound with idolatry for money!" Armed fanatics, thus tutored to blood, would think it meritorious to slay the reputed idolaters.

On the other hand, the leaders of the insurgents, as acknowledged by adverse writers, had agreed, that no blood should be shed, except where force was opposed. There was also another

obvious motive, besides difference of religion, that much more exasperated the northern Irish against the British planters. These men were, by violence and fraud, possessed of their estates, about thirty years before, and living in opulence; while the descendants of the most antient proprietors in Europe, or perhaps in the world, were pining in indigence, or emigrating for bread to foreign countries, than which no cause is more capable of exciting enmity. The royal robbers, James and Charles, prepared the combustible of very extensive discontent, and the puritans kindled the wisp. This will appear, from the places where the insurrection first commenced; countries, whose antient proprietors were unjustly dispossessed of their estates, which were partly bestowed, partly sold, to English adventurers.

“ The confederates, faithful to their engagements, rose at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O’Nial led the way: on the evening of the twenty-second of October he surprised the castle of Charlemont, a place of consequence in these days. Lord Caulfield, a brave officer, grown old in the royal service, had been made governour of this fort. With the simplicity and love of ease natural to a veteran, he declined the honour of an earldom, when offered by king James, contented himself with an hospitable residence on his estate, and lived with his Irish neighbours in unsuspecting confidence. Sir Phelim invited himself to sup with this lord; and he and his followers were received; on a signal given, they seized the whole family, made

the garrison prisoners, and ransacked the castle. Hence O'Nial flew to Dungannon and seized the fort, while some of his adherents possessed themselves of the town and castle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was surprised by the sept of O'Hanlan; Newry betrayed to Sir Conn Magennis and his train; and though the governour, Sir Arthur Tyringham escaped, yet several English gentlemen were made prisoners; and what was of still greater consequence to the insurgents, they possessed themselves of a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almost all Fermanagh yielded to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of strength in Monaghan was seized by the sept of Mac-Mahon. Derry, Colerain, Lisnegarvey, or Lisburn, and Carricfergus, were maintained against the boisterous assaults of the rebels; Enniskillen was secured by Sir William Cole.

“ In the county of Cavan, both the representative in parliament, O'Reily, and the sheriff, his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unusual regularity. The sheriff summoned the popish inhabitants to arms; they marched under his command with the appearance of discipline; forts, towns and castles, were surrendered to them.....In the county of Longford, the sept of O'Ferghal* had been

* “ These gentlemen had deserved well of the crown, and were on that account particularly provided for by king James, in his instructions for planting of that country. But the commissioners appointed for the distribution of the lands, more greedy of their own private profit, than tender of the king's honour, or the rights of the subject, took little care to ob-

particularly injured by the plantations of James; and were now impatient to avenge their injuries. The county, like that of Cavan, was summoned to arms by the popish sheriff; every castle, house, and plantation of the British inhabitants was seized. Leitrim, another planted county, followed this example; so that within the space of eight days the rebels were absolute masters of the entire counties of Tirone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donnegal, and Derry (except of the places already mentioned, and some inferiour castles) together with some parts of the counties of Armagh and Downe.

Further causes stated in their manifestoes; in which “the rebels complain of oppressions suffered by the Roman catholics; professing, at the same time, an inviolable loyalty to the king. While they acknowledge to have enjoyed some indulgence by his princely goodness, they represent the parliament of England as wresting the

serve these instructions; and the O’Ferralls were generally great sufferers by the plantations. Several persons were turned out of large estates of profitable land, and had only a small pittance, less than a fourth part, assigned them for it in barren ground. Twenty-four proprietors, most of them O’Farrells, were dispossessed of their all; and nothing allotted them for compensation. They had complained, in vain, of this undeserved usage many years; and having now an opportunity afforded them of redress, by the insurrection of their neighbours, had readily embraced it, and followed their example, (for it does not appear that any of them were antecedently concerned in the conspiracy,) as they likewise did, in laying before the lords justices, a remonstrance of their grievances, and a petition for redress; which, like that from Cavan, came to nothing.”—Carte’s Ormond.

king's prerogative from his hands, denouncing utter extirpation against the catholics of Ireland, encouraging petitions against the papists, and protestant prelates of this realm, to root out the one, and to depose the other. They complain that the government of Ireland has been successively committed to the hands of indigent and rapacious ministers, who, by inventions of fraud and oppressions had pillaged every order of subjects; so that their estates and consciences were exposed to the same tyranny. They declare, that as they have no hopes from his majesty, oppressed and despoiled as he was, by the arrogancy of faithless and disloyal subjects, they had of necessity taken arms, in defence of themselves and of the royal prerogative; they had seized the strongest forts of the kingdom, to be enabled to serve his majesty, and to secure themselves against the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that they were ready to yield up those places at his majesty's command, when a course should be taken to secure them, and the protestants of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects, against the factious and seditious puritans.

“ The insurgents of Longford proceeded yet further. Instead of confining themselves to formal expressions of loyalty, they transmitted to the state an oath of allegiance which they had taken, together with their list of grievances, and their propositions for redress. They complained of the penal laws; the severity of inquisitions, and avoiding of letters patent; the restraint

upon the mere Irish of purchasing lands in the escheated counties; and the odious incapacity imposed on papists, of enjoying the honours and immunities of free subjects, without violence to their consciences. They proposed that a general act of oblivion should pass, without any restitution, or account of goods taken in the present commotion; that the penal laws of Elizabeth should be repealed by parliament, and an ample charter of denization granted to the mere Irish.”*

Thus we see the causes of the Irish insurrection, as laid down by adverse writers; whether we view their past sufferings, in person, goods, and consciences; or their serious and well grounded apprehensions of the future, from the infernal malignity, published openly by the puritanic faction, now overawing the king, and threatening to extirpate popery. Charles owed much gratitude to the catholics of Ireland: the puritans neither received nor apprehended, whatever they pretended, any harm from them. 'Tis easy thence to pronounce which is most guilty, the furious, unprovoked persecutor, or his victim, driven to the courage of despair. The whole of that war, all the massacres, desolation, depopulation and poverty, occasioned by it, are wholly imputable to the English government and people; so that it is superfluous to enquire how many were slain by either side out of war. Protestant writers, however, have endeavoured to swell the list of those who fell by the hands of Irish catho-

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii. p. 123.

lics. Thus Warner: "The number of people killed upon positive evidence, collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, amounts only to two thousand one hundred and nine: on the report of other protestants, one thousand six hundred and nineteen more; and on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of three hundred; the whole, both by positive evidence and by report, making four thousand and twenty-eight. Besides these murders, there is evidence on the report of others, of eight thousand killed by ill usage; and if we should allow that the cruelties of the Irish, out of war, extended to these numbers, which, considering the nature of the several depositions, I think in my conscience we cannot; yet to be impartial, we must allow that there is no pretence for laying a greater number to their charge."

"This account is corroborated by a letter, which I copied out of the council books at Dublin, written on the 5th of May, 1652, ten years after the beginning of the rebellion, from the parliament-commissioners in Ireland to the English parliament. After exciting the parliament to further severity against the Irish, as being afraid their behaviour towards that people might never sufficiently avenge their murders and massacres; and lest the parliament might shortly be, in pursuance of a speedy settlement of that kingdom, and thereby some tender concessions might be concluded," these commissioners tell them, "that it then appeared, that besides eight hundred and forty-eight families, there were

killed, hanged, and burnt, six thousand and sixty-two."

"After seeing this, in comparison, exceedingly moderate charge made even by the prejudiced commissioners of the rebel English parliament, what are we to think of the accounts of those massacres and murders which have been left us by our most seemingly impartial and approved adverse writers on this subject? What, I say of Sir William Petty's* cool calculation, that upwards of thirty thousand British were killed, out of war, in the first year of this insurrection, Or, of lord Clarendon's pathetic lamentation, that in the first two or three days of it, forty or fifty thousand of them were destroyed? Or, of Sir John Temple's horrible affirmation, that one hundred and fifty thousand protestants were massacred in cold blood, in the two first months of the rebellion?"

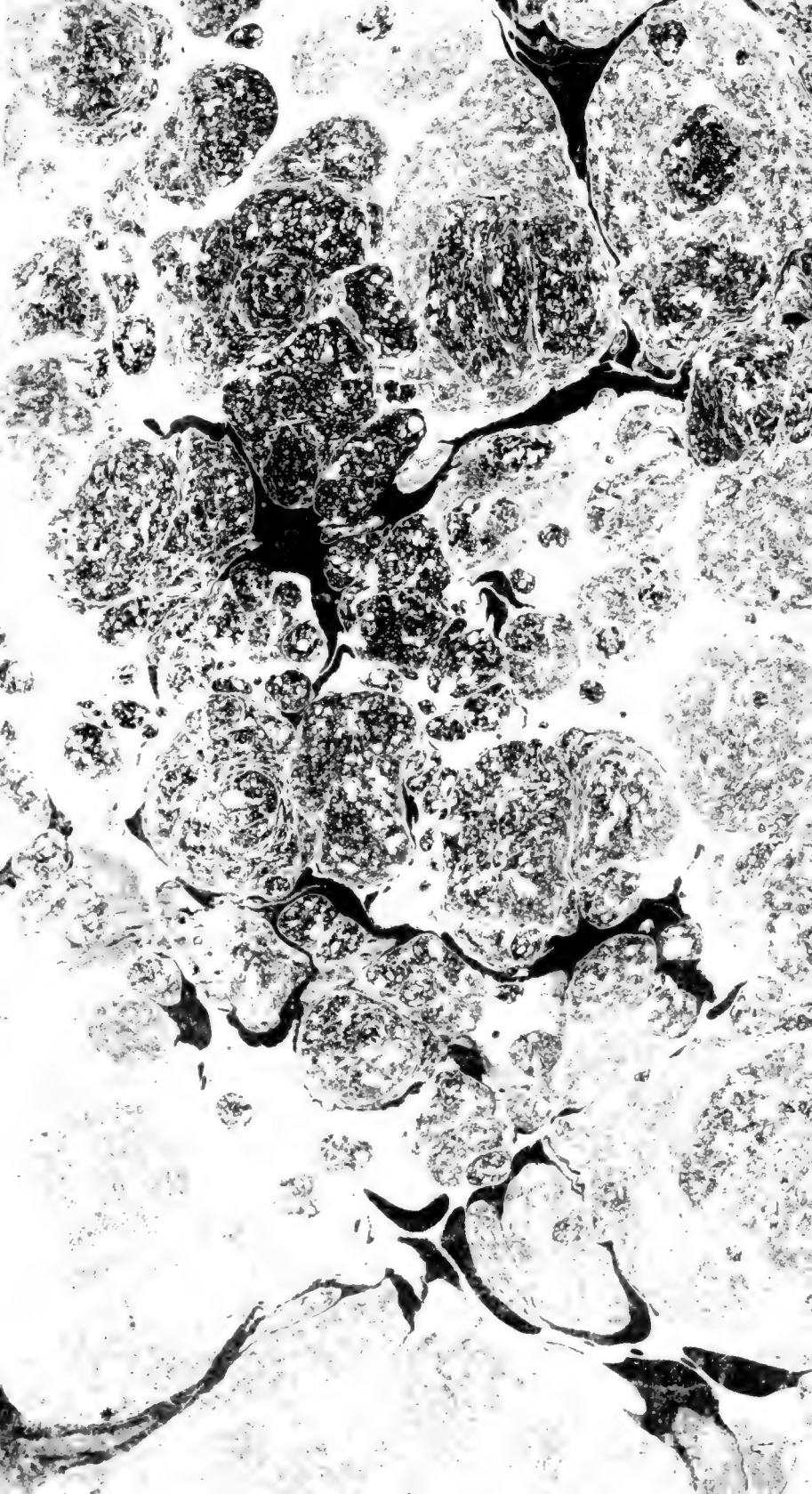
"There is no question but that the desire of revenge, and the fear of tender concessions upon a settlement, caused the commissioners to heighten and aggravate, as much as possible, this charge against the insurgents; and yet we see, that even their account of these cruelties during the whole time of this ten years war, falls infinitely short of that which has been given us, I will not say by Temple or Petty, but by Clarendon himself, during the first two or three days of it only. What shame for the noble historian, thus to

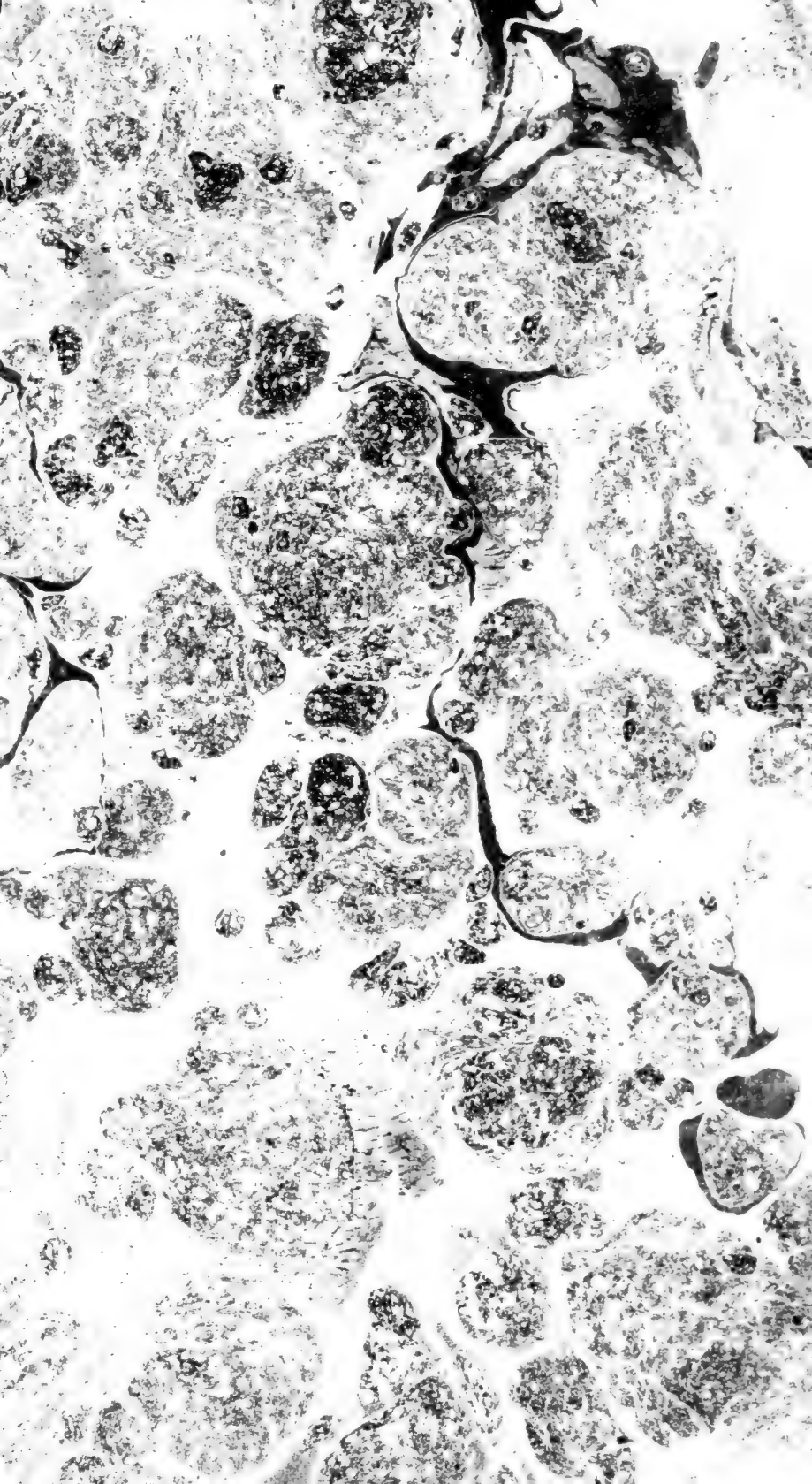
* "Petty was secretary to Ireton the regicide, and made an estate of five or six thousand pounds a-year by the Irish forfeitures."—Harris's Writers of Ireland.

have exceeded the very regicides, in calumny and misrepresentation !”

“ If Sir William Petty (says a modern impartial protestant writer) had prejudices, it is evident they could not be in favour of the Irish, for he was one of the great gainers by their supposed guilt and consequent forfeitures. Yet after demonstrating that the number of protestants destroyed in the whole war by the papists, was not one-fourth of what it was reported to be, he goes on to shew, that before the war there were in the whole realm, but three thousand landed papists, of whom, as appears by eight hundred judgments of the court of claims, which sat anno 1663, upon the innocence and effects of the Irish, there were not above a seventh part guilty of the rebellion. And after assigning some motives for the Irish entering into this war, he concludes his chapter with these most remarkable words ; “ but upon the playing of this game or match, upon so great odds, the English won ; and have among and besides other pretences, a gamester’s right at least to their estates ; but as for the blood shed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it.”*

* Philosophic Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 326.





VOLUME

3

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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

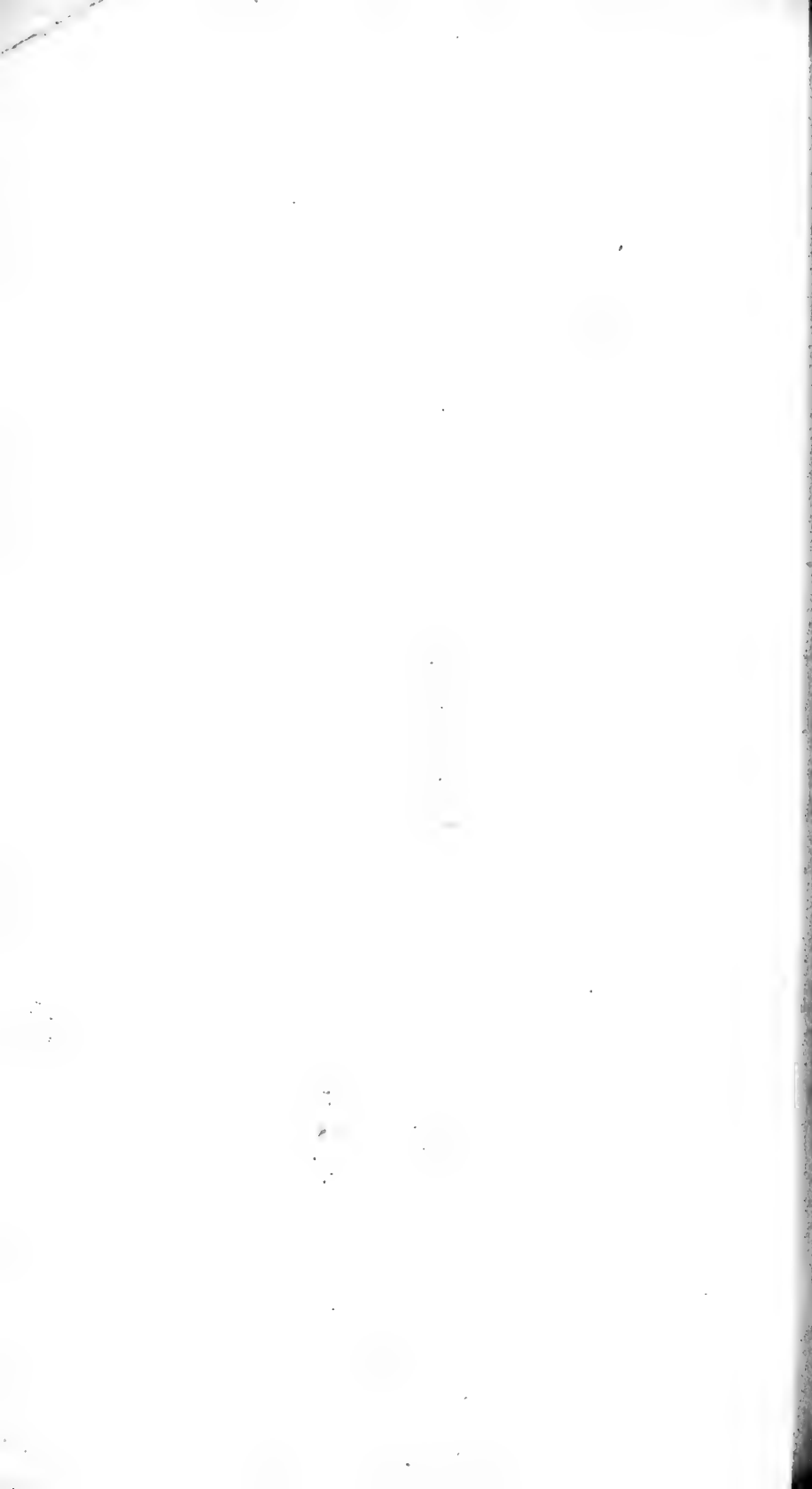
BY DENNIS TAAFFE.



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AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF

IRELAND.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE YEAR 1810.

THUS it was the hard lot of the unfortunate Irish, after suffering in their persons, goods, and conscience, intolerable oppression and spoliation, to be equally assailed in their character, by the slanderous industry of malignant libellers, Temple, Borlase; from whom, and Clarendon, all succeeding adverse writers, Warner, Leland, and the ranting rhetoric of philippizing Hume, copied calumnious tales of fictitious horrors. The crimes, committed on both sides, were sufficiently horrible, without the aid of exaggeration. Yet protestant and deistical writers, instigated by a hatred of the catholic and christian religion, have widely circulated these exaggerations and falsehoods through the continent, where they appear in every shape, in prose and verse, in geographies, magazines, histories, dramatic compositions, &c. Hume, and his fellow slanderers, so diligent to cull all the venom spewed by the viperous libellers of the regicide faction, have as carefully omitted the barbarous exploits of the puritan forces, in extirpating the Irish with fire, sword

and famine; and the zeal of these persecuted, for the service of the king, after all the galling oppression inflicted by him and his father. "Borlase has given us a journal of Sir William Cole's services against the insurgents, wherein it is boastingly asserted, "that from the twenty-third of October 1641, to some time in 1642, the said Sir William killed with his regiment of five hundred foot and one troop of horse, two thousand four hundred and seventeen swordsmen of the rebels; and starved and famished of the vulgar sort (whose goods were seized on by the regiment), seven thousand. That he rescued and relieved five thousand four hundred and sixty-seven Scotch and English protestants. That after this rate the English in all parts fought. Colonel Gibbon having taken the strong castle of Carricmain, belonging to the Walshes, near Dublin, in which several hundreds of the Irish had taken refuge, "put them all to the sword, sparing neither man, woman, nor child."*

Whence did this malignant spirit of exterminating warfare originate? Not from the religion or character of the original Irish. We have already cited a reproach to them, of having no martyrs to boast, from a popish British historian; an honorable testimony of their toleration, distinguishing them from all other nations; none of whom abstained from putting to death some of their first missionaries, except the highland Scots, of the same antient lineage. We have

* Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

proved, that, during the persecution of queen Mary, great numbers of protestants took refuge in Ireland; where the fugitives lived unmolested, under protection of a catholic government, a catholic parliament, and a catholic nation. If they, in any degree, afterwards degenerated from the magnanimous and christian principle of toleration, the degeneracy must be attributed to the bitter persecution they endured in every thing dear to humanity; and the terror inspired by the enthusiastic hatred of popery; and the threatened extinction thereof, with fire, sword and famine, openly proclaimed by the regicide faction, who made it a crime in his majesty to relax ever so little from the code of prescription, called penal laws. This savage hatred of catholics was considerably augmented, by the fore-mentioned artifices of the revolutionizing party, and much by the anti-christian rage, raised and boiling furiously from the cauldrons of hell, during the sanguinary, irreligious wars about religion, carried on in Germany, which Charles himself had the folly and wickedness to encourage. Weak politician, he little foresaw the fatal consequences to himself, to church and state, from conjuring up the evil spirit of religious animosity, and exciting the cruellest and most implacable of wars; a war of obstinate, misguided zealots: encouraging the French Hugonots to war against their sovereign, with promises of support from England; and inviting, with similar promises, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to put himself at the head of the protestant league in

Germany, and carry on the war of religion against the emperor. The contagious spirit of religious hatred, engendered by these long and inhuman wars, operated with epidemic infection on the fanatical puritans, and excited that phrenetic abhorrence and detestation of every thing and person bearing the name of catholic, which writers, like Leland, vainly strive to ascribe to other causes.

Some of the Irish, chiefly the rabble, were driven by their sufferings, and the denounced terror of worse, from the proud pre-eminence of their ancestors, in the wise and christian policy of toleration; but bright examples of the contrary, attested by adverse or not friendly writers, are yet on record.

“ The first thing that the new general of the Irish, Owen O’Nial, did, was to express his abhorrence of cruelties that had been committed on the English. He told Sir Phelim O’Nial, that he himself deserved to be treated in the same manner. In detestation of their actions, he burnt some of the murderers’ houses; and said, with a warmth unusual to him, that he would join the English rather than not burn the rest.

“ By the humanity of Mr. Philip O’Reilly, one of the most considerable chiefs of the rebels, scarce any murders were committed in the county of Cavan; such of the protestants as put themselves under his protection, were safely conveyed into the English quarters; and those that were stript and in necessity, he fed and cloathed, till they were sent away. Among these, was Dr. Henry

Jones, a nephew of primate Usher, and dean of Kilmore, who, though he turned afterwards a noted partizan of Cromwell's, was promoted to the see of Clogher, and thence, after the restoration, to the see of Meath.

“ Doctor Maxwell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore, deposeth, that Mrs. Catherine Hovenden, widow, and mother to Sir Phelim O’Nial, preserved four-and-twenty English and Scotch, in her own house; and fed them there for seven-and-thirty weeks, out of her own store; and that, when her children took her away, upon the approach of an army, she left both them, and the deponent, at their liberty. That captain Alexander Hovenden, her son, conducted five-and-thirty English out of Armagh to Drogheda, whereof some were of good quality; when it was thought he had secret directions to murder them. Twenty more he sent safe to Newry, and he would trust no other convoy but himself.

“ There are many honorable testimonies of the care and preservation of the English by lord Muskerry and his lady, not only in saving their lives from the enemy, but also in relieving them, in great numbers, from cold and hunger, after they had been stript and driven from their habitations. Indeed, all the gentlemen in that part of the kingdom (Munster) were exceedingly careful to prevent bloodshed, and to hinder the English from being pillaged and stript, though it was many times impossible.

“ In the abovementioned province of Munster, lord Mountgarret, by proclamation, strictly en-

joined all his followers not to hurt any of the English inhabitants, either in body or goods; and he succeeded so far in his design for their preservation, that there was not the least act of bloodshed committed. But it was not possible for him to prevent the vulgar sort, who flocked after him “for booty, from plundering both English and Irish, papist and protestant, without distinction. He used his authority, but in vain, to put a stop to this violence; till seeing one of the rank of a gentleman, Mr. Richard Cantwell descended from Mr. Cantwell of Painstown, a man much esteemed in his country) transgressing his orders, and plundering in his presence, he shot him dead with his pistol.

“ At the same time the said lord Mountgarret’s eldest son, colonel Edmund Butler, taking possession of Waterford, none of the inhabitants of whatever country or religion, were either killed or pillaged; and such of the British protestants as had a mind to leave the place, were allowed to carry off their goods wherever they pleased.

“ Callan and Gowran were seized at the same time, by persons thereunto designed by lord Mountgarret, without any bloodshed; some plunder however, was there committed, though with less violence for fear of complaints, it being confined to cattle of English breed, which were stolen as well from the Irish, who had any of that breed, as from the English.

“ The towns of Clonmell and Carrickmagriffit, in Tipperary, and Dungarvan, were severally surprized by Mr. Richard Butler of Kilcash,

second brother to the marquis of Ormond; and he had such an influence over his followers, that he kept them not only from murder, but even from plunder; his great care and noble disposition, being acknowledged even by his enemies.

“ James, lord Dunboyne, hearing of the surprise of Fethard, by Theobald Butler, and being chief commander of the barony of Middlethyrde, by special grants made to some of his ancestors, for service performed to the crown of England, repaired thither the next day, and took on him the command of the town, dispersing the rabble, and placing in it a garrison, which he formed of the most substantial inhabitants of the place, and neighbourhood. He immediately set the English at liberty, restored them their goods, and sent them away in safety to Youghall, and other places, which they chose for their retreat. Two of these were clergymen, of whom Mr. Hamilton was, at his request, sent with his family to the countess of Ormond.

“ Mr. Lowe, vicar of Cloyne, having been barbarously murdered at Fethard, by one James M'Hugh, and some accomplices, lord Ikerin, upon information given against him, committed him to prison, whence M'Hugh making an escape, fled to the country for some time; but returning, was seized again, confessed the fact, and was hanged for it, with two of his accomplices.

“ Sir Richard Everet, bart. in the beginning of the rebellion, sent the richest of the English planters in his country, with their stock and

goods, into the English quarters. The poorer English, consisting of eighty-eight persons, he kept and maintained at his own charge till the middle of June, 1642; then conveyed them to Mitchel's-town, and when that place was afterwards taken by the Irish, he sent for some of those families that were very poor, and maintained them for a long time. As soon as the cessation was made, some of the poor tenants came back to him, and he settled and protected them on his lands, till Cromwell came into the country.

“ When Birr surrendered to general Preston, in January 1642, the articles were faithfully performed; and the earl of Castlehaven, his lieutenant general, conveyed the garrison and inhabitants, to the number of eight hundred persons, in a long march of two or three days together, through the woods of Irregan, and waste countries, safe to Athy.”*

How can we account for the manifold misrepresentations of the Irish, and their transactions, especially during the civil war in 1641? From the first moment of the invasion, the barbarities, committed by the invaders, either to glut the vengeance of king Dermot, for plunder, or from innate cruelty, begat national hatred, and, consequently, misrepresentation. In the period of the civil war, that hatred amounted to a phrenzy, from the additional incentives of the hatred of popery and prelacy, adopted as the first article in the creed of the puritan faction, and their

* Carte's Ormond.

detestation of Irish loyalty to the reigning family, with whom they went to war. Borlase and Temple wrote for the regicide faction; and could do nothing more pleasing to their masters, than to paint popery and Irishmen in as hideous forms as fiction could devise. Clarendon had injured them too much, by his share in the act of settlement, not to hate them, and endeavour, by misrepresentation, to clear his master Charles II. from the charge of ingratitude, and himself from that of evil counsel and injustice. These foul calumnies were willingly entertained, by a people remarkably credulous in the article of scandal, and prone to despise and hate other nations, especially those subject to their dominion, and became a settled public opinion, connecting with the idea of Irishman, every thing wild, barbarous, uncivilized and cruel; insomuch, that posterior writers found it their interest to flatter the prevailing prejudices, by continuing and improving the received calumnies, rather than shock them by the encounter of historical truth. Thus it was, that David Hume, on the receiving documents from Charles O'Connor, to rectify his mistatements of Irish affairs, observed, that their insertion into his work would injure; a sacrifice the Scotch historian would not make to truth.

We have proofs enough remaining of the very contrary principles and conduct of the puritan and popish parties. The first, vowed the extermination of popery and prelacy, and gave orders and authority for murders and massacres,

which were executed to a horrible extent. The second, discountenanced and publicly prohibited murder and robbery.

“ But how shall we account for the accumulated charges laid on the Irish, for murders and massacres in the war of 1641, and in this war only? The truth is, without descending to particular and disagreeable proofs, that the æra in question was an age of fanaticism, of hypocrisy, and of dark and bloody doings, and those men who, after bringing their prince to the block, offered to restore Sir Phelim O’Neal* to his honours and estate, as well as to save a life justly forfeited by his cruelty, provided he would accuse the late king as been the source of all the disturbances in Ireland, would stick at nothing to promote their interest, or palliate their own unequalled barbarities.” That they were deeply concerned, to misrepresent this kingdom, needs no proof; but we may reasonably believe, that were the Irish capable of even imagining half the barbarities then laid to their charge, they would be at this day as free a nation as any in Europe. ‘ Throw dirt, and some of it will stick,’ is a political maxim, which even the upper ranks in society have sometimes adopted: and surely there is nothing in the origin, the education, or the principles of the anti-royalists of the last century, that should lead us to believe them incapable of employing it on a useful occasion.

“ It is far from my intention or inclination to

* Dean Kerr’s affidavit in Nalson’s Collections.

justify any kind of outrage against a lawful authority; but surely those gentlemen who, from principle, defend the measures taken by the English and Scotch, in taking up arms against their lawful sovereign, should not censure the Irish for endeavouring to preserve their liberties from the invasions of the English parliament. No one looks on oppression for religious principles in a more detestable light than I; and, upon reflection it must appear astonishing, that the professors of a doctrine which inculcates the most humiliating and passive principles, should be the foremost to maintain it by means the least justifiable. But surely the clergy and laity of England and Scotland, who solemnly swore "to the extirpation of popery and prelacy in the three kingdoms, without respect of persons, lest they might partake in their sins, and thereby be in danger to partake of their plagues,"* should be the last to condemn the people of Ireland for rising in defence of their religion. These last were certainly more justifiable in defending their old opinions, than the reformers in forcing new tenets on them.

"That the Irish coalition was not intended for the base and abominable purposes of extermination in cold blood, as their enemies have affirmed, is demonstrable. After all the measures for the intended insurrection were settled, a general meeting of the Irish chiefs was held at the abbey of Multifarnan in the county of Westmeath, in

* Solemn League and Covenant.

the beginning of October, 1641, to determine what should be done with their enemies. After many debates it was unanimously resolved carefully to avoid the spilling of cold blood, and to send all their captives, wherever taken, to Dublin, from thence to be shipped off for England, never to return on pain of death. This is recorded by Peter Walsh, a living witness,* and too much the creature of the marquis of Ormond to be suspected of partiality to this party. Temple† mentions this meeting, but pretends ignorance of its intent. Dr. Jones, who was their prisoner about this period, in his examination, declares the object of it, as I have related; and the same is admitted by Dr. Warner,‡ who further observes, that though the intentions of the insurgents on this head were not even publicly known; yet from the prisoners being from every quarter sent under escorts to Dublin, it must be admitted. At a provincial synod of the clergy of Ulster, summoned immediately after the breaking out of this war, as well as at a national council assembled at Kilkenny in the year 1642, excommunication was publicly denounced against all catholics, who should from private revenge, hatred, or desire of plunder, enter into this war, but particularly against all robbers or murderers. To the proclamation of the Irish chiefs from Newry, of the fourth of November, 1641, they annex a mandate of the king's, authorizing them to make war on

* Irish remonstrance.

† History of the Irish rebellion.

‡ History of the Civil Wars of Ireland.

his English and Irish enemies; and though this commission from the king was afterwards known to be forged, yet was it the grand cement of the Irish league. Many years after, Mac Carthy, lord of Muskerry, publicly acknowledged to lord Orrery, "that were it not for this contrivance, they would never have been able to keep their people together.

"From these incontrovertible facts, it is demonstrable, 1st. That the Irish never harboured the base and cowardly thought of destroying their enemies in cold blood; 2nd, That the public acts of their clergy, expressed their detestation of such foul practices; and 3d, That the people were drawn into this war from a full persuasion that they had royal authority to justify their proceedings. That much blood was spilt on this unhappy occasion, it is but too true; but what I contend for is, that it was not the act nor by the consent of the Irish league. Whilst Sir Phelim O'Neal, colonel Mac Guire, and their men, committed many cruel outrages in the counties of Down, and Antrim, O'Reily publicly protected the protestants in the county of Cavan, as did the O'Ferrals, in the county of Longford. In July 1642, when Owen Roe O'Neal superseded Sir Phelim in the command of the Ulster army, his first act was causing the houses of the murderers to be burnt and their persons sought for. He publicly censured the cruelty of Sir Phelim, and declared that rather than not punish these wretches, he would join the very English themselves! Even many of the outrages com-

mitted by his people, Sir Phelim, at his execution, publicly disclaimed; declaring them to be done contrary to his orders. It would be hard to doubt his sincerity at this time of trial, especially when he more than once rejected the offer of life and fortune at the very tree, rather than accuse his sovereign of being the author of this war. All the chief Irish commanders constantly and publicly disclaimed all orders for outrage or murder, and frequently punished their men when convicted of such crimes. The Irish chiefs in 1642, and again in 1643, when these affairs were fresh in the minds of the public,* addressed the king to call a parliament to have a severe enquiry made into all murders and massacres committed on both sides, to that day. The same application was made to Charles II. and why their enemies declined the challenge let every reader conjecture.

“ The reader will see, that I have not denied, but that cruel murders were committed in the counties of Down and Antrim, in the infancy of this war. Dr. Warner says,† “ It is plain that some murders, though probably not very many, considering the nature of the insurrection, and the end intended, were committed in the first week.” Let the names of the perpetrators of such villainies be transmitted to posterity with the infamy they deserve, but let not the reputation of an entire kingdom suffer through the baseness of two or three great and bad men; of a people

* Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Reb. and Appen.

† Irish Civil Wars, vol, i. p. 82.

perhaps the least formed for such abominable crimes, in the world! It has been also asserted, that the league in question was against the English name and nation. Yet we see in the very first Irish proclamation, English catholics as well as Irish, invited to join in this cause. In the then votes of the English commons, we read of English catholics of quality being confined for saying there was no safety for their persons but in Ireland. We know many resorted to them, as lord Castle-haven, colonel Touchet, and others, who were promoted to great commands in the Irish army; and that the warmest friendship and confidence subsisted between them. Envoys from the principal courts of Europe, as well as the earl of Glamorgan, on behalf of king Charles, and cardinal Rinuccini from the pope, attended on the supreme council of Kilkenny, which surely proves they were far from being the barbarians they were afterwards represented. If they had committed the crimes charged on them, how were they so wonderfully concealed from these envoys and ambassadors, nay from all the world at that time, Borlase, Temple, Clarendon, and their emissaries excepted? * Base and cruel

* “ Could we suppose Louis XIV. would be guarantee of the peace of 1618, on behalf of the Irish, if he looked upon them as the murderers their enemies have represented them? Would he, after the restoration, by his ambassador Ruvigny, require an adherence to this peace; and afterwards with his own hand write to Charles II. on this head, if he thought them a culpable people? In this letter he affirms That the only subjects who held out longest and suffered most in the cause of royalty, were this brave and generous people.”

acts are the characteristics of a cowardly disposition: No one will accuse the Irish of cowardice.”*

“ Many instances might be produced of the great beneficence and humanity of the ecclesiastics, to the distressed English and protestants, at that period. “ At the taking of Cashell, Dr. Samuel Pullen, chancellor of that city, and dean of Clonfert, with his wife and children, was preserved by father James Saul, a jesuit. Several other Romish priests distinguished themselves on that occasion, by their endeavours to save the English; particularly father Joseph Everard, and Redmond English, both Franciscan friars; who hid some of them in their chapel, and even under their altar. And soon after, those who had been thus preserved were, according to their desire, safely conveyed into the county of Cork, by a guard of the Irish inhabitants of Cashel, who acted with so much good faith, that several of the convoy were wounded in defending them from the violence of the rabble upon the mountains in their passage.”†

“ Doctor Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, when a prisoner with the insurgents, who doubtless had many priests among them, “ was never interrupted in the exercise of his worship, although not only his house and all the out-buildings, but also the church and church-yard, were full of people that flocked to him for protection. So that from the twenty-third of October to the eighteenth of

* O'Halloran's Introduc. Hist. Irel.

† Carte's Ormond.

December following, he, and all those within his walls, enjoyed to a miracle," says bishop Burnet, "perfect quiet. And when he died, at the age of seventy-one, the titular bishop of the diocese, though he had proselyted his brother, a popish priest, to the communion of the established church, suffered him to be buried in consecrated ground, the Irish doing him unusual honours at his funeral. For the chiefs of the insurgents having assembled their forces, accompanied his body to the church-yard with great solemnity; and desired Mr. Clogy, one of his chaplains, to bury him according to the church offices. At his interment they discharged a volley of shot, crying out in Latin, *hic requiescat ultimus Anglorum!* May the last of the English rest in peace! Edmund Farilly, a popish priest, exclaimed at the same time, *O, sit anima mea cum Bedello!* Would to God that my soul were with Bedel!"*

"Having, I think, fairly vindicated the Irish, as a nation, from the horrid crimes of murder and massacre, by laying them on the few who committed them; charity obliges me to hope, that the unexampled bloody reprisals of their enemies, proceeded not from any cruelty peculiar to the English nation, but from the vindictive spirit of a few. But be this as it may, most certain it is, that their troops pursued the most bloody and cruel measures that history can furnish. What excesses the Irish committed, we see were contrary to the orders of their chiefs; their

* Burnet's Life of Bedel.

inhuman adversaries acted by positive order from above. Entire countries were laid waste, and men, women, and children, without distinction, butchered by a merciless soldiery! So cool were these men in the trade of murder, that when sometimes reprehended for their infernal sporting with the miseries of dying infants, they used gravely to answer, 'That nits would be lice.' Do their writers deny, can they deny any of these charges? Have they not gloried in the scenes of desolation, which they every where exhibited? And has not lord Clarendon himself told us, "That except the Jews, no nation was ever reduced to the wretchedness of the Irish, and in this state, they were unpitied by all the world!" Dr. Warner sensibly remarks,* "The protestants would take it very ill, (and very justly) if the barbarities of Sir Charles Coote and Sir Frederick Hamilton, were imputed to their religion; why then should they charge those, of which Sir Phelim O'Neal and others were guilty, on the principles of the Romish church, which hath disclaimed them?"

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the restoration, tells us, that "The Irish who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past mis-carriages and madness, by doing service for the king, were under as severe captivity, and complete misery, as the worst of their actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing." Would not one be tempted from

* Civil Wars of Ireland, v. ii. p. 203.

this curious paragraph to think that the Irish were the constant enemies of the two Charles's? Yet Charles I. tells us,† “ Preposterous rigours, well grounded discontents, apprehensions of greater injuries, continual oppressions, want of natural liberty, fears of utter extirpation, and downright despair,” made the Irish take up arms! and when they did draw the sword, they framed an oath to be taken by all officers, civil and military, acting under them, to bear true allegiance to Charles and his successors, as kings of Ireland. Charles II. whose word one should think we ought to take, as soon as his chancellor's, in his first speech from the throne, when a sense of gratitude was yet warm in him, thus expresses himself: “ I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of my mercy: they have shewn much affection to me abroad; and you will have a care of my honour, and what I have promised to them.” In Louis XIVth's letter, dated Sept. 7, 1660, addressed and delivered to Charles by his ambassador Ruvigny, in behalf of the Irish, he expressly affirms, “ that, in the almost general defection of all his subjects, the Irish alone stood firm and unshaken in his interest.” The ideas excited by our ruling passions are oftenest present to us. Lord Clarendon, besides his personal aversion to the Irish, could not forget that he had a principal hand in the famous act of settlement. It is not the injured, but the person who injures,

* Icon Basilic.

that never forgives. His inclination and interest, as well as character, made it necessary to throw the Irish into the most unfavourable point of view, in direct opposition to history and facts; and he has represented them, not as they really were, but as they should have been, to justify the great lengths he went to ruin them.”*

In vindicating his country from base aspersions, Dr. O'Halloran has been peculiarly severe on the Scotch; with a view, I suppose, of making reprisals on the country of Hume, for that writer's violent philippics against Ireland. I cannot agree with the learned historian, that Scotland was the sole, original source of the English rebellion. One of its sources must be traced to the schism produced by the incontinence of Henry VIII., and the forcible reformation of religion, carried on by his children, which deprived antiquity of reverence, and authority of obedience, accustoming men's minds to be reconciled to changes; and, by proscribing and punishing adherence to antiquity and authority, and giving countenance and fashion to innovation, tempted every ambitious spirit to hunt in quest of fresh discoveries in scripture, for improving on innovation, and exploding more and more of the antient opinions. From a contempt of spiritual authority the transition is not difficult to the civil, and innovations in religion have ever a tendency to produce revolutions in the state. This truth has been exemplified by the conduct

* O'Halloran's *Introduc. Hist. Ire.*

of the reformed; who, wherever they prevailed, sought, and by force of arms too, the overthrow both of church and state. 'Tis true, indeed, the immediate commencement of the troubles took place in Scotland, but the English were long in progress to receive the impulse. The troubles had their origin from the reformation of both countries, producing that spirit, which, agreeably to men's different political opinions, some would call a spirit of liberty, while others would characterize it as a spirit of anarchy: in its excess it is, unquestionably; and ill managed, inefficient opposition, will drive it to excess, which was the case both in England and Scotland. Having thus far extenuated one of the charges against the Scotch, of their having been the sole cause and promoters of the troubles in the other two kingdoms, I shall submit the rest of the learned Doctor's charge to the reader.

“ Mr. Hume tells us, “ so great was the hatred of the Irish to every thing that was English, that they not only murdered the poor defenceless people, but fired their houses, burnt their furniture, and destroyed their very cattle, that nothing belonging to them should remain in the kingdom!” It must be owned, that although none shewed themselves more forward to spill the blood of the Irish than the countrymen of this historian, yet they did not carry their malice to the same extremity. However criminal the Irish appeared in their eyes, and though by their covenant they were obliged to extirpate popery and prelacy, yet upon reflection they concluded

their goods and chattles not culpable. Whilst they destroyed the people, they rifled their goods, and sent off the cattle in large droves to Scotland. The war they carried on there, was rather that of plunderers and robbers, than of disciplined troops. Nay, to such an height did they carry their rapacity, that the chief justices in those days, iniquitous as they were, began to apprehend an universal scarcity, from these Caledonian Tartars. Dr. Warner* tells us, that Monroe, in his return to Carrig-fergus, wasted the country, and with other effects carried off four thousand head of cattle; but the night before they were to be divided between the English and Scots, they were conveyed away, to the great discontent of the English, "who began to mutiny, and never after cared to march with such a band of thieves." After this they marched into the county of Antrim, where they drove off five thousand head of cattle; and when lord Antrim invited Monroe to his castle where he was sumptuously entertained, and offered to unite with him to preserve the peace of this county, the return the latter made his noble host was, to seize on his cattle, and make himself a prisoner! "In short," says Dr. Warner, "the Scotch general had as little honour as the banditti he commanded."

"Whilst the cause of liberty prompted the English, and the Irish armed in defence of their religion and their country, the Scotch, parsimo-

* Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. i. p. 198.

nious and prudent, whatever their pretences might be, shewed clearly that lucre alone was their *primum mobile*. Though they promised the reversion of wonderful places in heaven, to such as would take the covenant, yet the moment the English parliament swore to its maintenance, they refused to march to their assistance till they received one hundred thousand pounds, besides three hundred thousand pounds voted to them before this, as well as twenty-five thousand pounds a month, during their stay in England. Even to their selling the king, whom, through Montreuil the French ambassador, they invited to their camp, as to a sure asylum, they plainly shewed that avarice was their predominant passion. Charles, their lawful sovereign, descended from an illustrious line of kings, instead of the protection which honour, allegiance, and public faith demanded, they gave up to his relentless enemies; not for religion, not for liberty, or even revenge; but for base, sordid lucre! the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was the price of royal blood, half of which was paid in hand, and of this reward for treason the general and the common soldier, equally partook! Whilst all Europe execrated so atrocious an act, men of wit were not wanting to express their particular detestations; and with one of the many epigrams on this foul deed, I shall close this chapter.

“ Quis neget Iscarii Scotum de Germine Judæ,
Hic Christum domini vendidit, ille Deum!
Vendidit ut Christum Judas, sic Scotia regem:
Ille, suum dominum vendidit, illa, suum!”*

* O'Halloran's *Introduc. Hist. Irel.*

For the sake of the English reader, without pretensions to the gift of poesy, I give the following translation, containing the substance of the foregoing epigram. "From Judas sprung, who can deny the Scot? The lord's anointed sold by one, as t'other sold his God. As Christ was sold by Judas, Scotland her king betrayed. As he sold his lord, for cash she sold her laird."

The insurrection was for six weeks confined to the mere Irish of the province of Ulster, the remnant and descendents of those perfidiously plundered by James about thirty-two years before. But this did not satisfy the puritan parliament, or their creatures, Parsons, Borlase, and others, who greedily longed for confiscations. The rebel parliament knew, that notwithstanding the sufferings of the Irish from the tyranny of the reigning family, in person, goods and conscience, they would crowd with ardour to the royal standard, against a detested and dreaded party; and they dreaded such an accession to his majesty's forces. They sufficiently expressed their fears of the eight thousand Irish, raised by lord Strafford, and were never easy till they caused him to disband them. Whatever contempt they outwardly affected for the Irish, they were inwardly convinced of their valour. They could not be unacquainted with the declaration of lord Mountjoy, "That if England were invaded, he could bring three thousand men from Ireland, who would deal as hard knocks as ten thousand men of any other nation whatever." A general civil war of continuance was absolutely neces-

sary, whose management should be in their hands; and the administration of Irish government lodged in the hands of their own creatures, to prevent so dangerous an accession to the royal cause. The event proved the foresight of these able, wicked politicians; for it was the Irish rebellion, as 'tis called, that decided the fate of Charles; the forces employed in which, without this impediment, would unquestionably have turned the scale in favour of the royal martyr, had they arrived while affairs wore a favourable aspect.

Here we likewise have an instance of divine justice in the administration of this world. Without the royal robbery, committed on the antient proprietors of Ulster, and other robberies, committed by father and son in different parts, there would have been no insurrection in Ireland, to favour the rebellion in England; therefore the house of Stuart fell by its own crimes. The overthrow of Charles caused the exile of the two young princes, and, by consequence, their education in the catholic religion, which, in its consequences, occasioned their final expulsion.

If it be asked, would not the English rebels hazard, by such a bold experiment, the loss of a country of which they would be ambitious to retain possession? Revolutionary politics often lead to daring and hazardous methods; but the leaders of the regicide faction were too well acquainted with the divided state of Ireland, to entertain any serious apprehension of such loss. Besides the division of catholic and protestant, the jea-

lousies between the antient and modern Irish had not as yet subsided. The greater part of the land being at that time possessed by descendants of English settlers, the Anglo-Irish interest must predominate in any public body representing the insurgent Irish. These, conscious of the iniquitous means by which their estates were wrested from the antient proprietors, fearing a spirit of resumption to revive among the old natives, in case of a separation, would adhere to the connexion with England, as the palladium of their safety, necessary to secure their possessions. To secure and strengthen this attachment to English connexion, it was easy to increase their fear of separation, by stimulating some of the old natives to petition for a restitution of their estates, unjustly and violently torn from them. The representatives of English descent would take alarm at this, making it their own case, and reject the petition. The consequence would be, a complete rupture between the insurgents. Besides, the king's English enemies commanded the revenue of England, and all the forces in Ireland, as raised and destined for it. They possessed the capital, and several strong-holds, which they could defend against the Irish with moderate garrisons; and, having the command of the sea, they could send supplies and reinforcements as required. Their creatures governed in the king's name, called on the support of all that professed loyalty. They fought in Ireland, against the king's interest, under the king's colours, and made all the use they could of the royal autho-

city, to undermine it in both kingdoms, to prevent the junction of the Irish with the king's forces, both parties ardently longing for the same.

This developement of their plan will give the reader a just idea of the proceedings of the party here. Why they prosecuted lord Strafford, got Parsons and Borlase appointed justices, rejecting Dillon, as one too loyal to his majesty to be entrusted with the councils and orders of his enemies. It explains wherefore they took no notice of the repeated intimations sent to them of a conspiracy being on foot. To what end, as soon as information on oath was given of the conspirators being in town, with a view of seizing the castle, they issued, by proclamation, an account of the discovery; thereby giving warning to the chiefs of the insurrection to escape. The capture of these men would, probably, frustrate the whole plan of the insurrection, and thereby disappoint the puritans. Why, in their proclamation, they qualify it a rebellion of Irish papists; involving three-fourths of the kingdom, then not concerned in it. With the same wicked design, when the lords of the pale came to proffer their services, calling for arms, to march against the insurgents, they were refused, on the false pretence that they could not be spared, while ten thousand musquets, a park of artillery, and plenty of ammunition, lay unemployed in the stores. To the same purpose they adjourned and readjourned the parliament, at the time their counsel and authority would be serviceable; and

partly to prevent their receiving the favourable intelligence, brought over from their agents, the grant of the favors and graces petitioned; which grant they would not publish by proclamation, lest it should allay discontent, and hinder the progress of insurrection. But what crowned their plan ultimately with success was, the bargain they struck with the earl of Ormond, as shall be seen in the sequel.

“ In August, 1641, the Irish parliament was in daily expectation of the return of their agents from England, with the royal assent to two bills, that would have put an effectual stop to those predatory suits of enquiry into defective titles, which had been so long and grievously complained of. “ Never,” says Mr. Carte, “ were two acts better adapted to give general satisfaction to any people, than these were to the gentlemen of Ireland.” Even Temple owns, “ that these bills had been long and most impetuously longed for by the Irish.” And although his majesty had, in May preceding, sent positive orders to the justices, to pass these bills, and the other promised graces; and the commons first, and afterwards both houses, had most earnestly and repeatedly besought them, “ that they might be suffered to continue together for a further time, because their agents were at the water-side with these bills;” yet these lords justices, acting every thing in Ireland, by the influence of the puritan faction in the English parliament, often in derogation of his majesty’s commands, caused the parliament to be ad-

journed for three months. Which adjournment the catholic members, who were principally aggrieved by it, “afterwards aggravated against the justices, as one of the chief moving causes of the taking up of arms generally throughout the kingdom.”

“Soon after this fatal and enforced adjournment, the parliament’s agents arriving in Dublin, “presently applied,” says Temple, “to the lords justices and council, desiring to have those acts and other graces, granted by his majesty, made known to the people by proclamation.” This was promised, and an instrument drawn up, and presented to their lordships for that purpose; but “they, as it seems, desiring rather to add fuel to the fire of the subjects discontents, than to quench the same, did forbear to give any notice thereof to the people.”

“This general disgust was not removed or lessened by the next meeting of parliament, on the 16th of November following, the day to which it had been adjourned. On the contrary, by the manifest reluctance with which the justices suffered it to meet even then, and by their sudden prorogation of it for two months longer, it was greatly increased. This prorogation, says Mr. Carte, “gave a particular distaste to the Roman catholics, who were like to be the greatest sufferers thereby, and to lose the benefit of those graces, which were intended for their particular relief. The earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Costelloe, and some others, urged, among other things, against the prorogation,

that all the nation was in expectation of the graces, and would be strangely uneasy, if they were not confirmed in parliament. But the justices were deaf to all such remonstrances; for, as they had been with difficulty prevailed upon, by the importunate solicitations of the lords and gentry of the pale, to suffer the parliament to meet even on the aforesaid 16th of November, so they then took especial care to limit the session, in such a manner, that no act of grace, or any thing else for the people's quiet or satisfaction, might be propounded or passed. For well knowing that the members of both houses, throughout the kingdom (a few in and about Dublin only excepted), would be absent from parliament, they published their proclamation for the meeting but two days before the time; whereupon, only a few of the lords and commons appeared in the houses; who, on their entrance at the castle bridge and gate, and within the castle yard, to the door of the parliament-house, were environed with a great number of armed men, with matches lighted, and muskets presented even to the breasts of the members of both houses; none being admitted to bring one servant to attend him, or any weapon about him, within the castle bridge.

* "November 17th (1641), it was ordered, that the persons undernamed are appointed forthwith to withdraw themselves into the inner room of this house, and draw up a declaration of the humble desires of this house, for the continuance of this present session of parliament, without either adjournment or prorogation.—Appendix to Com. Jour. vol. i. fol. 17. Yet Borlase impudently affirms, "that both houses readily assented to this adjournment."—Irish Reb. fol. 17.

Yet how thin soever the houses were, and how much soever overawed, they did both jointly supplicate the lords justices and council, that they might for a time continue together, and expect the coming of the rest of the members, to the end, they might quiet the troubles in full parliament; and that those acts of security, granted by his majesty and transmitted under the great seal of England, might be passed, to settle the minds of his majesty's subjects. But to these requests, conducing so much to his majesty's service, and the settlement of the kingdom, a flat denial was given. Nay their lordships dismissed the houses, after only two days sitting, without saying a word of the graces from the king, or giving them any assurance, or even a faint glimmering hope, that they should be passed in another session."

"The earl of Castlehaven, who sate in that parliament, after having recited the loyal and unanimous protestation of both houses, "that they would, if necessary, take up arms, and with their lives and fortunes endeavour to suppress the rebellion;" informs us, "that in order speedily to bring the rebels to condign punishment, they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual means to do the work. But this way of proceeding," adds his lordship, "did not, it seems, suit with the lords justices designs, who were often heard to say, that the more there were in rebellion, the more lands would be forfeited; and therefore, in the very height of the business, they resolved upon a prorogation; which the

parliament understanding, viscount Costelloe, and myself, were sent from the lord's house, and others from the commons, to desire the continuance of parliament, till the rebels, then few in number, were reduced. But our advice was slighted, and the parliament next day prorogued, to the great surprise of both houses, and the general dislike of all knowing and honest men."

"As it evidently appears, from divers circumstances, that the justices, Parsons and Borlase, rather wished for and promoted, than endeavoured to prevent this insurrection, so it is still more manifest, that all their subsequent proceedings tended only to increase and extend it, for their own iniquitous private purpose. Sir Robert Talbot, of Castle-Talbot, in the county of Wicklow, repaired to Dublin in the beginning of the troubles; and offered to Sir William Parsons in the presence of dean Bulkely, who lived to attest it after the restoration, to secure the chief heads of the Byrnes, Tooles, and other septs in that county, who, as their lands had been planted some years before, were the likeliest men to rise and begin a rebellion in Leinster, if he would give him commission to do so; insisting that they would not stir while their chiefs were in custody, as so many hostages for their fidelity. But Sir William Parsons absolutely refused to give him a commission; and these septs soon after breaking out into rebellion, Sir Robert engaged against them, in defence of the English in that and the adjoining county of Catherlogh, and conveyed most of these English with their goods

and flocks safe to Dublin. He had, indeed, the lords justices thanks for this service, but it cost him dear; for in revenge thereof, two of his best houses, Cartan and Liscartan were burned by the Irish.

“ The earl of Ormond’s early offer to suppress these tumults in their beginning, met with no better reception from their lordships; for that nobleman having undertaken to pursue the rebels, then in no respect considerable, if he might be allowed meat and drink for the soldiers in his march, his proposal was rejected. “ The only reason assigned by the justices for this refusal, viz. the want of arms, was,” says Mr. Carte, “ a pretence so notoriously false, that it could only be made use of to cover motives which they were ashamed to confess; for there was, at this time, in the stores of the castle, a fine train of artillery, ammunition of all sorts in great quantities, arms for above ten thousand men, tents and necessaries of all kinds for the march and provision of an army; all which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the Scots expedition.

“ What these justices real motives were, soon after appeared. In the before-mentioned short session of November sixteenth, both houses had drawn up a letter to the king, which was sent by the lords Dillon and Taaffe; and in which they offered of themselves, and without any aid from England, to put an end to this insurrection.” Immediately upon this, the justices, and their party in the council, privately wrote to the earl

of Leicester, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and after telling him they expected and hoped for his secrecy, and that they could not open themselves with freedom at the council-board, they besought his lordship that no such overture should be accepted; among other reasons, because the charge of supplies from England, would be abundantly compensated out of the estates of those who were actors in the rebellion." From this information, the lords Dillon and Taaffe, with their papers, were seized at Ware, by order of the English house of commons; and detained in custody several months, till they made their escape to the king, then at York; but it was then too late to offer a remedy, as the insurrection was become in a manner general."*

The justices were indefatigable in their efforts to further an Irish rebellion. Though they refused to arm the Pale in the government's defence, they lent a few arms to lord Gormanstown, and some others, for the defence of their houses, which they shortly afterwards recalled, in token of distrust. The lords and gentlemen, thus left defenceless, repaired to Dublin, to live under the eye and protection of government. An order is issued to them to quit Dublin and its vicinity, and to return to their respective habitations, in twenty-four hours, on pain of death. "It appears from Borlase, that these justices published two proclamations of that kind, even before the end of October, 1641. As that writer,

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

after having said that they had issued a proclamation, "in his majesty's name, commanding all persons, not dwellers in the city and suburbs, to depart within an hour after publication, on pain of death," adds, "that the state, on the twenty-eighth of October, published a proclamation to the same intent with the former, with the penalty of death to such as wilfully harboured them."*

"Another proclamation of the like tenor, and on the penalty of death, was issued by these justices, on the eleventh of November following."*

Still no insurrection in the Pale, or in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Sir Charles Coote was dispatched to the county of Wicklow, where the man of blood committed his usual cruelties; particularly in the county town, where he spared neither age or sex. To a soldier, carrying about a babe on the point of his pike, he cried out, 'I like such frolics.' On his return to Dublin, he was appointed governor of the city, for services so palatable to the justices and the English rebel parliament.

The justices, on the third of December, 1641, invited the lords of the Pale to confer with them on the state of the nation; which the latter had reasons not to comply with. The catholics of Dublin were disarmed the day before. The threat of extirpating those of their religion, uttered at the council board by Coote, had reached them. Their banishment to their country seats, on pain

* Borlase's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion.

of death, where they remained, exposed to the incursions of the rebels, disarmed, defenceless; liable, in consequence, to be treated as harbourers of rebels, by persons, whose perfidy, avarice and cruelty, were on a par. What, invite people to a conference in Dublin, banished then on pain of death, and judged unfit to be trusted with arms? Hence, they justly considered the summons as an artifice to draw them into town, with an intent to destroy them, and seize their estates. In consequence of these not unfounded apprehensions, they returned an answer, signed by the earl of Fingal, lords Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany, Netterville, Louth, and Trimblestown, stating their unshaken loyalty to the king, and their ardent desire to concur in any measures calculated to promote his majesty's service; notwithstanding their advice and proffered assistance had been rejected; and that, seeing the wanton murders, committed by soldiers acting under their orders, and being duly informed of a general massacre of catholics being threatened, they thought it advisable to stand on their best guard until security could be obtained from their lordships for their safety.

The better to understand the state of the country, and its parties, we shall divide and consider them apart. The antient inhabitants, whether Firbolgs or Milesians, had abundant causes of disaffection to English government and connexion; yet many of their leading men were wedded to both, especially in Munster and Connaught. The catholics, of English descent espe-

cially, men of property, were firmly attached to English connexion, notwithstanding their discontents at the measures of government. Most of the protestants were, at that time, infected with the puritannic plague, bitter enemies both to the catholics and the king; and it was unfortunate for both, that the government of the kingdom was at that time in their hands. As the best part of the landed property was possessed by catholics of English descent, it was a prime object with the puritan parliament, and their creatures, the justices, to implicate them in rebellion; which, difficult as it was, they found means to accomplish. “ For on the 7th of December, “ a party of horse and foot being sent by the justices, into the neighbourhood of Dublin, in quest of some robbers, came to the village of Santry, where they murdered some innocent husbandmen (whose heads they brought into the city in triumph), on pretence that they had harboured and relieved the rebels, who had made inroads and committed depredations in these parts. Hard, indeed, was the case of the country people at that time, when not being able to hinder parties of robbers and rebels, from breaking into their houses and taking refreshments there, this should be deemed a treasonable act, and sufficient to authorize a massacre.”*

“ The next morning complaint being made to the government of this outrage, no redress was obtained. Whereupon some gentlemen of qua-

* Carte, Temple, Borlase.

lity and others, inhabitants of that part of the country, being justly alarmed at these proceedings, and mindful of the report of Coote's barbarous proposal at the council-board, forsook their houses and prepared for their defence. For this massacre following so soon after "the executions and murders which Sir Charles Coote had ordered in the county of Wicklow; his being made governor of Dublin for that service; and the catholics of that city being all disarmed the day before the lords of the pale were invited to a conference there, confirmed their belief of the truth of the report, that a general massacre of those of their religion was intended."*

"Wherefore these gentlemen assembled together on the ninth of December, at Swords, a village distant from Dublin about six miles; and on the tenth, the justices issued their warrant, "commanding them to separate on sight of it; and that nine of the principal persons so assembled should appear before them at the council-board, by ten of the clock the next morning, to shew the cause of their assembling together in that manner." To this warrant they returned an answer on the same day, to the following effect: "that they were constrained to meet there, for the safety of their lives, which they conceived to be in no small danger, having been forced to forsake their dwellings on the last Tuesday at night, by the rising out of horse troops and foot companies, who, on the said night killed four

* Carte's Ormond.

catholics, for no other reason but because they bore the name of that religion; and that they had been before put into many fears, by certain intelligence given them of unexpected attempts against their lives, before they ran the hazard thereof; which was the only motive that hindered them from manifesting that obedience, which they knew to be due to their lordships' commands."

"The justices seeming to comply with these gentlemen's ardent desire above-mentioned, issued a manifesto, dated the fourteenth of December, but not published till the fifteenth; wherein they allowed them the space of two days, viz. until the seventeenth of that month, for their appearing before them in Dublin; and in order to induce them to appear then, "they gave them the word of the state, that they might safely and securely repair thither, without danger of any trouble or stay whatsoever. And yet, on the same fifteenth of that month, they detached a party of horse and foot to Clontarf, under the command of Sir Charles Coote, with orders "to fall upon and cut off" the inhabitants, and burn the houses of that village, which belonged to Mr. King, one of those gentlemen assembled at Swords, to whom, by name, the public faith had been given. "These orders were excellently well executed;"* though it is confessed that "no op-

* "Sixteen of the poor towns-people were killed by Sir Charles Coote's soldiers, on that occasion. In the same week fifty-six men, women and children, being frightened at what was done at Clontarf, took boats and went to sea, to shun

position was made." "Sir Charles Coote, who by the lords justices special designation, was appointed to go on this expedition, as the fittest person to execute their orders, and one who best knew their minds, at this time pillaged and burned houses, corn, and other goods belonging to Mr. King, to the value of four thousand pounds; which was but a sorry encouragement to him, says Mr. Carte, "to accept their invitation to Dublin, and gave just grounds of apprehending, at least, some danger of trouble; from which danger the manifesto pretended to secure him, as well as the rest that were assembled at Swords."*

An order from both houses of parliament, dated November 30th, directing them to grant his majesty's pardon to all those who, within a convenient time, would return to their obedience, was an obstacle they soon found means to overcome; agreeably, in all likelihood, to private instructions from the leaders of the anti-royalist faction. For, however they might, as they generally did, disregard the orders of his majesty, they durst not, without private encouragement from that quarter, openly disobey the orders of the commons, possessed of the plenitude of power. They continued their own proclamation, so limited, in time, persons and circumstances, as to

the fury of a party of soldiers come out of Dublin, under the command of colonel Crafford; but being pursued by the soldiers in other boats, were overtaken and thrown overboard.—Collect. of Massac. committed on the Irish.

* Carte's Ormond.

be fitter to prevent than invite submission. For, first, it precluded freeholders from all hope of pardon; "because," says lord Castlehaven, "they had estates to lose;" and the poorer Irish, who alone had been guilty of depredations and damages, were to be pardoned only on such terms as they could not comply with; "for their pardon," says Temple, "was to be granted only on condition of restoring the goods and chattels taken from the British;" which, as the same writer confesses, it was not possible for them to do. Besides, this order, instead of being general, as intended by the order of both houses, extended only to four counties, Meath, Westmeath, Louth and Longford; in two of which counties no body of insurgents had as yet appeared. The time for coming in being limited for ten days, circumstanced as the nation then was, it was scarce possible for great numbers to fulfil the object held out on so short a notice. His majesty's proclamation, of January the first, 1642, granting pardon to all insurgents on submission, they frustrated likewise, by secreting the copies thereof to such a degree, that the lords and gentlemen of the Pale, who lay nearest Dublin, could not get a sight of one of them. "Nay, instead of pursuing such pacific and conciliating measures, they, on the first of February following, commanded out the earl of Ormond, with a powerful army, on an expedition to the county of Kildare; where, "pursuant to his orders, he burnt Newcastle and Lyons, and gave up Naas to his soldiers to plunder, having sent out parties to burn

Castle-Martin, Kilcullen-bridge, and in short, all the country for seventeen miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth."

"The lords of the pale made no opposition to any of those parties that were detached to make the above-mentioned general devastation. But it affected lord Gormanstown, the principal mover of their union, to such a degree, that he died not long after of grief; and the rest of the lords of the pale, grown desperate, laid aside all thoughts of pardon or treaty; and joined all their forces for the support of the common cause; in which many others who had as yet stood out soon joined, fearing that they should at last be involved in the other's fate, since a total extirpation was intended."*

The reader will not fail to observe here, the completion of retributive justice in the distressing visitation on the Pale. Abusing power in the days of their prosperity, they dealt unmercifully with the old Irish, dispossessing them of landed property, and reducing them to bondage vile; one instance of which may suffice for the present. O'Cullen, the last considerable proprietor of the old race in the vicinity of Dublin, quit his country during Tyrone's war, to serve in Flanders; whence, 'tis apparent, that it was not aversion to war, but a conflict between honour and interest, that forced him out of the country at that juncture. He could not remain without joining with his followers either of the parties. O'Neil's cause

* Carte's Ormond.

he viewed as the cause of Ireland and the catholic faith, not to be opposed by an Irish catholic of honour. Sollicitous to reconcile, and save both interest and honour by a prudent neutrality, he emigrated and entered into the service of Spain, in Flanders, where he remained until the peace of 1602. When returning to his native country, he found great part of his estate in the possession of Brabanzon, afterwards earl of Meath, the inhabitants turned out, and strangers brought in. The messenger he sent to Brabanzon being murdered, in Meath, O'Cullen armed his remaining followers, and endeavoured to eject the intruders; but was attacked and fell by the hand of Brabanzon, who took possession of all his estate.

The earl of Ormond was certainly a powerful instrument in the hands of the English parliament; nor would they have courted him with a present of a diamond, worth two hundred and forty pounds; and with promises of vast honours and possessions, which were afterwards fulfilled by mean-spirited Charles, true to the engagements of the regicides, faithless to his own, and get him appointed lord lieutenant of the army, if they had not found him a man for their purpose.

“ In the expedition to the county of Kildare, the soldiers found one Mr. Higgins, a priest, at Naas, who might if he pleased have easily fled, if he apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the earl of Ormond, he voluntarily confessed that he was a papist, and that his residence was in the town, from whence he refused to fly away, with those that were

guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent, but believed that he could not be without ample testimony of it; having by his sole charity and power, preserved very many of the English from the rage and fury of the Irish; and therefore he only besought his lordship to preserve him from the violence and fury of the soldiers: and put him securely into Dublin to be tried for any crime; which the earl promised to do, and performed it; though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a papist, the officer in whose custody he was intrusted was assaulted by them; and it was as much as the earl could do to compose the mutiny. When his lordship came to Dublin, he informed the lords justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, and of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage; and of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit, from entering into rebellion; and of many charitable offices he had performed: all of which there wanted not evidence enough, there being many then in Dublin, who owed their lives and whatever of their fortunes was left, purely to him. Within a few days after, when the earl did not suspect the poor man's being in danger, he heard that Sir Charles Coote, who was provost-marshal-general, had taken him out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity the earl complained to the lords justices; but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned,

that he found himself upon some disadvantage, for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been.”*

“ It was certainly a miserable spectacle,” as lord Castlehaven observes in his manuscript vindication of his memoirs, “ to see every day numbers of people executed by martial law, at the discretion or rather caprice of Sir Charles Coote, an hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted even by the English and protestants. Yet this was the man, whom the lords justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martial law, to put to death rebels or traitors, that is (continues his lordship) all such as he should deem to be so; which he performed with delight and a wanton kind of cruelty; and yet all this while the justices sat in council, and the judges in the unusual seasons sat in their respective courts, spectators of, and countenancing so extravagant a tribunal as Sir Charles Coote’s, and so illegal an execution of justice.”

“ The earl of Ormond, though lieutenant-general of his majesty’s army, had it not, it seems, in his power to save the lives of any popish priests however innocent or meriting, whom he should happen to meet with in his march. For soon after, “ his lordship having promised the countess of Westmeath to preserve her chaplain, Mr. White, whom he found at her house, from the fury of the soldiers while he remained there; the poor man having on some occasion left it the

* Clarendon. Borlase. Hist. Irish Rebel.

next day, was taken abroad by them and brought to the earl, whom he reminded of the protection he had promised him the night before; but he was only answered, that if he had stayed in the house he was in, this would not have befallen him; and that it was then out of his power to preserve him, himself being bound to pursue those orders which the lords justices had given him. Nevertheless," continues Clarendon, "he did endeavour to have saved him, at least till he might be brought to Dublin; but the whole army, possessed with a bitter spirit against the Romish clergy, mutinied upon it; and in the end compelled his lordship to leave him unto that justice which they were authorised to execute, and so put him to death."* These facts picture out the hideous infernal spirit that dictated the covenant.

From these transactions, as well as from the whole of his subsequent, the marquis of Ormond is clearly convicted of having acted a double part, the more dangerous enemy to his king and country, as he fought in the king's name and under his banners against his person, authority, and family, and for the overthrow of the religion and laws of both kingdoms. Active instrument of the puritan faction, in exciting the Irish to insurrection, by all manner of cruelty and treachery, he equally concurred with the English rebels, in hindering a cessation of arms and peace, ardently wished for by the king and the confede-

* Carte's Ormond.

rate catholics, and as much dreaded by the English rebels, apprehending the accession of strength that would accrue to his majesty's service from the forward loyalty of his Irish catholic subjects. Charles was very unfortunate in his choice of those to whom he entrusted, by virtue of his nominal authority, the government of Ireland; since they were all really the servants and creatures of the English commons, to whose care he had imprudently, at the very beginning, committed the management of the war in Ireland. It had been better to leave the nomination to the commons, than suffer traitors to fight him under the mask of loyalty, and deprive him of the resources of Ireland under his own name and authority.

The first beginnings of insurrection in Munster were owing to the exertions of the president, Sir Wm. St. Leger. Some robberies had been committed by a gang collected from different quarters; among the sufferers by which was Mr. Kingsmill, brother-in-law to the said president, who lost thereby a great number of cows and sheep: upon hearing of which, Sir William St. Leger came in two or three days with two troops of horse, in great fury, to Ballyowen; and being informed the cattle were driven to Eliogurty, he marched that way. As he set forth, he killed three persons at Ballyowen, who were said to have taken up some mares of Mr. Kingsmill; and not far off, at Grange, he killed or hanged four innocent labourers; at Ballymurrin six, and Ballygalburt eight; and burned several houses. From thence

captain Paisly marching to Armail, killed seven or eight poor men and women, whom he found standing abroad in the streets, near their own doors, inoffensively; and passing over the river Ewyer, marched to Clonalta, where meeting Philip Ryan, the principal farmer of the place, a very honest and able man, not at all concerned in the robberies, he without any enquiry, either gave orders for, or connived at his being killed, as appeared by his cherishing the murderer. The captain went from thence to meet the lord president; where several of the chief nobility and gentry of the country, being surprized at these rash and cruel proceedings, waited upon his lordship with their complaints, which were rejected, and the captain applauded for what he had done. Among these gentlemen were, James Butler, lord baron of Dunboyne; Thomas Butler, of Kilconnel; James Butler, of Kilvelly-lagher; Theobald Butler, of Armail; Richard Butler, of Ballynekill; Philip O'Dwyer, and several others of good quality.

“ They observed to the lord president how generally the people were exasperated by these inconsiderate cruelties, running distractedly from house to house; and that they were on the point of gathering together in great numbers, not knowing what they had to trust to, and what was likely to be their fate. They told him that they waited upon his lordship, to be informed how affairs stood, and that they coveted nothing more than to serve his majesty and preserve the peace, and desired that he would be pleased to

qualify them for it with authority and arms; in which case they would not fail to suppress the rabble, and secure the peace of the country. The president did not receive their representation and offer in the manner they expected; but in an hasty furious way, answered them, that they were all rebels, and that he would not trust one soul of them; but thought it more prudent to hang the best of them. And in this extraordinary humour he continued all the while these and other persons of quality, their neighbours, were waiting upon him. This made them all withdraw and return to their houses, much resenting his rudeness and severity, as well as very uncertain about their own safety; some of them imagining that this distrusting of their loyalty, and destroying of their reputations, was the preface to a design of taking away their lives. From Clonmell, Sir William St. Leger marched into the county of Waterford, and his soldiers in the way as they went and returned from the Wexford rebels, killed several poor harmless people, not at all concerned in the rebellion or in the plunder of the country; which also incensed the gentlemen of that country, and made them prepare for standing on their defence.”*

“ For what wicked purposes the noblemen and gentlemen of that province were thus basely insulted and threatened, so as to be driven to the necessity of arming in their own defence, may be gathered from a letter of the old earl of Cork (so notorious for his rapacity in the two former

* Carte's Ormond.

reigns) to the speaker of the English house of commons, on the twenty-second of August, 1642, wherein he says that he had, in that short space of time, “ with the assistance of the earl of Barrymore, the lord viscount Kilmalloch, and his two sons; the lords Dungarvan and Broghill, by the advice of the lords justices and council, indicted the lords viscounts Roche, Mountgarret, Skerrin and Muskerry, and the barons of Dunboyne and Castleconnell, with the son and heir of the lord Cahir; Theobald Purcell, baron of Loughmore; Richard Butler, of Kilcash, Esq. brother to the earl of Ormond, with all other baronets, knights, esquires, gentlemen, freeholders, and popish priests, that either dwelled or had done any rebellious act in these counties, in number above eleven hundred persons.” And he tells him further, “ that he made bold to send these indictments unto him to be presented to the house, to the end that they may be there considered by such members thereof as are learned in the laws; that if they be wanting in any formal point of law, they may be reformed and rectified and returned unto him, with such amendments as they should think fit; and so if the house please to direct to have them all proceeded against to outlawry, whereby his majesty may be entitled to their lands and possessions, which I dare boldly affirm was at the beginning of this insurrection not of so little yearly value as £200,000.” This proceeding he very properly and emphatically calls, “ The Work of works.”*

* Currie. Orrery's State Letters.

That no part of Ireland should be exempt from the scourge of civil war, the traitorous justices, and their rebellious creatures, displayed their mischievous activity in the province of Connaught, "which continued quiet for many weeks after the insurrection commenced; and did utterly dislike the proceedings of the insurgents." The county of Galway in particular, on the sixth of December, 1641, remained undisturbed. But on the twenty-third of the following month, the case seems to have been very different; which lord Clanrickard seems to impute (in a letter of that date to the duke of Richmond) to the mal-administration of the lords justices, as already related, both before and after the insurrection began. "All," says he, "are generally discontented with those who manage the affairs of state here, whom they charge with secret practising in both kingdoms, before the commotions began, to raise parties to destroy their religion, and divert and hinder the king's graces, intended towards them; and by that means to put them into desperation, that they may forfeit their lives and fortunes. And since the distempers began, the same persons have disposed of affairs, as if the design was to put the whole kingdom into rebellion, as now it is."

"His lordship, in a letter to the earl of Ormond in June following, grievously complained, "that insults offered to himself, within the limits of his government, were at least connived at; that one of his best manors was ravaged, by some of the army under Ormond's own

command; and that outrages were committed on others in that district, who had protections from the state; and who," says he, "fill these parts with their sad complaints, distracting most men's minds to desperation; which he doubted not would be of dangerous consequences to the whole province; as he then understood that the people began to prepare for their defence, and gathered all the forces they could make."

"In another letter his lordship says, "that the lords justices proceedings towards him were so laid, as if the design were to force him, and his, into rebellion."

"These outrages were now so much increased, that his lordship acquainted the justices, that since the time he made his former complaint to them, which was on the twenty-seventh of the preceding month of June, "scarce any day" passed without great complaints of the captain of the fort of Galway, and the commander (lord Forbes) of a ship of war, then lying in the harbour, sallying out with their soldiers, and trumpet, and a troop of horse; burning and breaking open houses, taking away goods, preying of the cattle, with ruin and spoil, rather than supply to themselves; and all this committed, not only upon those who protected, but upon them who were most forward to relieve and assist them, not sparing mine," adds his lordship. "Frequently upon fancy, or rumor, without examining the occasion, the captain of the fort shooting his ordnance into the town, or threatening to do it; keeping disorderly sentries at

every gate, abusing those that offer to go out, threatening to take them prisoners to the fort, and to exercise martial law upon them; killing, and robbing poor people, that came to market, burning their fishing-boats, and not suffering them to go out, and no punishment inflicted upon any that committed these outrages; and, as I am well informed," adds he, "acting most things without any regard to the king's honor engaged, or any respect at all to me, in action, though much in profession."

"These particulars, my lords," proceeds lord Clanrickard, "do so distemper and disquiet all men's thoughts, even those that have been most forward to do service, that it is like to be of most dangerous consequence at this time, when Mayo, Sligo, Thomond, and other countries, have prepared forces, and are ready to fall upon my lord president and myself. I must therefore most humbly and earnestly intreat your lordships to take a speedy course, that the country may be quieted and satisfied that destruction is not intended against the well affected; that I may be repaired in my honor, and preserved in my authority, now grown into contempt; or that your lordships will be pleased to discharge me of the burden of this government, for, in this manner, I may not hold it, with disservice to his majesty, and danger and dishonor to myself."*

So great was their vigour beyond the law, that, besides overrunning whole provinces with fire, sword, massacre and depredation, they could

* Clanrickarde's Memoirs. Carte's Ormond.

pay attention to cruelties and persecution in detail. Gentlemen of property, surrendering to the government, to avoid any imputation of connexion with the insurgents, were imprisoned in the castle; some put to the rack, all condemned to tedious imprisonment, without admittance to bail, and ready to perish for want of sustenance. Such was the fate of John Read, entrusted with letters to his majesty, by the nobility and gentry of the Pale, who, on his arrival in Dublin, by written invitation of the justices, was imprisoned in the castle, and put to the rack. Lord Dunsany, Sir Patrick Barnwell of Killigrew, Sir John Netterville, Sir Andrew Aylmer, Gerald George Aylmer, Esqrs. Sir Nicholas White and son, John Talbot, Gerald Fitzgerald, and William Malone, Esqrs. all on their surrender underwent a similar fate. “ But although it was certainly known, that they never were in any manner connected with the insurgents, but on the contrary, that they had greatly suffered by their depredations, yet they were all committed prisoners to the castle, without being even admitted to the presence of the lords justices; after which they were examined, some by menace, others by torture, and most of them necessitated to subscribe to what the examiners pleased to insert. In consequence of those examinations, and perhaps other kinds of management, they were all indicted of high treason; and in the space of two days there were above three thousand indictments upon record.”*

* Carte's Ormond.

Leland, though far from being partial to catholics or Irishmen, is explicit enough on the designs of the popular leaders of the commons, in fomenting and protracting the civil wars of 1641, and the subserviency of all that served in this kingdom to their views.* The adjournment of the Irish parliament, when their advice and authority were most necessary. The overthrow of the constitution, by turning out all the lords and commoners who were but only thought proper to be suspected. The excluding all members, who would not take the oath of supremacy, and filling their places with clerks and other incompetent persons, neither chosen nor returned by town or county, or sitting by right of inheritance. What a mockery of legislature! Yet these vagrants had the effrontery to send over indictments, and petition the English commons for further severities against catholics. Such was the tyranny exercised by the king's enemies, his sworn enemies, over his most loyal subjects, under his name and authority; adjourning, proroguing, and at length abolishing the Irish parliament, by the authority of Charles, while he himself a slave to his English parliament.

Least that should not sufficiently rouse the spirit of the people, the country was laid waste by fire and sword. Parties of horse and foot were dispatched in every direction, with strict orders to do military execution on all they met, sparing neither age or sex, especially to give no

* See ut supra, vol. ii. p. 475, 476.

quarters to the catholic clergy. Preventing, by every possible means, every communication with the king, whether by petition or address, and thwarting every attempt for pacification. The suspension of the royal graces, obtained from the king, by the agents of the Irish parliament. The denunciation of exterminating papists, substantiated by unprovoked massacres daily committed on innocent people, even women and children. One should think, that such atrocious acts of tyranny and cruelty would be quite sufficient to call any people to arms; certainly, the Scotch and English rebels could allege no such provocations; yet something more decisive must be done, to answer the purposes of the king's enemies in both kingdoms, and provoke the patient royalists to insurrection. Gentlemen of property were put to the rack, to criminate their sovereign, as a favourer of what they called the Irish rebellion; and such examinations, extorted by menaces and torture, garbled and mutilated, they sent to the king's enemies in the English commons, as means of defaming his majesty; thereby plainly demonstrating, that it was disloyalty to yield any further obedience to the king's enemies, misruling in his name.

The trimming earl of Ormond was no stranger to the plans of the faction in England, and their creatures here; and, while he professed loyalty to the king, he furthered the views of his enemies with all his might. Under pretence of supporting the royal authority, he did every thing in his power, or that the democratic leaders could wish,

to undermine and overthrow it. Under the mask of frankness, honor and loyalty, he was the most dangerous enemy to his king and country; for, with equal depravity, but more art and dissimulation than Parsons, he was the willing instrument of the cruelties commanded, and all the devices planned by the covenanters. He spoke fair, and acted false. In transmitting to the parliament a petition from the gentlemen of the Pale, his letter to the speaker contains insinuations not hinted to the petitioners; "that, indeed what concerned these gentlemen's coming to him of their own accord, and the course that had been afterwards held with them, was very truly set forth; and that he had not heard of any hostile act that had been done by any of them." But then he immediately subjoins, what certainly was never intended for their service, viz. "to enter into their hearts, and search what is there, is only peculiar to God. I am not able," adds he, "to judge whether any treason was hatched there or no." Ormond expected his share of the two millions five hundred thousand acres, confiscated by the English commons, agreeably to the indictments transmitted to them by their creatures, the justices.

To extend and confirm the insurrection, "on the twenty-third of February, 1642, the earl of Ormond, when on his march towards the Boyne, received the following resolution of the lords justices and council. "It is resolved, that it is fit, that his lordship do endeavour, with his majesty's forces, to wound, kill, slay, and destroy,

by all the ways and means he may, all the said rebels* and their adherents and relievers; and burn, spoil, waste, consume, destroy and demolish all the places, towns and houses where the said rebels are or have been relieved or harboured, and all the corn or hay there; and to kill and destroy all men there inhabiting, able to bear arms.”†

“ On the ninth of the following month, these lords justices and council dispatched another order to the earl of Ormond, then marching into the Pale, with an army of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to burn, spoil, and destroy the rebels of the Pale, without excepting any. By this order, “ those who offered to come in, were in no other manner to be taken in, than as prisoners, taken by the strength of his majesty’s army; and if any of them should come to the army, the soldiers were to seize on them, before they had access to his lordship; and afterwards they were to be denied access to his person.”‡

“ In this manner, such of those unhappy noblemen and gentlemen as had been driven from Dublin by their lordships proclamation, on pain of death, had never offended the govern-

* Irish and rebels were then synonymous terms.

† “ Can any one think after this,” says Dr. Warner, “ that these lords justices had any reason to complain of the cruelties committed by the ignorant and savage Irish?”—Hist. of the Irish. Reb.

‡ “ In the execution of these orders, the justices declare, that the soldiers slew all persons promiscuously, not sparing the women, and sometimes not the children.”—Lel. Hist. Irel.

ment, or were desirous to return to their duty, if in any respect they had offended, were delivered up without distinction to the mercy of soldiers, who thirsted after nothing more ardently than the blood of the Irish; and whom their lordships had before incensed, by all manner of ways, against the nation in general."

"Doctor Nalson assures us, "that the severities of the provost-marshal, and the barbarism of the soldiers to the Irish, were then such, that he heard a relation of his own, who was a captain in that service, relate, that no manner of compassion or discrimination was shewn either to age or sex; but that the little children were promiscuously sufferers with the guilty; and that if any, who had some grains of compassion, reprehended the soldiers for this unchristian inhumanity, they would scornfully reply, 'why, nits will be lice,' and so would dispatch them." "Of Sir Charles Coote, provost-marshal of Ireland, it is said, that he would bid his Irish prisoners blow in his pistol, and then would discharge it."

"May twenty-eighth, 1642, the justices issued a general order to the commanders of all garrisons, not to presume to hold any correspondence or intercourse with any of the Irish or papists dwelling or residing in any place near or about their garrisons; or to give protection, immunity, or dispensation from spoil, burning, or other prosecution of war, to any of them; but to prosecute all such rebels, from place to place, with fire and sword, according to former commands and proclamations. Such," says Mr. Carte on this oc-

casion, " was the constant tenor of their orders, though they knew that the soldiers, in executing them, murdered all persons promiscuously, not sparing, they themselves tell the commissioners for Irish affairs, in their letter of the seventh of June following, the women, and sometimes not children."

" Preparatory to these destructive orders of the justices and council of Ireland, their partisans in the English parliament had procured a resolution to be passed, on the eighth of December 1641, never to tolerate the catholic religion in that kingdom; and in February or March following, the same parliament voted the confiscation of two millions and a half of acres of arable, meadow and pasture land, when very few persons of landed property were concerned in the insurrection. On occasion of this resolution concerning religion, lord Clanrickard expostulated, with just and spirited resentment, in a letter to the earl of Essex; who, it was then thought, would have come over lord lieutenant, with orders to execute it. " It is reported," says he, " that the parliament hath resolved to make this a war of religion; that no toleration thereof is to be granted here; nor any pardons, but by consent of parliament; to send one thousand Scots into

* " It was resolved, upon solemn debate, on the eighth of December, 1641, by the lords and commons in the parliament of England, that they never would give consent to any toleration to the popish religion in Ireland, or any other his majesty's dominions. Which vote hath been adjudged a main motive (by the insurgents) for making the war a cause of religion."—*Borl. Irish Rebel. f. 52.*

this kingdom, and yourself to come over lord lieutenant. If such be the resolutions of England, I should esteem it the greatest misfortune possible, to see you here upon such terms; but if you come over as becomes the person, honor, and gallant disposition of the earl of Essex, and not as the agent of persecution, it may produce much happiness to your own particular, and to this kingdom in general. And, if I may presume to speak my sense, it will not agree either with the honor or safety of England, to make use of such a power of Scots to destroy or over-run us here. My lord, recollect yourself, and draw together your best and bravest thoughts; consider that, by this violent proceeding, contrary to the religion of the whole kingdom, you will put us into desperation, and so hazard the destruction of many noble families."

"In consequence of the English vote for the confiscation of two millions and a half of Irish acres, the lords justices, in a private letter to the speaker of the house of commons in England, May 11th, 1642, without the rest of the council, besought the commons to assist them with a grant of some competent proportion of the rebels lands. "Here," says Warner, "the reader will find a key, that unlocks the secret of their iniquitous proceedings; and here we find the motives to the orders they gave for receiving no submissions; for issuing no proclamation of pardon at first, as the parliament had suggested; and, in short, for all their backwardness in putting an end to the rebellion, of which several oppor-

tunities offered; and consequently for their sacrificing the peace and happiness of the country, and the lives of thousands of their fellow-subjects." "But some kind of zeal," says the king himself on this occasion, "counts all merciful moderation luke-warmness, and is not seldom more greedy to kill the bear for his skin, than for any harm he hath done; the confiscation of men's estates being more beneficial, than the charity of saving their lives or reforming their errors."*

'Tis true, as Warner observes, this petition of the justices, for a competent share of the confiscated lands, is a key to their iniquitous proceedings; and the petition of a cousin of Sir Laurence Parsons, for compensation for the money he laid out in procuring witnesses to find the indictments, before a packed jury, is another key. Where no overt act could be produced against people only suspected, the expenditure was necessary; but their masters in England had their uses, in like manner, from the insurrection and confiscations. For the first: "When the leaders had once formed their project of further innovations, it became a necessary consequence, that their operations with respect to Ireland should be considered as subordinate to that great design, on which their power, their security, and their very being entirely depended. They affected the utmost zeal against the Irish insurgents: but the Irish insurgents served as a pre-

* Reliq. Sacr. Carolin. p. 85.

the power and privileges of parliament, the lawful rights and privileges of the subjects; and tence for securing to themselves a superiority in those commotions, which they foresaw must soon be excited in England. If any violent point was to be gained, the Irish rebellion was a ready instrument of their purposes. If they were opposed in any favourite design, it was imputed to the influence of the malignant party, encouraged by the popish rebellion of Ireland. If recusants were to be seized, if they were to continue guards about the house of commons, the Irish rebellion was the cause. It was the burden of every petition, for new modelling of religion, for subverting episcopacy, for putting the nation in a state of defence, for removing evil counsellors, for guarding against papists and their adherents."

For the second: " Extensive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governours and their friends. The commons of England had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the escheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the rebellion of Ireland: and they had lately proceeded in a scheme for raising money from the lands thus expected to escheate. A bill was framed for repaying those who should advance certain sums, for suppressing of the rebels, (as was pretended) by vesting them with proportional estates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to a new English plantation. It evidently tended to exasperate the male-contents, and to make all accommodation desperate: but it was not on this account less acceptable to the

popular leaders. The king foresaw, and regretted these consequences: but he was reduced to an humiliating state of submission; and consented to a bill which gave strength to his opponents. Their creatures in the administration of Ireland proceeded, at the same, indefatigably, in procuring indictments, not only against open rebels, but those whose conduct had been at all suspicious: and the fury of their prosecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale.*

“ There is little doubt, but that Parsons at least, the more active and intriguing governour, held a regular correspondence with some popular leaders in the English commons, by means of a trusty agent dispatched for this purpose to London. The war between Charles and his parliament was on the point of flaming out in all its violence. His adversaries redoubled their assiduity to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. He had repeatedly expressed the utmost ardour for the service of Ireland: he had proposed to march in person against the Irish rebels. To efface the impressions made by his declarations of zeal, a bold

* “ If this severity was not dictated by the popular leaders in the English commons, it was at least highly acceptable to them, and favourable to their design. Some reasons, however, were to be assigned for it: and these are industriously collected, in a letter of the justices to the earl of Leicester, lord lieutenant. They are drawn from consideration of the mistaken lenity of the state on former rebellions; the extent and inveteracy of the present; the aversion of the Irish to the nation and religion of the English; the necessity of establishing the British power in Ireland upon a firm basis, and of perfecting such a general plantation through the whole

effort was to be made, to revive the rumour of some commission or allowance clandestinely granted to the rebels. The Irish chief governors were the willing agents in this design. They were, at the same time, impatient for some interesting discoveries relative to the extent of the original conspiracy, and, if possible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of first contriving and concerting the insurrection. For these purposes, they resolved to supply the want of legal evidence, by putting some prisoners to the rack. . . The examinations of the prisoners, or such parts of them at least as the justices thought fit to be selected, were carefully transmitted to the English parliament. Rumours were spread abroad, that they contained intelligence of great moment, and highly reflecting on the king's honour. But no particulars were divulged. None of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to a view of these examinations. His secretary applied in his name to the lords justices for copies; but they were

kingdom, as had been established by the late king in Ulster. The letter, however, addressed to the lord lieutenant, was really intended for the English commons, and contained their favourite principles and topics with respect to Ireland. These zealous reformers had formerly accused lord Strafford of advancing that traitorous position, that Ireland was a conquered country. Now, it is urged and accepted, as an heinous charge against the Irish insurgents, that to extenuate their rebellion, they had presumed to assert that Ireland was not a conquered country. Such is the ease with which statesmen can affirm or deny the same general positions, just as their immediate purpose requires!"

totally devoted to his enemies, and forbore to communicate them to the king. The people were, in general, too violent, and too prejudiced, to perceive, that this extraordinary reserve was really a proof that no charge of authorizing or countenancing the rebels had been established against Charles.

“ It was natural for the king, on such an occasion to express the greater zeal for the service of his good subjects of Ireland. By a message to the two houses of parliament, he formally declared a firm resolution of going with all convenient speed to Ireland, to chastise those detestable rebels; of raising a guard for his person, and even of selling or pledging his parks and houses, if necessary for this service. The lords justices were alarmed: they sent the most discouraging representations to his majesty of the weakness and distresses of the army of Ireland, and the exhausted state of the country, where, they plainly insinuated, that the king could not appear with safety to his person, comfort to his subjects, and terrour to his enemies. But the peremptory and insulting answer of the English parliament, and the menaces with which they insisted that his design should be relinquished, had a still greater effect. The king's declarations of marching against the rebels were no longer heard, but in his replies to the parliament.”*

The catholic nobility and gentry of English descent, by the sanguinary persecution of the

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. iii.

puritan governors of Ireland, and the threat of extermination held out against all catholics by the puritan faction in England and Scotland, now domineering in the neighbouring island; the precipitate confiscation of two millions and an half of acres, without legal trial; the barbarous massacres of their tenantry of every age and sex; the devastation of their property, burning of houses, corn, hay, prey of cattle, &c. were driven, by despair of their lives and fortunes, however reluctantly, to take up arms, and unite with the old Irish, as the only means of safety. Their situation indeed must be desperate, when compelled to resort to so difficult and precarious a support, as a cordial union of Irishmen. Irishmen, whom neither a common country, common interest, a common religion, the glory of their ancestors, their own disgrace, degradation, oppression and misery, the glory and advantages of union, the disgrace and ruin of disunion, could ever cement into one compact social body, for mutual preservation and common interest! It was peculiarly arduous, at this time, to combine the counsels and efforts of two races, exasperated and embittered by a thousand remembrances and prejudices, growing out of a continued exterminating war of many centuries against each other, waged with unrelenting cruelty and barbarity. Had they not been persecuted to desperation by the puritan government, they would willingly fulfil the offers they had made, and join the protestants against the insurgent natives. Their leaders consisted of those very men, who in part

concurred in the confiscation of Ulster, about thirty-three years before, or their immediate descendants; when they foolishly and wickedly congratulated themselves on the forfeitures of the antient families of the north, saying, " Their downfall will strengthen us ! " Alas, human frailty ! now was the time for sorrowful reflection on past follies. In their day they were what the protestant was in ours ; they were, and considered themselves to be, the garrison of England, to keep Ireland in subjection. They employed cruelty and treachery, in the service of a cruel and treacherous master, to share the spoils of the unfortunate natives. What they could not effect in battle, they endeavoured to accomplish by fraud, by sowing division, bribery and circumvention. They did not shudder to hand the poisoned bowl, or strike a dagger to the heart of a guest, invited for that base, perfidious purpose. By law, they gave impunity to the murderer of an Irishman ; and they went so far, as to put a price on his head. Alliance, fostership, gossip, all amicable intercourse, was prohibited with that proscribed race ; extermination and confiscation were pronounced the only best means of civilizing them. These were the deeds of Catholics of English blood ; shocking, inhuman deeds, that much diminish the compassion one would feel for their distress, during the civil wars of Charles. When they voted the attainder of the nobility of Ulster, and the confiscation of their property, they little dreamed, that a similar reverse would so soon overtake themselves. They

forgot, that there was a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. To their famous remonstrance,* let their acts of attainder against O'Neil, and the other antient families of the north,† be contrasted. 'Tis fit it should. What is history, but a record of the past, to teach us by the examples of nations and ages. Here we are presented with a weighty admonition against disunion; whether on pretence of different descent, or religion. One party cordially joined in the destruction of another. They foolishly said, their downfall will strengthen. In the third part of a century, they had a better experience of the folly, as well as wickedness of their former policy. The ill they measured out to others, was now as abundantly measured back unto them. If they slew by the sword; they also fell by the sword. If they plundered the old natives, they were in their turn plundered by a fresh swarm of invaders. Let our modern parties reflect on this, and beware, that injustice is sooner or later requited. In spite of the fore-mentioned obstacles, the Irish made the attempt.

“At Kilkenny they formed two different meetings on this occasion, viz. their general assembly and supreme council; of the first, were all the lords, prelates and gentry of their party; the latter consisted of a few select members, chosen by the general assembly, out of the different provinces, with the most rigorous exactness: those so chosen, having taken the oath of coun-

* See p. 82.

† See vol. i. p. 393.

sellors, were, after the recess of the assembly, accepted and obeyed as the supreme magistrates of the confederate catholics.

“ The supreme council consisted of about four and twenty members, some of every state, nobility, clergy and commons, who, during the intervals of the assemblies, had a kind of limited government, and power to call an assembly on occasion.” “ They framed to themselves a seal, bearing the mark of a long cross; on the right side a crown, on the left a harp with a dove above, and a flaming harp below the cross, and round about this inscription, ‘ pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes,’ with which they sealed their credentials.”

“ Their oath of confederacy on this occasion, is thus recited by Borlase: “ I, A. B. in the presence of Almighty God, and all the saints and angels in heaven, promise, vow, swear, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, the public and free exercise of the true Roman catholic religion, against all persons that shall oppose the same. I further swear, that I will bear faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, his heirs and successors; and that I will defend him and them, as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt any thing against their royal persons, honors, estates and dignities; and against all such as shall directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to the regal government; as also

every person that makes this vow, oath and protestation, in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty and estate, all such as shall either by force, practice, counsels, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clause, or any thing in this present vow, oath, or protestation contained. So help me God."

"The first result of this union was, an humble and dutiful address to his majesty, setting forth, "that, having apprehended, with fulness of sorrow, the condition to which the misrepresentation of his majesty's ministers in Ireland, united with the malignant party in England, had reduced them; and sad experience having taught them, that a resolution was taken to supplant their nation and religion; they humbly conceived it necessary, after long patience, to put themselves in a posture of natural defence; with intention, nevertheless, never to disturb his majesty's government, to invade any of his high prerogatives, or oppress any of his British subjects, of what religion soever, that did not labour to oppress them. Which intention in the beginning of the troubles, they had solemnly sworn to observe; an oath, often since reiterated, lest the misguided and unauthorized motions of some among them should be construed to derogate from that faith and allegiance, which, in all humbleness, they confessed they owed and sincerely

professed unto his majesty. That before any act of hostility committed on their parts, they had, with all submission, addressed themselves, by petition, to the lords justices and council, for a timely remedy against the then growing evils; but that therein they had found, instead of a salve for their wounds, oil poured into the fire of their discontents, which occasioned such intemperance in the common people, that they acted some unwarrantable cruelties upon puritans, or others suspected of puritanism, which cruelties they really detested, had punished in part, and desired to punish with fulness of severity, in all the actors of them, when time should enable them to do it; though (added they) the measures offered to the catholic natives here, in the inhuman murdering of old decrepit people in their beds, women in the straw, and children of eight days old; burning of houses, and robbing of all kind of persons, without distinction of friend from foe, and digging up of graves,* and there burning

* "That they did not exaggerate in this particular, is plain from a letter of lord Clanrickard's, who says, "that while he was at Tyrellan, in treaty with lord Forbes, (the commander of a parliament ship of war), though lord Ranelagh, president of Connaught, was then in the fort of Galway, he saw the country on fire, his tenants houses and goods burnt, and four or five poor innocent creatures, men, women and children, inhumanly murdered by Forbes's soldiers; who having taken possession of Lady's-church in Galway, the antient burying place of the town, did, upon their departure, not only deface it, but digged up the graves, and burnt the coffins and bones of those that were buried there."—Carte's Orm. vol. iii. f. 109.

the dead bodies of our ancestors, have not deserved that justice from us.

“ In the conclusion of this address, we find the following zealous obtestation. “ We, therefore, with hearts bent lower than our knees, do humbly beseech your sacred majesty, timely to assign a place, where, with safety, we may express our grievances, and you may, with freedom, apply a seasonable cure unto them; and there you shall find our dutiful affections, attended with just cause of security in our faithfulness, and manifest arguments of our earnest desire to advance your service.”*

“ The order of government once adjusted, the provincial generals were chosen; Owen O’Nial for Ulster, Preston for Leinster, Garret Barry for Munster, colonel John Burke, for Connaught, with the title of lieutenant-general; as they hoped, that the earl of Clanricarde would unite with them, and accept the chief command of this province. Their ambassadours were dispatched to foreign courts to solicit succours. At the same time, to demonstrate their pacific dispositions, they prepared two petitions to be presented to the king and queen, together with a representation of those grievances, which they alledged as the occasion of their confederacy.”†

Dissentions, both open and secret, still weakened their cause. Clanrickard, a catholic nobleman of the first distinction, refused to join them; Lord Inchiquin, of the illustrious house

* Curry’s Rev. Civil Wars in Irel,

† Ireland,

of O'Brien, not long after declared against them. Even those who did join, fell out about precedence; as did lords Fermoy and Mountgarret, in Munster. Levies, hastily raised, without discipline, arms, ammunition, camp equipage, or experienced officers, could not be much relied on; but that disturbed as England was, on the eve of a civil war, she could not for a time send any considerable force to Ireland. Amid these difficulties, they dreaded a separation from England; as leading, in their opinion, to claims for the recovery of forfeited estates, of which the greater part of their own fortune consisted. On all these considerations, pacific measures appeared most eligible; and, accordingly, they solicited his majesty to appoint some trust-worthy persons to treat with them, on a subject so desirable to king and people.

“The king, considering the occasion and circumstances, which had caused such a body of nobility and gentry, most of them of English race, to have recourse to arms; the apparent moderation of their demands, their earnest desire of laying their grievances before him, and submitting them to his determination, resolved to issue out a commission, under the great seal of England, to empower certain persons to meet with the principal of those who had sent the petition; to receive, in writing, what the petitioners had to say or propound; and to transmit the same to his majesty.

“This commission was dated January 11th, 1642, and directed to the marquis of Ormond,

the earls of Clanrickard and Roscommon, the lord viscount Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, Esq. any three or more of them being authorised to meet and act for the purpose aforesaid. It was sent over to Ireland by the last of these commissioners, who delivered it to the marquis of Ormond on the thirtieth. He at the same time brought the lords justices a letter from the king, notifying the purport of it.

“ But these lords justices taking,” says the marquis of Ormond, “ this commission for a step towards the peace of the kingdom, and their own ruin ;” and, “ being displeased that even a wish or consent should be discovered in any man, that the war, from which so many promised themselves revenge, and fortunes, should be any other way ended than with the blood and confiscation of all those whom they could propose to be guilty of the defection,” sought many artful expedients to hinder or delay the execution of it; and at length hit upon one, that for a while produced the wished-for effect. There came a trumpet to the supreme council of the confederate catholics, then sitting at Ross, with a safe-conduct from their lordships for such of their number as that council would employ to represent their grievances to the king’s commissioners above-mentioned. In the commission there happened to be the words “ odious rebellion,” applied to the proceedings of these catholics; which the lords justices not only inserted in their safe-conduct, but also added other words of their

own of the same provoking tendency; hoping thereby to prevent the intended pacification. But the confederates looking upon the whole to be the lords justices contrivance, and neither knowing nor expecting that any such language was in his majesty's commission, sent the trumpet back with a spirited answer, giving their lordships to understand, "that they were not, they thanked God, in that condition, as to sacrifice their loyalty to the malice of any; and that it would be a meanness beyond expression in them, who sought in the condition of loyal subjects, to come in the repute of rebels to set down their grievances. We take God to witness," added they, "that there are no limits to set to the scorn and infamy that are cast upon us; and we will be in the esteem of loyal subjects, or die to man.

"The confederate catholics did undoubtedly believe, that, in taking arms against this administration, which was entirely influenced by the prevailing faction in the English parliament, they were actually serving his majesty. This appears evidently from lord Clanrickard's letter to the king, October twenty-sixth, 1642, wherein he acquaints him, "that neither intreaties, threats, or protestations could draw most men from the belief, that those did really serve his majesty, who were in that commotion. And if vows and protestations (proceeds his lordship) may gain belief, I should be followed by thousands to serve your majesty in any other place. But as the state of this kingdom stands, such is their sense of the opposition given to your ma-

jesty by some faction of your parliament of England; of the injustice done them by those that govern here; and of the general destruction conceived to be designed against the natives, that almost the whole nation are united into one resolute body, to gain their preservation, or sell their lives at the dearest rate." And the earl of Castlehaven among other reasons for having joined the confederates against this administration, assigns the following. "I began to consider (says he) the condition of this kingdom, as that the state did chiefly consist of men of mean birth and quality; that most of them steered by the influence and power of those who were in arms against the king; that they had by cruel massacre, hanging and torturing, been the slaughter of thousands of innocent men, women and children, better subjects than themselves; that they, by all their actions, shewed that they looked at nothing but the extirpation of the nation, the destruction of monarchy, and by the utter suppression of the catholic religion, to settle and establish puritanism. To these (adds his lordship) I could be no traitor."*

"But the confederate nobility and gentry being soon after made sensible, that the words "odious rebellion" before-mentioned, were actually taken from the king's commission, and inserted by the lords justices in the safe-conduct for the aforesaid evil purpose, were resolved to disappoint so iniquitous a design; and therefore

* Desid. Cur. Hibern. vol. ii. p. 122.

immediately wrote to the commissioners appointed by the king, "that they were ready to appear before them with a representation of their grievances." Accordingly the time and place of meeting proposed by the confederate catholics, which was the eighteenth of March, at Trim, were agreed to by these commissioners. But the confederates still resenting the imputation of rebellion, though taken from the king's commission, thought it necessary to "protest at the same time, in the presence of the God of truth, that they had been necessitated to take arms to prevent the extirpation of their nation and religion, threatened and contrived by their enemies; to maintain the prerogatives of his majesty's crown and dignity, and the interests of his royal issue, and for no other reason whatever." And, indeed, of the sincerity of this protestation, we shall presently find them giving unquestionable proofs."

"The justices now perceiving that abusive appellations could not provoke the confederates to absent themselves from the intended meeting, resolved to try what cruel and perfidious actions would do. For on the thirteenth of March (five days before the appointed time) they gained the consent of the council to an act, "which," says Mr. Carte, "could only serve to exasperate the confederates, and produce a retaliation that might inflame matters to such a degree, as to put a stop to all further treaty. Sir Richard Grenville had taken, at Longwood, Mr. Edward Lisagh Connor; and in the battle of Rathconnel,

on February the seventh, he had also taken one Dowdal, another gentleman named Betagh, and one Alymer, son of Garret Aylmer, a lawyer eminent in his profession, all gentlemen of considerable families. Sir Richard, though very severe in the prosecution of the war, was a man of great spirit and honor, and not likely to violate the quarter he had given. The lords justices therefore wrote to him that they had occasion to examine said prisoners, and ordered him to send them for that purpose to Dublin, under a safe guard. They signed, at the same time, another order to Sir Henry Tichbourne, to examine only if these prisoners were so taken, and to cause them immediately to be executed by the martial law.

“ But even this detestable expedient to prevent the appointed meeting proved as unsuccessful as the former. For, “ on the before-mentioned eighteenth of March, 1642, by virtue of his majesty’s commission, the earl of St. Alban and Clanrickard, the earl of Roscommon, Sir Maurice Eustace, and others, the king’s commissioners, met the commissioners of the confederate catholics, at Trim.” These latter were, lord Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, knt. Sir Robert Talbot, Bart. John Walsh, Esq. and others; at which time in the name of the catholics of Ireland they presented the following remonstrance to his majesty’s commissioners, which was by them transmitted to his majesty.*

* Civil Wars of Ireland.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE

MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

“ Wee your majestie’s most dutifull and loyall subjects, the catholiques of your highness kingdome of Ireland, being necessitated to take armes for the preservation of our religion, the maintenance of your majestie’s rights and prerogatives, the naturall and just defence of our lives and estates, and the liberties of our country, have often since the beginning of these troubles attempted to present our humble complaynts unto your royall view; but we are frustrated of our hopes therein by the power and vigilance of our adversaries, (the now lords justices and other ministers of state in this kingdome) who by the assistance of the malignant partie in England, now in armes against your royall person, with less difficultie to attain the bad ends they proposed to themselves, of extirpateing our religion and nation, have hitherto debarred us of any access to your majestie’s justice, which occasioned the effusion of much innocent blood, and other mischiefs in this your kingdom, that otherwise might well bee prevented. And whereas of late notice was sent unto us of a commission granted by your majestie to the right honorable the lord Marques of Ormond, and others, authorising them to heare what we shall say or propound, and the same to transmit to your majestie in writeing, which your majestie’s gracious and

princely favour, wee finde to bee accompanied with these words, viz. (albeit wee doe extremely detest the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland have without ground or colour rayseed against us, our crown and dignitie) which words wee doe in all humilitie conceive to have proceeded from the misrepresentations of our adversaries; and therefore doe protest, we have been therein maliciously traduced to your majestie, having never entertayned any rebellious thought against your majestie's most faithfull and loyall subjects; and doe most humbly beseech your majestie soe to owne and avowe us; and as such we present, unto your majestie these ensuing grievances, and causes of the present distempers.

“ Imprimis. The catholiques of this kingdome, whome no reward could invite, no persecution enforce, to forsake that religion professed by them and their ancestors for thirteen hundred years, or thereabouts, are since the second yeare of the reigne of queene Elizabeth, made incapable of places of honour or trust, in church or commonwealth; their nobles become contemptible, their gentry debarred from learning in universities, or public schools within this kingdom; their younger brothers put by all manner of imployment in their native country, and necessitated (to their great discomfort, and impoverishment of the land) to seek education and fortune abroad; misfortunes made incident to the said catholiques of Ireland (their numbers, qualitie, and loyaltie considered) of all the nations of Christendome.

2ndly, That by this incapacitie, which in respect of their religion was imposed upon the said catholiques; men of mean condition and qualitie, for the most part, were, in this kingdome, imployed in places of greatest honour and trust, who being to begin a fortune, built it on the ruines of the catholique natives, att all tymes lying open to be discountenanced, and wrought uppon; and who (because they would seeme to be carefull of the government,) did, from tyme to tyme, suggest false and malicious matters against them, to render them suspected and odious in England; from which ungrounded informations, and their many other ill offices, these mischiefes have befallen the catholiques of Ireland. First, the opposition given to all the graces and favours that your majesty, or your late royall father, promised, or intended to the natives of this kingdom; secondly, the procuring of false inquisitions, upon faigned titles, of their estates, against many hundred years possession, and no travers, or petition of right, admitted thereunto, and jurors denying to find such offices were censured even to public infamie, and ruine of their estates, the findeing thereof being against their consciences, and their evidences; and nothing must stand against such offices taken of great and considerable parts of the kingdome, but letters pattents under the great seale; and if letters pattents were produced, (as in most cases they were) none must be allowed valid, nor yet sought to be legally avoyded: soe that, of late tymes, by the underhand workeing of Sir Wil-

liam Parsons, knight, now one of the lords justices heere, and the arbitrary illegal power of the two impeached judges in parliament, and others drawn by their advise and counsell, one hundred and fifty letters pattents were avoyded in one morning; which course continued untill all the pattents of the kingdome, to a few, were by them and their associates declared void; such was the care those ministers had of your majestie's great seale, being the publique faith of the kingdome. This way of service in shew only pretended for your majestie, proved to your disservice, and to the immoderate and too tymely advancement of the said ministers of state, and their adherents, and nearly to the utter ruine of the said catholiques.

3dly, That, whereas your majestie's late royall father, king James, having a princely and fatherly care of this kingdome, was graciously pleased to graunt several large and beneficial commissions, under the great seale of England, and severall instructions, and letters under his privie signett, for the passing and securing of the estates of his subjects here by letters pattents under the great seale, and letters pattents accordingly were thereof passed, fynes payed, old rents increased, and new rents reserved to the crowne. And the said late king was further graciously pleased to grauntt att several tymes, to send divers honorable persons of integritie, knowledge and experience, to examine the grievances of this kingdome, and to settle and establish a course for redress thereof. And whereas your majestie

was graciously pleased, in the fourth year of your raigne, to vouchsafe a favourable heareing to the grievances presented unto you, by agents from this kingdome; and thereupon did graunt many graces and favours unto your subjects thereof, for securitie of their estates, and redress for remove of heavy pressures, under which they have long groaned; which acts of justice, and grace extended to this people by your majestie, and your said royall father, did afford them great content, yet such was, and is yet the immortall hatred of some of the said ministers of state, and especially of the said Sir William Parsons, the said impeached judges and their adherents, to any welfare and happiness of this nation, and their ambition to make themselves still greater and richer, by the total ruine and extirpation of this people; that under pretence of your majestie's service, the publique faith involved in those grants was violated, and the grace and goodness intended, by two glorious kings successively, to a faithful people, made unprofitable.

4th. The illegall, arbitrary, and unlawfull proceedings of the said Sir William Parsons, and one of the said impeached judges, and their adherents and instruments, in the court of wards, and the many wilfully erroneous decrees and judgments of that court, by which the heirs of catholique noblemen, and other catholiques, were most cruelly and tyrannically dealt withall, destroyed in their estates, and bred in dissolution and ignorance, their parents debts unsatisfied,

their sisters and younger brothers left wholly unprovided for, the auncient and appearing tenures of mesne lords unregarded, estates valid in law, and made for valuable considerations, avoyded against law, and the whole land filled upp with the frequent swarmes of escheators, feodaryes, pursuivants, and others, by authoritie of that court.

5th. The said catholiques, notwithstanding the heavy pressures before-mentioned, and other grievances, in part represented to your majestie by the late committees of both houses of parliament of this kingdom, (whereunto they humbly desire that relation be had, and redress obtained therein,) did readily, and without reluctance, or repineing, contribute to all the subsidies, loanes, and other extraordinary graunts made to your majestie in this kingdome, since the beginning of your raigne, amounting unto well neere one million of poundes, over and above your majestie's revenue, both certain and casuall; and although the said catholiques were in parliament, and otherwise the most forward in graunting the said summes, and did beare nyne parts of ten in the payment thereof, yett such was the power of their adversaries, and the advantage they gained by the opportunitie of their continuall address to your majestie, to increase their reputation in getting in of those moneys, and their authoritie in the distribution thereof to your majestie's greate disservice, that they assumed to themselves to be the procurers thereof, and represented the said catholiques as obstinate and refractory.

6th. The armie raised for your majestie's service here, at the great charge of the kingdome, was disbanded by the pressing importunitie of the malignant partie in England, not giving way that your majestie should advise therein with the parliament here; alledging the said army was popish, and therefore not to be trusted; and although the world could witness the unwarrantable and unexampled invasion made by the malignant partie of the parliament in England, uppon your majestie's honour, rights, prerogatives, and principall flowers of your crowne; and that the said Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, knight, your majestie's vice-treasurer of this kingdome, and others their adherents, did declare that an army of ten thousand Scotts was to arrive in this kingdome, to force the said catholiques to change their religion, and that Ireland could never doe well without a rebellion, to the end the remaine of the natives thereof might be extirpated, and wagers were laid at a generall assizes and publique meetings, by some of them then, and now imployed in places of greate profitt and trust in this kingdome, that within one yeare no catholique should be left in Ireland; and that they saw the autient and unquestionable privileges of the parliament in England, in sending for and questioning, to, and in, that parliament, the members of the parliament of this kingdome, sitting the parliament here; and that by speeches, and orders printed by authoritie of both houses in England, it was declared that Ireland was bound by the statutes made in

England, if named, which is contrary to known truth, and the laws here settled for fowre hundred yeares, and upwards; and that the said catholiques were thoroughly enformed of the protestation made by both houses of parliament of England against catholiques, and of their intentions to introduce lawes for the extirpation of catholique religion in the three kingdomes: and that they had certain notice of the bloody execution of priests there, only for being priests, and that your majestie's mercy and power could not prevaile with them to save the lyfe of one condemned priest; and that the catholiques of England being of their own flesh and blood, must suffer, or depart the land, and consequently others not of so near a relation to them, if bound by their statutes, and within their power. These motives, although very strong and powerfull to produce apprehensions and fears in the said catholiques, did not prevaile with them to take defensive armes, much less offensive; they still expecting that your majestie in your high wisdom might be able in a short tyme, to apply seasonable cures, and apt remedies unto those evils, and innovations.

7th. That the committees of the lords and commons of this kingdome, having attended your majestie for the space of nyne months, your majestie was graciously pleased, notwithstanding your then weightie and urgent affayrs in England and Scotland, to receive, and very often with great patience to hear their grievances, and debates thereof at large; during which de-

bates, the said lords justices, and some of your privy councill of this kingdome, and their adherents, by their malicious and untrue informations conveyed to some ministers of state in England, (who since are declared of the malignant partie,) and by the continuall solicitation of others of the said privy councill, gone to England of purpose to cross and give impediment unto the justice and grace your majesty was inclined to afford to your subjects of this realme, did as much as in them lay, hinder the obtayning of any redress for the said grievances, and not prevailing therein with your majestie as they expected, have by their letters and instruments, laboured with many leading members of the parliament there, to give stopp and interruption thereunto, and likewise transmitted unto your majestie, and some of the state of England, sundery misconstructions and misrepresentations of the proceedings and actions of your parliament of this kingdome, and thereby endeavoured to possess your majestie with an evill opinion thereof; and that the said parliament had no power of judicature in capitall causes, (which is an essentiall part of parliament) thereby aymeing at the impunitie of some of them, and others, who were then impeached of high treason; and at the destruction of this parliament: but the said lords justices and privie councill, observing that no art or practice of theirs could be powerfull to withdraw your majestie's grace and good intentions from this people, and that the redress graunted of some particular grievances was to be

passed as acts in parliament; the said lords justices, and their adherents, with the height of malice, envieing the good union long before settled, and continued between the members of the house of commons, and their good correspondence with the lords, left nothing unattempted, which might rayse discord, and disunion in the said house; and by some of themselves and some instruments of theirs in the said commons house, private meeteings of great numbers of the said house were appointed, of purpose to rayse distinction of nation and religion, by meanes whereof a faction was made there, which tended much to the disquiet of the house, and disturbance of your majestie's and the publique service; and after certain knowledge that the said committees were by the water side in England, with sundry important and beneficial bills, and other graces, to be passed, as acts in that parliament; of purpose to prevent the same, the said faction, by the practice of the said lords justices, and some of the said privy councill and their adherents, in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, on the seventh day of August, 1641, and on severall days before, cryed out for an adjournment of the house, and being over-voted by the voices of the more moderate partie, the said lords justices and their adherents told severall honourable peers, that if they did not adjourne the lords house on that day, being Saturday, that they would themselves prorogue or adjourne the parliament on the next Munday following, by meanes whereof, and of great numbers of proxies

of noblemen, not estated, nor at any time resident in this kingdome, (which is destructive to the libertye and freedom of parliaments here,) the lords house was on the said seventh day of August adjourned, and the house of commons by occasion thereof, and of the faction aforesaid, adjourned soone after, by which meanes those bills and graces, according to your majestie's intention, and the great expectation and longing desires of your people, could not then pass as acts of parliament.

“Within few dayes after this fatal and enforced adjournment, the said committees arrived at Dublin, with their dispatch from your majestie, and presented the same to the lords justices and councill, expressing a right sence of the said adjournment, and besought their lordships, for the satisfaction of the people, to require short heads of that part of the dispatch wherein your majestie did appeare in the best manner unto your people, might be suddainely conveyed unto all the partes of the kingdome, attested by the said lords justices, to prevent despaire, or misunderstanding. This was promised to be done, and an instrument drawen, and presented unto them for this purpose, and yett, (as it seemes desireing rather to add fuell to the fire of the subjects discontentes, than quench the same,) they did forbear to give any notice thereof to the people.

8th. After this, certain dangerous and pernicious petitions, contrived by the advice and councill of the said Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir John Clotworthy, knights,

Arthure Hill, Esq; and sundry other malignant partie, and signed by many thousands of the malignant partie in the citty of Dublin, in the province of Ulster, and in sundry other of the partes in this kingdome, directed to the commons house in England, were at publique azzizes and other publique places made known and read, to many persons of quallitie in this kingdome, which petitions contayned matters destructive to the said catholiques, their religion, lives and estates, and were the more to be feared by reason of the active power of the said Sir John Clotworthy in the commons howse in England in opposition to your majestie, and his barbarous and inhumane expressions in that howse against catholique religion, and the professors thereof. Soone after an order conceaved in the commons house of England, that no man should bowe unto the name of Jesus, (at the sacred sound whereof all knees should bend) came to the knowledge of the said catholiques, and that the said malignant partie did contrive and plott to extinguish their religion and nation. Hence it did arise that some of the said catholiques begun to consider the deplorable and desperate condition they were in, by a statute law here found among the records of this kingdome, of the second yeare of the raigne of the late queen Elizabeth (but never executed in her tyme, nor discovered till most of the members of that parliament were dead) by which no catholique of this kingdome could enjoy his life, estate, or lyberty if the said statute were executed; whereunto no impediment remayned but

your majestie's prerogative and power, which were endeavoured to be clipped, or taken away, as is before rehearsed; then the plot of destruction by an army of Scotland, and another of the malignant partie in England, must be executed; the feares of those twofold destructions, and their ardent desire, to maintain that just prerogative, which might encounter and remove it, did necessitate some catholiques in the North, about the twenty-second of October 1641, to take armes in maintenance of their religion, your majestie's rights and the preservation of life, estate and libertie: and immediately thereuppon tooke a solemn oath, and sent several declarations to the lords justices and council to that effect; and humbly desired they might be heard in parliament, unto the determination whereof, they were ready to submit themselves, and their demands; which declarations being received, were slighted by the said lords justices, who by the swaying part of the said councill, and by the advice of the said two impeached judges, glad of any occasion to put off the parliament, which by the former adjournment was to meete soone after, caused a proclamation to be published on the twenty-third of the said month of October 1641, therein accuseing all the catholiques of Ireland of disloyaltie, and thereby declareing that the parliament was prorogued untill the twenty-sixth of February following.

9th. Within few dayes after the said twenty-third day of October 1641, many lords and other persons of ranke and qualitie, made their

humble address to the said lords justices and counsell, and made it evidently appeare unto them, that the said prorogation was against law, and humbly besought the parliament might sit according to their former adjournment, which was then the only expedient to compose or remove the then growing discontents and troubles of the land; and the said lords justices, and their partie of the counsell, then well knowing that the members of both houses throughout the kingdome (a few in and about Dublin only excepted,) would stay from the meeting of both houses, by reason of the said prorogation, did by proclamation two dayes before the time, give way the parliament might sitt, but so limited, that no act of grace, or any thing else for the people's quiet or satisfaction, might be propounded or passed. And thereuppon, a few of the lords and commons appeared in the parliament house, who in their entrance at the castle-bridge and gate, and within the yard to the parliament house doore, and recess from thence, were invironed with a great number of armed men with their match lighted, and muskets presented even at the breasts of the members of both houses, none being admitted to bring one servant to attend him, or any weapon about him within the castle-bridge. Yet how thin soever the houses were, or how much overawed, they both did supplicate the lords justices and counsell, that they might continue for a tyme together, and expect the coming of the rest of both houses, to the end they might quiet the troubles in full parliament,

and that some acts of securitie graunted by your majestie, and transmitted under the great seale of England, might pass to settle the minds of your majestie's subjects. But to these requests, soe much conducing to your majestie's service, and settlement of your people, a flatt denial was given; and the said lords justices and their partie of the councill, by their workeing with their partie in both howses of parliament, being then very thyn as aforesaid, propounded an order should be conceived in parliament, that the said discontented gentlemen took armes in rebellious manner, which was resented much by the best affected of both howses; but being awed as aforesaid, and credibly informed, if some particular persons amongst them stood in opposition thereunto, that the said musketteeres were directed to shoot them att their goeing out of the parliament house, through which terror, way was given to that order.

10th. Notwithstanding all the before-mentioned provocations, pressures, and indignities, the farr greater, and more considerable parte of the catholiques, and all the cittyes and corporations of Ireland, and whole provinces, stood quiet in their howses; whereupon the said lords justices and their adherents, well knowing that many powerfull members of the parliament of England stood in opposition to your majestie, made their application, and addressed their dispatches, full fraught with calumnies and false suggestions against the catholiques of this kingdome, and propounded unto them, to send

severall great forces to conquer this kingdome; those of the malignant partie here were by them armed; the catholiques were not only denyed armes, but were disarmed, even in the citty of Dublin, which in all succession of ages past continued as loyall to the crowne of England, as any citty or place whatsoever: all other auntient and loyall cittyes and corporatt townes of the kingdome, (by means whereof principally the kingdome was preserved in former tymes) were denyed armes for their money to defend themselves, and express order given by the said lords justices to disarm all catholiques in some of the said cittyes and townes: others disfurnished were inhibited to provide armes for their defence; and the said lords justices and councill having received an order of both houses of parliament in England to publish a proclamation of pardon unto all those who were then in rebellion (as they termed it) in this kingdome, if they did submit by a day to be limited, the said Sir William Parsons, contrary to this order, soe wrought with his partie of the councill, that a proclamation was published of pardon only in two countyes, and a very short day prefixed, and therein all freeholders were excepted; through which every man saw that the estates of the catholiques were first aymed att, and their lives next. The said lords justices and their partie haveing advanced their designe thus far, and not finding the success answerable to their desires, commanded Sir Charles Coote, knight and baronet deceased, to march to the county of Wicklow, where he burnt,

killed, and destroyed all in his way in a most cruell manner, man, woman, and childe; persons that had not appearing wills to doe hurt, nor power to execute it. Soone after, some foot companies did march in the night by direction of the said lords justices, and their said partie, to the town of Sauntry in Fingall, three miles off Dublin; a country that neither then, nor for the space of four or five hundred years before, did feelee what troubles were, or war meant; but it was too sweet and too near, and therefore fitt to be forced to armes. In that towne innocent husbandmen, some of them being catholiques, and some protestants taken for catholiques, were murdered in their inn, and their heads carryed triumphant into Dublin. Next morning, complaint being made of this, no redress was obtayned therein; whereupon some gentlemen of qualitie, and others the inhabitants of the country, seeing what was then acted, and what passed in the said last march towards the county of Wicklowe, and justly fearing to be all murthered, forsooke their howses, and were constrayned to stand together in their own defence, though ill provided of armes or ammunition. Hereupon a proclamation was agreed upon at the board, on the thirteenth of December 1641, and not published or printed till the fifteenth of December, by which the said gentlemen, and George Kinge by name, were required to come in by, or upon the eighteenth of the said month, and a safetie was therein promised them. On the same day another proclamation was published, summoning the lords dwelling

in the English pale near Dublin to a grand councill on the seventeenth of the said month; but the lords justices and their partie of the councill, to take away all hope of accommodation, gave direction to the said Charles Coote, the said fifteenth day of the said month of December, to march to Clontarffe, being the house and towne of the said George Kinge, and two miles from Dublin, to pillage, burn, kill, and destroy all that there was to be found: which direction was readily and particularly observed, (in a manyfest breach of public faith) by meanes whereof, the meeteing of the said grand councill was diverted: the lords not daring to come within the power of such notorious faith-breakers: the consideration whereof, and of other the matters aforesaid, made the nobilitie and gentry of the English pale, and other parts of the province of Leinster, sensible of the present danger, and put themselves in the best posture they could for their naturall defence. Wherefore they employed lieutenant collonel Read to present their humble remonstrance to your sacred majestie, and to declare unto you the state of their affayres, and humbly to beseech relief and redress; the said lieutenant collonel, though your majestie's servant, and imployed in publique trust, (in which case the law of nations affords safety and protection) was without regard to either; not only stopped from proceeding in his imployment, but also tortured on the rack at Dublin.

11th. The lord president of Munster, by the

direction of the said lords justices, (that province being quiet) with his accomplices, burnt, preyed, and put to death men, women and children, without making any difference of qualitie, condition, age, or sex in several parts of the province; the catholique nobles and gentlemen there were mistrusted and threatened, and others of inferior quality trusted and furnished with armes and ammunition. The province of Connaught was used in the like measure; whereupon most of the considerable catholiques in both the said provinces were inforced (without armes or ammunition) to look after their safety, and to that end did stand on their defence; still expecting your majestie's pleasure, and always ready to obey your commands. Now the plot of the said ministers of state and their adherents being even ripe, applications were incessantly by them made to the malignant partie in England, to deprive this people of all hopes of your majestie's justice or mercie, and to plant a perpetual enmity between the English and Scottish nations, and your subjects of this kingdome.

12th. That whereas this your majestie's kingdome of Ireland in all successions of ages, since the raigne of king Henry the Second, sometime king of England, and lord of Ireland, had parliaments of their owne, composed of lords and commons in the same manner and forme, qualified with equall liberties, powers, privileges and immunities with the parliament of England, and onely depend of the king and crowne of England and Ireland: And for all that tyme, no

prevalent record or authentic president can be found that any statute made in England could or did bind this kingdom, before the same were here established by parliament; yet upon untrue suggestions and informations, given of your subjects of Ireland, an act of parliament, intituled, an act for the speedie and effectual reducing the rebels in his majestie's kingdom of Ireland to their due obedience to his majestie and the crowne of England; and another act, intituled, an act for adding unto and explyneing the said former act, was procured to be enacted in the said parliament of England, in the eighteenth yeare of your majestie's raigne; by which acts, and other proclamations, your majestie's subjects unsummoned, unheard, were declared rebels, and two millions and a halfe acres arrable, meadow and profitable pasture, within this kingdom, sold to undertakers for certain summes of monie; and the edifices, loghs, woodes, and bogges, wastes and other their appurtenances, were thereby mentioned to be granted and past gratis. Which acts the said catholiques doe conceive to have been forced upon your majestie; and although void, and unjust, in themselves to all purposes, yet containe matter of evil consequence and extreame prejudice to your majestie, and totally destructive to this nation. The scope seeming to aim at rebels only, and at the disposition of a certain quantitie of land; but in effect and substance all the landes in the kingdom, by the words of the said acts, may be distributed, in whose possession soever they were,

without respect to age, condition or qualitie; and all your majestie's tenures, and the greatest part of your majestie's standing revenue in this kingdome, taken away; and by the said acts, if they were of force, all power of pardoning and of granting those lands, is taken from your majestie; a president that no age can instance the like. Against this act the said catholiques do protest, as an act against the fundamental lawes of this kingdome, and as an act destructive to your majestie's rights and prerogatives, by collour whereof, most of the forces sent hither to infest this kingdome by sea and land, disavowed any authoritie from your majestie, but do depend upon the parliament of England.

13th. All strangers, and such as were not inhabitants of the citty of Dublin, being commanded by the said lords justices, in and since the said month of November 1641, to depart the said citty, were no sooner departed, than they were by the directions of the said lords justices pillaged abroad, and their goods seized upon and confiscated in Dublin; and they desireing to returne under the protection and safetie of the state, before their appearance in action, were denied the same; and divers others persons of rank and qualitie, by the said lords justices imployed in publique service, and others keeping close within their doores, without annoying any man, or siding then with any of the said catholiques in armes, and others in severall parts of the kingdome liveing under, and having the protection and safetie of the state, were sooner pil-

laged, their howses burnt, themselves, there tenants and servants killed and destroyed, than any other, by the direction of the said lords justices. And by the like direction, when any commander in chiefe of the army, promised, or gave quarter or protection, the same was in all cases violated; and many persons of qualitie, who obtained the same, were ruined before others; others that came into Dublin voluntarily, and that could not be justly suspected of any crime, if Irishmen or catholiques, by the like direction were pillaged in Dublin, robbed and pillaged abroad, and brought to their trial for their lives. The cittyes of Dublin and Corke, and the antient corporatt townes of Drogheda, Yeoghal and Kingsale, who voluntarily received garrisons in your majestie's name, and the adjacent countreyes who relieved them, were worse used, and now live in worse condition than the Israelites did in Egypt, so that it will be made appeare, that more murders, breaches of publique faith and quarter, more destruction and desolation, more crueltie, not fitt to be named, were committed in Ireland, by the direction and advice of the said lords justices and their partie of the said councill in less than eighteene months, than can be paralleled to have been done by any christian people.

14th. The said lords justices and their adherents have, against the fundamental lawes of the lande, procured the sitting of both howses of parliament for several sessions, (nyne parts of ten of the naturall and genuine members thereof being absent, it standing not with their safety to

come under their power) and made upp a considerable number in the howse of commons of clerks, souldiers, serveing men, and others not legally, or not chosen at all, or returned, and having no manner of estate within the kingdome; in which sitting, sundry orders were conceived, and dismisses obteyned of persons before impeached of treason in full-parliament; and which passed or might have passed some acts against law and to the prejudice of your majestie and this whole nation. And dureing these troubles, termes were kept, and your majestie's court of cheefe place, and other courts sate at Dublin, to no other end or purpose, but by false and illegal judgments, outlawries, and other capital proceedings, to attaint many thowsands of your majestie's most faithful subjects of this kingdome, they being never summoned, nor having notice of those proceedings; sheriffs, made of obscure meane persons, by the like practice, appointed of purpose; and poore artificers, common souldiers and meniall servants returned jurors, to pass upon the lives and estates of those who came in upon protection and public faith.

Therefore the said catholiques, in the behalfe of themselves and of the whole kingdome of Ireland, doe protest and declare against the said proceedings, in the nature of parliaments, and in the other courts aforesaid, and every of them, as being heynous crimes against law, destructive to parliaments and your majestie's prerogatives and authoritie, and the rights and just liberties of your most faithful subjects.

Forasmuch, dread sovereigne, as the speedy applicacon of apt remedies unto these grievances and heavie pressures, will tend to the settlement and improvement of your majestie's revenue, the prevention of further effusion of blood, the preservation of this kingdome from desolation, and the content and satisfaction of your said subjects, who in manifestation of their duty and zeal to your majestie's service, will be most willing and ready to employ ten thousand men under the conduct of well experienced commanders in defence of royal rights and prerogatives; they therefore most humbly beseech your majestie, that you will vouchsafe gracious answers to these their humble and just complaynts; and for the establishment of your people in a lasting peace and securitie, the said catholiques doe most humbly pray, that your majestie may be further graciously pleased to call a free parliament in this kingdome, in such convenient tyme as your majestie in your high wisdom shall think fitt, and the urgencie of the present affaires of the said kingdome doth require; and that the said parliament be held in an indifferent place, summoned by, and continued before, some person or persons of honour and fortune, of approved faith to your majestie, and acceptable to your people here, and to be timely placed by your majestie in this government, which is most necessary for the advancement of your service, and present condition of the kingdome: in which parliament, the said catholiques doe humbly pray these or other their grievances may be redressed; and that in the said

parliament, a statute made in this kingdome in the tenth yeare of king Henry the Seventh, commonly called Poyning's Act, and all acts explaining, or enlarging the same, be by a particular act suspended during that parliament, as it hath beene already done in the eleventh yeare of queen Elizabeth, upon occasions of far less moment than now doe offer themselves; and that your majestie, with the advice of the said parliament, will be pleased to take a course for the further repealing, or further continuance of the said statutes, as may best conduce to the advancement of your service here, and peace of this your realme; and that no matter, whereof complaint is made in this remonstrance, may debarr catholiques, or give interruption to their free votes, or sitting in the said parliament, and as in duty bound they will ever pray for your majestie's long and prosperous raigne over them.

Wee the undernamed being thereunto authorised, doe present and signe this remonstrance in the behalfe of the catholiques of Ireland, dated this seventeenth day of March, 1642.

Gormanstown.

Lucas Dillon.

Robert Talbott.

John Walsh.

According to your majestie's commission to us directed, we have received this remonstrance, subscribed by the lord viscount Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, knight, Sir Robert Talbott, bart. and John Walsh, esq. authorised by, and in the behalfe of the recusants of Ireland, to present the same unto us to be transmitted to your

sacred majestie, dated the seventeenth day of March, 1642.

Clanrickard and St. Albans. Roscommon.

Moore.

Mau. Eustace.

Unhappy Charles, surrounded by implacable enemies at home, he turned his eyes to Ireland for relief, conscious that he might derive some advantages from a country, which, guided by evil counsellors, he so long oppressed; and which was still harassed, and goaded to distraction, by the agents of his rebel subjects, governing in his name and by his authority. The overtures of the catholic insurgents were agreeable to his interest and his wishes; but two material obstacles lay in the way of accommodation. Nothing could be so unpopular in England, as any concession to the Irish insurgents; hated as Irishmen, abhorred as idolaters, enemies of the protestant faith. The justices, as well as their party in England, were utterly averse to a peace with the Irish, and used every stratagem to prevent it. Agents from the English commons, Goodwin and Reynolds, came over with money and instructions; part of whose mission was, to impede the treaty of pacification. These truths did not escape Leland, no friendly writer to the Irish. "In despite of the inveterate aversion against popery, which it was fashionable to express, and which Charles was particularly interested to affect, he found it necessary, about the time of the engagement at Edge-hill, to accept the services of papists, and particularly to arm those of

Lancashire. The parliament inveighed against this impiety: the king recriminated, and accused them of employing numbers of the same profession in their army. The parliament declared their resolution of inviting the Scots to assist against the enemies of the protestant religion. Charles justly dreaded the spirit of his northern subjects, and saw the necessity of strengthening himself against an union so formidable. For this purpose he seems to have turned his eyes to Ireland, with an attention stricter than the distractions of England had hitherto admitted. The insurrections of that kingdom had proved of most essential service to his enemies. Could they be allayed, the power with which he had unwarily invested the parliament, of assuming the conduct of the war in Ireland, would be rendered useless and void: they would be deprived of one great popular pretence for raising men and money, and an army of royalists might in due time be transported from Ireland to join the king's standard.*

Yes, 'tis natural to think that he would be desirous of removing his enemies from the government of Ireland; but the question remains, had he a free choice of his ministers or viceroys in Ireland? could he appoint any person, or could any one accept the station, without the approbation of the English commons? did he not grant them a veto on the appointment, when he unwarily committed to them the management of the war in Ireland? a war, which could not be carried on without supplies from them;

* Leland. Hist. Irel. vol. iii.

and, therefore, made all public officers, civil and military, dependant on them. During the war, they had the executive and the legislative, the sword and the purse; and therefore, none disagreeable to them could hold any high station, none that was not subservient; hence it was, that they were enabled to frustrate all the endeavors of the king and Irish insurgents towards a pacification. 'Tis true, at length, Sir William Parsons was displaced; but one of the same faction, Sir Henry Tichburne, succeeded him. According to Mr. Carte, his majesty, offered to create the marquis of Ormond lord lieutenant; which tender, for some reason or another he declined. It may have been, as his biographer or eulogist relates; but, in despite of all his glosses and colouring, the change would not have materially served either the king or his Irish subjects. Ormond gave many proofs of his inveteracy to the catholics, and his partiality to the English rebels. His opposition to the cessation, and his eagerness for protracting the Irish war, so injurious to the king, so favourable to his enemies; his attempt to break off the treaty, shew clearly whose partizan he was. His services were not the less acceptable to a set of canting hypocrites, on account of a congenial dissimulation that veiled them. They were the more efficacious, as, under the mask of loyalty to the king, he fought against him under his own colours, and by his own authority; like the rest of the traitors exercising royal authority in Ireland at that time.

At length the marquis condescended to notice his majesty's reiterated commands, and gave notice to the supreme council of the catholic convention, that he would receive their committee at Drogheda; where, accordingly, they waited on him, the twenty-third of June 1643. The arrogance of his manner; his cavilling about words, forms and etiquette; and his absolute rejection of the most reasonable propositions, for example, that violaters of the peace should be prosecuted by both parties, plainly bespoke him an enemy to the king, and to his country; as plainly as when he offered the justices, for the sum of ten thousand pounds, to recommence the war, and break off the treaty. His refusal to ratify the necessity of dissolving the packed parliament, which had ejected forty-six of its members, and afterwards excluded a much greater number, by disqualifying from a seat all who would not take the oath of supremacy, filling their places with clerks and attornies by their own arbitrary act, without election or constituents; all these overt acts of treachery, as well as others in the sequel, demonstrate that the English rebels came up to his price.

“ On the twenty-third of June, 1643, the commissioners of the confederate catholics presented themselves before the marquis of Ormond in his tent, near Castle-Martin, in the presence of divers colonels, captains, and others of his majesty's army, his lordship sitting in his chair covered, and the Irish commissioners standing bare-headed. After several passages between

them, all tendered in writing, the latter gave his lordship a copy of the authority they had received from the supreme council of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny, in these words:

“Whereas his majesty’s most faithful subjects, the confederate catholics of Ireland, were enforced to take arms, for the preservation of their religion, for the defence of his majesty’s just prerogatives and rights, and for the maintenance of the rights and liberties of their country, laboured to be destroyed by the malignant party; and, whereas his majesty in his high wisdom, and in his princely care of his said subjects welfare and safety, and at their humble suit, that his majesty might be graciously pleased to hear their grievances, and vouchsafe redress therein, did direct there should be a cessation of arms, and thereupon did direct the right honourable the marquis of Ormond, to treat of, and conclude the said cessation with the said confederate catholics; know ye, that the supreme council, by the express order and authority of the said catholics, by them conceived and granted in their general assembly at Kilkenny, on the twentieth day of the last month of May; and in pursuance of the said order and authority, reposing special trust and confidence in the wisdom, circumspection, and provident care, honor and sincerity of our very good lords, Nicholas lord viscount Gormanstown, Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, and our well-beloved Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight, Sir Robert Talbot, Bart. Tirlagh O’Niel, Esq. Geoffry Brown, Esq. Ever Macgennis, Esq. and

John Walsh, Esq. have constituted, appointed, and ordained the said Nicholas lord viscount Gormanstown, Donogh lord viscount Muskerry, &c. our commissioners, and do, by these presents, give and grant to our said commissioners, or any five or more of them, full power and authority to treat with the said lord marquis of Ormond, of a cessation of arms, for one whole year, or shorter, and to conclude the same for the time aforesaid, upon such terms, conditions, or articles, as to the commissioners aforesaid, in their judgments, consciences, and discretions, shall be thought fit and expedient; by these presents ratifying and confirming whatever act or acts our said commissioners shall do or execute concerning the said cessation. Given at Kilkenny, the twenty-third of June, 1643.

Mountgarret. Castlehaven. Audley. Malach. archep. Tuam. Fleming, archep. Dublin. Mauriti. de Rupe et Fermoy. Netterville. Nicholas Plunkett. Edmund Fitzmorice. Pat. Darcy. Robt. Lynch. Rich. Belling."

" But a difference arising upon two points, viz. the dissolution of the present Irish parliament, and liberty to use hostilities against all such persons as should appear in arms against either party, (which the commissioners of the confederate catholics were ordered to insist upon, and the marquis of Ormond peremptorily refused,) caused the treaty to be adjourned to the following month.

" One reason, among many others, for insisting

on the dissolution of that parliament, was, "its having expelled by an arbitrary order, all those members who had been indicted in the illegal manner, and by the iniquitous means already mentioned; and its afterwards having passed another order, that no persons should sit either in that, or any future parliament, till they had taken the oath of supremacy." By the first of these orders, forty-six members were expelled, and their places supplied by "clerks, soldiers, serving-men, and others not legally, or not at all chosen or returned; and by the last, a much greater number, unexceptionable," says Warner, "in all respects but that of their religion."

"The other point was insisted upon, from a well-grounded suspicion, that the Scottish forces in Ulster, that had taken the covenant, and received their pay from the English parliament, now in open rebellion against the king, would reject the cessation, as they soon after actually did. And of the reasonableness of that suspicion, the marquis of Ormond himself was then probably convinced, from his knowledge of their disposition and circumstances; at least, on the eighth of March following, he certainly was so, when he told lord Digby, "that the soldiers and common people in that quarter, were so deeply infected, that he had little hopes they could be unanimously, or in any considerable number, drawn to serve the king against the rebels in England or Scotland: of the new Scots," adds he, "your lordship sees there is no hope:" and yet, even at this juncture (as we shall hereafter

see) when these forces were guilty of frequent breaches of the cessation then concluded, and did at last openly reject it, he refused to join with the confederates, or even to countenance them by his authority, to make just reprisals upon them.

“ During this adjournment of the treaty, a small, but ill intended incident, had like to have frustrated all hopes of its success. One captain Farrer, in the government’s service, had been taken prisoner by the confederates; while one Synott, a captain among the-confederates, was in the same condition with the government. The lords justices and council desiring to have Farrer exchanged for Synott, directed the following notice to the supreme council of the confederates. “ We, the lords justices and council, do declare, if captain Farrer be forthwith released by the rebels, and safely sent hither, that forthwith, upon his coming so released, we give order for the releasing Synott, lately employed as captain among the rebels, out of prison, the jailor’s just dues being first paid; and will then permit him to depart freely, without interruption.”

“ The following spirited answer shews, how highly the confederates resented this (as they deemed it) new insult on their loyalty.

“ We do not know to whom this certificate is directed; for we avow ourselves, in all our actions, to be his majesty’s loyal subjects. Neither shall it be safe hereafter, for any messenger to bring any paper to us, containing other language than such as suits with our duty, and the affec-

tions we bear to his majesty's service; wherein some may pretend, but none shall have more real desires, to further his majesty's interests, than his majesty's loyal and obedient subjects.

Mountgarret, Muskerry, &c.

Shortly after the sending of this answer, Sir William Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, Sir Robert Meredith, and Sir John Temple, privy-counsellors, were charged before the council, by the lords Dillon and Wilmot, Sir Faithful Fortescue, and others, with having, by divers ways and means, abused the trust reposed in them by his majesty, to their several offices and employments; and with having traitorously endeavoured to withdraw his majesty's army in Ireland, from its obedience, to side with the rebels in England. "Upon this charge, they were all imprisoned in the castle of Dublin." But we find, "that they were so dear to those English rebels, and so highly valued by them, that they avowed them for theirs, by offering in exchange for them, three of the king's chief commanders, whom they had prisoners in London."*

What an afflicting portrait did this long aggrieved land and people exhibit to the eye of humanity, at that memorable period; so much resembling scenes we have witnessed in more respects than one. A sanguinary faction, called puritans, struggling for dominion on the ruins of church and state; and a fraternity acting a

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

second part in the tragedy; and, through the irresoluteness of Charles, holding the reigns of government. The majority of catholics persecuted by government, while exerting themselves strenuously to assist the king in his distress. The descendants and relatives of the old Irish, dispossessed by James and Charles, struggling to recover their rightful inheritance, illegally and perfidiously ravished from them, revenging their wrongs on the planters, who supplanted them. These they dispossessed, and sent under escort to Dublin, to be shipped off to their own country. Crowds of these distressed people dwelt wretchedly in Dublin, suffering, not as protestants, but as planters; and it was for their relief, that a charitable contribution of cast cloths was recommended from the pulpit to the faithful in London.* Strange and singular anecdote in history. People, inhabiting a country abounding

* This singular donation of cast cloths to the protestants of Ireland, furnishes abundant matter for reflection. What a degrading donation! To what a wretched state does domestic dissensions reduce parties! A people, inhabiting a country, producing plenty for food and raiment, treated as beggars, depending on an eleemosynary supply of old cloths. With what treachery their English protestant politicians acted towards those poor people! They had received large sums of money, levied by voluntary contribution for the relief of Irish protestants. This money they converted to the purpose of raising war against his majesty, and then recommended the defrauded paupers to be comforted with a benevolence of cast cloths. Q. Was that the origin of Plunket-street market for old cloths? Whatever was the religion of England, we see they dealt fraudulently and tyrannically with the Irish. As papists, the extermination of the Irish professing the same faith, and the seizure of their property,

with wool, reduced to the deplorable necessity of accepting a charitable donation of cast cloths! If the agitators in England and Scotland had permitted the Irish to live in peace, Irish protestants needed not their cast cloths. While other parties scuffle for political rights, the Scotch, like Tartars and Arabs, made war as plunderers, ravaging the land, and sending the prey to their native country.

If we turn our eyes from distraction in council, collision of hostile factions, the treachery of state officers, to their operations in the field, we shall find but little flattering, on that side of the picture, to ease our chagrin at the sight of the other. When the insurgents are described as undisciplined, ill clothed, destitute of tents, arms, ammunition, and other implements of war, we may rely on the account, as probably not exaggerated. If companions in misfortune be

by any means, however inhuman, was a fundamental principle of their policy. The treacherous invitation to murderous banquets, assassination by poison or dagger, with impunity, by English law. It was a gross insult to their distressed fellow-protestants, offered by the English parliament, to withhold the liberal contribution of benevolence; and commute it for a fresh appeal to the feelings of British humanity, towards obtaining a cargo of Plunket-street ware; but we see it fell far short of the cruelty and treachery, exercised by English catholics, towards their Irish brethren in the faith. But could reason, mutual advantage, their common interest and stake in a common country, could christianity, prevail on the catholics and protestants of Ireland to live in concord and amity, as partners in the same firm, they need neither dread being plundered or slaughtered by aliens, or stand in need of the insulting gift of worn garments.

any alleviation of pain, the army fighting against them was not in a much better condition; as the petitions of the officers, and various applications to king and parliament, for a needful supply, would evince. Petty hostilities, skirmishing and plunder, had a wide range over the country, but for a length of time nothing occurred, interesting to the reader curious in military history, except the shocking inhumanity, and savage barbarity, of the regicide faction.

In this scene of desolation and distress, the northern insurgents more especially were desponding of the cause they engaged in, when a great character appeared on the theatre of warfare, sprung from a family fertile in heroes, a family the first, most illustrious, long the pride, ornament and central pillar of Ireland. "Owen O'Nial, whose arrival had been so long and so anxiously expected, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, was landed in the county of Donnegal, with one hundred officers, and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes instantly revived; a body of forces was appointed to attend their favourite general, and conducted him triumphantly to the fort of Charlemont.

"Owen O'Nial had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies with reputation. He was governour of Arras, when the French besieged this town in 1640; and, though obliged to surrender upon honourable terms, yet his defence gained him the respect even of his enemy. Experience had formed him to an able and skilful

soldier; quick in discerning, diligent in improving any advantage offered by the enemy; more circumspect than enterprizing; of a genius peculiarly suited to defence, and excellent at protracting a war; qualities of especial use in that service which he was now to undertake. His knowledge of the world, his prudence, his sobriety and caution, appeared to greater advantage, as they were contrasted by the ignorance and rudeness, the intemperance and levity of Sir Phelim. To the secret mortification of this his kinsman, Owen was unanimously declared, by the northern Irish, head and leader of their confederacy.

“ The new general began with expressing his detestation of those barbarities exercised by Sir Phelim O’Nial and his brutal followers. The remains of their prisoners he dismissed in safety to Dundalk; he inveighed with unusual warmth against those, who had disgraced their cause by murder and massacre; he set fire to the houses of some more notoriously guilty, and declared, that he would join with the English, rather than suffer any such wretches to escape their just punishment. As he expected to be speedily besieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation necessary for defence. But the Scottish forces still lay inactive, and the English were not permitted to attack him; so that he had full leisure to collect and discipline his men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse: so that Leven, who had the sole command of this

body, seemed to have nothing more to do, but march against an enemy unable to resist him, to crush them at once, and hunt their miserable remains from every part of Ulster. He passed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. Hence he addressed a letter to Owen O'Nial, expressing his concern, that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland for the maintenance of so bad a cause. Owen replied, that he had better reasons to come to the relief of his country, than his lordship could plead for marching into England against his king: and, as if this short correspondence should be the sole object of his march, Leven again retired, and delivering up the army to Monroe, whom he warned to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O'Nial should once collect an army, he returned to Scotland. A conduct so extraordinary was by the Irish naturally imputed to cowardice, and inspired them with contempt of the Scottish enemy. Monroe remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his forces; while the army which should oppose him, Scottish and English, the troops raised by parliament, and those commissioned by the king, were all alike neglected by England, and soon obliged to struggle, in their respective quarters, with the miseries of nakedness and famine.

“Thus were the rebels in every province of Ireland suffered to collect and encrease their force, to possess stations of strength and consequence, in some places to confine the English within narrow bounds, while they themselves

ranged at large, and had free possession of the open country. The defeats, which their parties received from the loyalists, were of less prejudice to their cause, as the enemy could not improve their advantage, but suffered them to re-assemble and repair their losses. To encrease their confidence, a second, and more important, embarkation was made for their support at Dunkirk. Wexford was in their possession. Two vessels first arrived in the port laden with arms and ammunition. Colonel Thomas Preston, brother of lord Gormanston, a soldier of experience and reputation, soon followed in a ship of war, attended by two frigates, and six other vessels laden with ordnance for battery, field pieces, and other warlike provisions, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantz, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, together with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers, discharged from the French service by cardinal Richelieu, and sent into Ireland, thus amply provided, and assured of farther succours.”*

Meanwhile the rebellion raging in England, and each party studious of establishing an interest here, left no expedient untried to gain partizans. The parliamentary agents brought twenty thousand pounds for the support of the English army in Ireland, large promises, and the covenant. The king granted titles and promotions. His majesty wished for an accommodation

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 177.

with the catholics, hoping much from their warm professions of zealous loyalty. The parliament and their creatures, the governors, Ormond, the Scots and puritans, universally favoured the parliament. The intrigues of the royalist and parliamentary faction, in conjunction with other causes, at length operated so effectual a schism among the confederate catholics, as never could be closed, as shall appear in the sequel. Many were perplexed what party to embrace, in the distraction of so many contending factions. If they obliged the justices, they strengthened the hands of the king's enemies. If they acted with Ormond and the army, they did the same; because these were at the command of the justices, enemies to the pacification, a measure of vital importance to the king's interest; and because however Ormond's words sounded loyalty, his acts were against the royal, and in favour of the parliamentary interest. If one sided with the confederates, he would be set down as a rebel to the English interest; and if with the Scots and puritans, he became a declared rebel against the king. If the royal party prevailed, either the abolition of parliament, or such limitation of their authority as would reduce them to a species of privy council, might naturally be expected. If the commons prevailed, the overthrow of the monarchy was equally probable: in either case, the constitution perished. Amid such a complication of parties, and adverse interests, the choice was embarrassing, when neutrality could hardly be maintained.

The slightest inspection of them melancholy times, will shew the futility of Leland's language, when he says, that "the justices were not without hopes, that a popish nobleman, of such extensive property, (the marquis of Clanrickard) might be seduced from his allegiance." To whom? To the king? Was it by joining the most loyal portion of his subjects? Would he retain his loyalty by joining the justices, and Ormond, against the pacification, and generally against the king's interest; acting all the while, with a treacherous hypocrisy, in the king's name, and by his authority? Would he prove his loyalty, by joining the standard of the rebel Scots and the puritans? I see no other alternative left him but a kind of armed neutrality, which he endeavoured to support, as governor of Galway; relying on a small garrison, and numerous followers, still keeping his trust for the king, until he might see an end to the war.

After all the delays and obstacles thrown in the way of the cessation, it was at length concluded at Sigginstown, on the 15th of September, 1643. The distresses of the Irish army, commanded by him, and the impossibility of supporting them, without more adequate supplies than could be obtained from the English commons, or the justices, moving Ormond to concur therein more than attachment to his king or country. Clanrickard, perhaps, was influenced by similar circumstances, to recommend that important measure. Accordingly, after the conclusion of the treaty, its beneficial consequences

to the government, and the army, were immediately felt.

“ Sir Philip Percival, commissary-general of the provisions of the king’s forces, declared in a memorial which he afterwards gave in to the English parliament, “ that both the state, and the army, were, at that juncture, in the greatest distress; that the streets of Dublin had no manner of victuals, many times for one day; that the soldiers would not move without money, shoes and stockings; for want of which many had marched barefooted, and had bled much on the road; and that others, through unwholesome food, had become diseased and died.

“ That the Irish all this while, subsisted very well, carrying their cattle, especially their milch-cows, with them into the field.

“ That the state at Dublin had no money in the treasury; sometimes wanting means even to bury their dead commanders; that before the cessation was concluded, the government’s army was so oppressed with wants, and their necessities were so great, besides the discontent of the officers, that there was no need of any other enemy than hunger and cold to devour them suddenly.

“ That the confederate catholics had, all this time, three armies on foot in Leinster, well furnished with necessaries and ordnance; and that they had perfect intelligence of this distress of the state, and the condition of the English forces, knowing the prevailing strength of their own armies.”

The lords justices and council, in a letter of the eighth of May, 1643, confessed, "that they then found the royal army suffering under unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary to the support of their persons, or maintenance of a war; and that they had no visible prospect by sea or land, of being able to preserve the kingdom for his majesty from utter destruction of the remnant of his good subjects there."

"But they were now to be relieved from this extreme distress by those very men whom they had hitherto considered and treated as their worst and most implacable enemies. For the confederate catholics freely obliged themselves on the conclusion of this treaty, to pay to the marquis of Ormond thirty thousand pounds, for the present subsistence of his majesty's army. And in order to "vindicate themselves from the calumny that was raised against them, as if they were rebels, and had resolved to throw off the king's government, they further engaged to transport several thousands of their best men to Scotland, to reinforce his majesty's army there; which engagement they afterwards performed, with great honor to themselves, and not less advantage to his majesty's service."*

Whether this cessation and support of Charles was, or was not, an act of prudence, was some time afterwards questioned. It was surely an act, to which they were not bound to accede, by any gratitude to the Stuart family, their unconsci-

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

entious oppressors, plunderers, and persecutors of their religion; nor by any national interest. It was barely the selfish transaction of a faction, predominant in the catholic convention, the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry; who, dreading a demand for restitution, deemed the English connexion for the preservation of their estates, almost entirely consisting of land fraudulently and tyrannically forfeited from the antient proprietors; absolutely necessary. Their selfish policy availed them nothing at the conclusion of the war. What they apprehended from the old owners of the land, came upon them in a new shape, from their cherished British connexion. Cromwell, the victorious general of the English rebels, distributed their lands among his officers and soldiers.

Meanwhile, they were not long suffered to enjoy the cessation, for it was scarce sooner published than rejected by the Scots in Ulster, still, nominally at least, under the marquis of Ormond's command. For, upon the first notice of it, the English parliament, "sent them fresh supplies of money, arms and provisions; with orders on their arrival to denounce fire and sword to all that should embrace it, and to march in a body, with all necessary provisions, towards Dublin."

But these Scots did not, it seems, wait for the parliament's orders. For we find the supreme council complaining to the lords justices, on the fifteenth of October, that "the Scots, who, not long before, had come over in great numbers to

Ireland, had, by the slaughter of many innocents without distinction of age or sex, possessed themselves of large territories in the north; and that since the notice given them of the cessation, they had continued their former cruelties, upon the persons of weak and unarmed multitudes." Wherefore they humbly proposed to their lordships, "that these violators of the cessation, and secret enemies of his majesty's good subjects, of what nation soever might be persecuted, and that, while the succours for his majesty were in preparation, their own proceedings against them, might no way be imputed as a desire to violate the cessation."

"But this proposal being rejected by their lordships, and the hostilities of the Scots still continuing and increasing, a stop was, for a while put to those supplies which the confederate catholics had engaged to send to the king; a great part of them becoming absolutely necessary for their own defence. Lord Inchiquin was sensible of this impediment, when he told the marquis of Ormond, in a letter from Oxford, February, 1643, that though the Irish were extremely relied on, yet he feared they were unable to do more than defend themselves from the Scots, who, he doubted would prove more dangerous rebels to his majesty. And lord Digby also, writing to the marquis about the same time, "made no question but that the Irish, in case they were rid of their apprehensions of the Scots in Ulster, would engage thoroughly, numerous, and entirely in his majesty's service."

“ The marquis of Ormond was himself conscious, that the increasing hostilities of the Scots prevented the confederates from sending the promised supplies to his majesty ; though he afterwards charged them with their delay in the performance, as a breach of their engagement. For, excusing himself to prince Rupert, touching the procuring of arms and ammunition from them for the service of his majesty’s ships under his command, he told him, that he had little hopes of prevailing with them ; and that they were not very much to blame, the Scots being yet in Ireland in great numbers, and fresh reports coming daily, that they would not only begin the war with them in England afresh, but endeavour to impose the taking of their covenant on the people of Ireland by force of arms.”*

During this period of the war, nothing of military transactions, interesting to the reader, occurs. The country was ravaged by petty hostilities, and disgraced by many cruelties. A bible-mad fanatic, Forbes, landed in Munster, accompanied by the noted fanatical minister, Hugh Peters, and there sought no other laurels, but such as robbers and murderers wear. Tired of his executions, as Leland calls his incursions in that province, he re-embarked at Galway. There, not satisfied with executions of the living, he dug up the graves, and burnt the bones and coffins found there, with a senseless fury : blessed spirit of the covenant ! Inchiquin, to the dis-

* Civil Wars of Ireland.

grace of an illustrious descent, having revolted from the king to the parliament, vied with the covenanters in barbarous cruelties. Leland, either through inattention or design, classes this nobleman with the royalists. When relating the petty battle of Liscarrol, he says, that the rebels fled before the royalists; and when he mentions his having succeeded his father-in-law, William St. Leger, in the presidency of Munster, without informing his reader by whose authority he was appointed. The industry and candour of Dr. Curry have left a fairer account, both of his defection from the royalists, his cruelties and persecutions of popery, which he had professed, and it seems deserted, in adopting the conduct, if not the oath, of the covenanters.

“ About this time died Sir William St. Leger, lord president of Munster; and the king having appointed the earl of Portland to succeed him in that charge, lord Inchiquin, who was married to Sir William’s daughter, and had solicited and expected that presidentship after his father-in-law’s decease, was now so much incensed by the disappointment, that he was easily persuaded by lord Broghill to reject the cessation, and to receive the English parliament’s commission for the presidentship of Munster, in opposition to the king’s appointment. “ In this capacity, he performed many considerable services for that parliament, taking great store of plunder from the Irish, and not sparing,” says Ludlow, “ his own kindred; but if he found them faulty, hanging them up without distinction.”

But one of his most memorable services on this occasion was, his barbarous exploit at Cashel; "where, having brought together an army, and hearing that many priests and gentry thereabouts had retired with their goods into the church of that city, he stormed it, and put three thousand of them to the sword, taking the priests even from under the altar."*

"At the same time that he himself deserted the king's service, he persuaded his brother, lieutenant-colonel Henry O'Brien, to deliver up Wareham to the English parliament, and to come away with his whole regiment to Ireland. This lieutenant colonel was afterwards taken prisoner by the confederates, and in great danger of an unhappy end, in revenge for a Roman catholic dean, whom his brother had lately caused to be hanged, and for his own crime in delivering Wareham to the parliament. But lord Castlehaven, alleging, "that for this very reason he ought, for a testimony of their own loyalty, and of their detestation of his breach of trust, to be sent as a present to the king, to be punished as his majesty should see fit; he was saved from present execution, and afterwards exchanged."

Though Inchiquin's disappointment was the real cause of his defection, yet he pretended another, and more extraordinary reason for it, to the marquis of Ormond, viz. "an information he had received from the English women, of a common talk of some of the Irish, that they de-

* Carte's Ormond.

signed to seize Cork;" and upon this frivolous pretence, he drove all the magistrates and catholic inhabitants out of that city; as also out of Youghal and Kinsale, "allowing them to take no more of their goods with them, than what they could carry on their backs, seizing all the provisions and effects in their houses." Lord Digby, by his majesty's command, recommended these distressed people to the marquis of Ormond's care. "The king," says he, "is very sensible of their sad condition, and will not soon forget the inhumanity of that lord."

But Inchiquin, in order to engage his officers and soldiers in the same measures he had embraced himself, caused an oath to be administered to them, by which they obliged themselves to endeavor the extirpation of popery, to carry on the war against the Irish, notwithstanding any command, proclamation, or agreement to the contrary; and to submit to no peace or conditions with them, but by consent and allowance of king and parliament. This was then a favorite mode of expression with those who fought, in the king's name, against his person."*

The Irish were treated by their English masters in a most extraordinary manner. War was waged against them in the king's name, by the Irish government; and another war, in the name and by authority of parliament, conducted by Monroe and Inchiquin! Nor did the cessation terminate these disorders; for which, and several

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel,

other reasons, great numbers were displeased with it, as untimely, and unfavourable to the Irish interest. It was urged, that no pledge had been obtained for their civil rights, and liberty of conscience, not even for the observance of the treaty itself. That supplies, given to the Irish government, would be a free gift to the rebel English parliament; who, by solemn public engagements, were bound to support the English army in Ireland, which by their own declaration they were unable to do. They, who had declared to the Irish agents, sent to solicit relief, that "if five hundred pounds could save their kingdom, it could not be spared." That to act the part of loyal subjects, and fight the battles of a king, who qualified them odious and detestable rebels against his crown and dignity, were to betray their own cause, and put arms into the hands of an avowed enemy, whose enormous appetite for Irish forfeitures was long experienced, from his piratical inquisition into defective titles. That to stop the career of victory, and allay the ardour of their forces, in their triumphant progress, was a measure most desirable to their enemy, and of most disastrous consequences to this kingdom. That, as it was apparent, whichsoever party prevailed, whether king or parliament, they would be considered and treated as rebels, the most probable chance of security lay, in a separation from England, and the erection of Ireland into an independent state. That the natural resources of the country, for agriculture, pasturage, mines, manufactures

and commerce, were so great and manifest, as to open a fair prospect of a speedy progress in population, industry, riches and power; and that, if England attempted to recover her abused dominion here, the Irish, under a good constitution, and a well supported executive, were able to defend themselves; nor would foreign alliances fail any nation found worthy thereof. These were the sentiments of many of the clergy, and the best informed among the laity, especially those supplanted and plundered by the Stuarts; not the vain desire of establishing their religion in all its former pomp and opulence, as Leland insinuates.

That these opinions were not ill grounded, appears from the distress of their enemies, the Irish government, and the partizans of parliament here, related from authorities beyond any suspicion of exaggeration. "The melancholy plea of necessity never could be urged with greater force than on the present occasion.

"Dublin, from whence all Leinster and Connaught were to be supplied, as well as Derry and Colerain, had long since been reduced to the most miserable extremities; the inhabitants plundered to supply the soldiery; the soldiery impatient of their distresses: the officers repeatedly threatening to recur to the first principle of nature, that of self-preservation. The province of Connaught was reduced to almost total desperation. The integrity and activity of the earl of Clanricarde had the virulence of the Roman clergy to encounter, (who denounced all their

terrors against those who should refuse the oath of association) as well as the practices of those English officers, who were devoted to the parliament. The rebels every day encreased in strength; they became masters of the important fort of Galway, and prepared to reduce those castles of the county of Roscommon, which (with Clancricarde's towns of Loughbrea and Portumna) were all that held out in the western province. In Munster, lord Inchiquin, unassisted by the state, and abandoned by the English parliament, tried every miserable expedient for the relief of his soldiers, and was still on the point of total ruin. To preserve his forces from famishing, he was obliged to draw them from their garrisons, and to divide them into parties, to range over the country for subsistence. To encrease his calamity and consternation, one of those parties commanded by Sir Charler Vavasor, an English officer, was attacked and defeated by the rebels, under the conduct of Castlehaven and Muskerry; his cannon, baggage, and seven hundred arms, taken, and six hundred of his men slain on the field of battle. In Ulster, the British power seemed most predominant. Yet, Monroe, for a while supplied from Scotland and England, at length found himself deserted by both; and, to support his troops, was obliged to rouse them from their inactivity. He attempted to surprise Owen O'Nial in his quarters, but was foiled, and forced to retire with some loss: and though this rebel-general was defeated by Sir Robert Stuart, yet he soon recruited his forces, received

a supply of arms and ammunition from the supreme council, and extended his excursions, unmolested by an enemy weakened and dispirited by their distresses.

“ The new lords justices and council had a deep sense of this misery to which the several provinces were reduced. They applied by letters, they dispatched their agents, to the English parliament for relief; yet without any considerable effect. As the last effort to keep the army from disbanding or perishing, they resorted to an expedient, of which the commons of England had already set the example; and, without consulting, or receiving any warrant from the king, established an excise. But, although this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet, such was the poverty of the kingdom, that the money thus raised, proved utterly inadequate to the necessity of the state.”*

Distress of the provinces, i. e. distress of the enemies to the catholic confederacy. “ Ormond supposed that their present confidence arose from the prosperous situation of their armies, and particularly from the successful progress of Preston, who had re-assembled his troops, taken several places, and over-run the province of Leinster. Any advantage gained by the king's forces must abate their pride: he, therefore, determined to suspend his negotiations; and, if possible, to force Preston to an engagement. This general cautiously retired before him:

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 202. 203. 204.

Ormond was not sufficiently provided to pursue him: the dread of famine soon forced him to lead his army back to Dublin; abundantly convinced by this experiment, that the army and the protestant subjects of Ireland were to be rescued from destruction only by a cessation of hostilities.

“ Ormond was now to renew his treaty, with men naturally proud, transported by good fortune, and in the full career of success. Lord Castlehaven had taken several forts in the queen’s county, and that of Carlow. Owen O’Nial had advanced to West-Meath; Preston extended his irruptions almost to the capital; and both were busily employed in securing the harvest, and filling their magazines. The king’s forces grew so mutinous and disorderly from their distresses, that the country people, who used to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garrisons, were ready to be abandoned through want, Monroe refused to act against O’Nial: Monck and lord Moore were sent to oppose him. Moore was killed in a fruitless attack; Monck was forced to return to Dublin, for want of bread; and Castlehaven took all the places he had abandoned. In the remoter provinces the Irish enjoyed the same superiority; and, in Munster particularly; the distresses of lord Inchiquin were extreme.”*

The English power in Ireland was then on

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 206. 207. 208.

the brink of ruin, without any prospect of relief from the king or his enemies, when the improvident confidence of the Irish, the attachment of a powerful party to English connexion, yielded to the temporizing policy of their adversaries, and relieved it from destruction, to pour vengeance on them and their posterity. The treaty being concluded, supplies were sent to the king; some of his own army, protestants, sent by the marquis of Ormond, now lord lieutenant; some by the marquis of Antrim, a catholic nobleman, raised, armed and maintained at his own expence, under the command of the celebrated Colkittach Macdonald. The former, disaffected, marched with reluctance to his majesty's service, deserted in numbers, and joined his enemies. The latter, good men, well officered, zealous for his majesty's service, performed prodigies of valour in Scotland, under the marquis of Montrose.

“How muchsoever the king has been censured, for employing his Irish catholic subjects against his English and Scottish rebels (even by those who had actually reduced him to that necessity), his majesty's good opinion of their courage and fidelity, was certainly well grounded. Lord Byron, in a letter from Chester to the marquis of Ormond, January 30th, 1643, requiring supplies from Ireland, “wished they were rather Irish than English; for that the English he had already were very mutinous; and being,” says he, “for the most part this countrymen, are so poisoned by the ill-affected people here, that

they grow very cold in this service." And indeed that this preference in favour of the Irish, was just and reasonable, appears from hence, that such of the English protestant forces as were commanded over on that duty, "went with such reluctance," says Borlace, "as the sharpest proclamations, of which there were several, hardly restrained them from flying their colours, both before and after their arrival in England." But with how much spirit and alacrity the Irish crowded into that service, and what wonders they performed in it, shall be presently related from unquestionable authority.

"But there now arose a new and more substantial impediment to the transmission of these supplies by the confederates, "from the Irish coasts being infested by swarms of rebel ships," whose commanders shewed no mercy to such of the royal party as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. For "of one hundred and fifty men, whom the marquis of Ormond had about this time sent to Bristol, and who happened to be taken by captain Swanley, commander of a parliament ship, seventy, besides two women, were inhumanly thrown overboard on pretence that they were Irish."* This struck a just terror into all the neighboring ports, and scarce a ship durst stir out of the harbour. Shortly after, however, several hundred Irish ventured off to his majesty's assistance; "and on the third day of their sailing, having taken a Scotch vessel

* Ormond's Let. Cart. Collect. of Papers, v. i. 48.

with about fifty kirk-ministers deputed to preach up and administer the covenant in Ulster, instead of retaliating captain Swanley's late inhumanity, they contented themselves with only making them prisoners."*

" On the sixteenth of May, 1644, the earl of Antrim acquainted the marquis of Ormond, " he had then, for three months past maintained by his own credit, and that of his friends, at least two thousand men, ready to be shipped off, waiting for their arms and provisions; which he feared would not come so soon as expected, while the parliament ships were so thick on that coast.

" Yet so great was that lord's zeal for his majesty's service, and so little did the Irish fear the danger then attending it, that on the twenty-seventh of the following month, he wrote again to the marquis, " that he had sent off about sixteen hundred men, being as many as the ships could conveniently hold, completely armed by his own shifts, besides fifteen hundred pikes; and that he had discharged seven or eight hundred men for want of shipping." But his lordship seems to have shifted so well afterwards that we find, by a letter of the marquis of Ormond, July 17th following, " that the number of men then embarked by him (Antrim) from Waterford and other places, amounted to two thousand five hundred, well armed and victualled for two months." For which good service, " in the year

* Carte's Ormond.

1644, the earl of Antrim had the dignity of marquis conferred upon him."

Lord Clarendon's high encomiums on this nobleman's zeal and activity in the king's service; and on the valour, fidelity, and wonderful success of these Irish in promoting it, is the more remarkable, as it is well known that his lordship was not at all biassed by any partial affection to either of them. "It cannot be denied," says he, "that the levies the marquis of Antrim made, and sent over to Scotland under the command of Colkitto, were the foundation of all those wonderful acts, which were performed afterwards by the marquis of Montross. They were fifteen hundred men, very good, and with very good officers; all so hardy, that neither the ill fare, nor the ill lodging, in the Highlands, gave them any discouragement. They gave the first opportunity to the marquis of Montross of being at the head of an army that defeated the enemy as often as they encountered them. After each victory, the Highlanders went always home with their booty; and the Irish only staid together with their general. And from this beginning, the marquis of Montross grew to that power, that after many battles won by him, with much slaughter of the enemy, he marched victoriously with his army till he made himself master of Edinburgh, and redeemed out of the prison there, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy and many other noble persons, who had been taken and sent thither with a resolution that they should all lose their heads; and the marquis

of Montross did always acknowledge, that the rise and beginning of his good success was due and to be imputed to that body of the Irish which had in the beginning been sent him by the marquis of Antrim; to whom the king had acknowledged the service in several letters of his own hand-writing.

It is therefore no wonder that we find lord Digby so frequently importuning the marquis of Ormond, "to use all possible means to assist and encourage the earl of Antrim and his forces in the service of Scotland; whereof the king's party," says he, "find such admirable effects in England." Nor on the other hand, is it at all strange, that in order to prevent their coming into England, the parliament of that kingdom passed that cruel ordinance of the twenty-fourth of October, 1644, "that no quarter should be given to any Irishman or papist born in Ireland, that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon the sea, or in England or Wales."

They proved, that the king was not mistaken, in entertaining hopes of effectual aid from the catholic confederates, had they not been thwarted by the perfidy of the Irish governors, ruling in his name, under the influence of his enemies. Whatever demerits were imputed to the cessation, as it regarded the interests of Ireland, it was a measure of the first importance for the king's service. The king knew it to be such.

The Irish confederates knew it. The king's enemies, both English and Irish, were perfectly sensible thereof; and exerted the same zeal in opposing it, in the first instance, and defeating its purposes afterwards, as they did in kindling civil war here, so advantageous to the king's enemies in England. Therefore, the justices opposed it. Therefore, Ormond opposed delays to it; and promised for a sum of money to break it, and carry on the war. "Ormond was sensible how odious this treaty must prove to the parliament of England . . . how necessary it was for him to guard his reputation from the reproach of enemies who held their secret correspondence with the neighbouring kingdom. . . . When no other way could be proposed, he then moved, that if ten thousand pounds might be raised, half in victuals, the other half in money, he would continue the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford."* Oh the loyal servant to his king! He knew the cessation would be odious to the English parliament. He must guard his reputation! From what? From an imputation of favouring the cessation! He took especial care to save his reputation with the English rebels, in that particular, as we have hitherto seen; and continued the same obsequious instrument of their wishes, to the ruin of king and country, as the sequel will shew. Why did he then venture to become any way instrumental in concluding a treaty, so odious to his patrons in England, so contrary to

* Leland,

the whole tenor of his public conduct? It was necessary to wear a mask, in order to render effectual service to the rebel parliament. The justices had been displaced for their stubborn opposition to the cessation; and if he persevered in a similar course, and that the king declared against him, though he might keep his place, in defiance of the king, by the authority and support of parliament, for any thing the king could do to supersede him, yet the mask once off, his influence in Ireland sunk, he would be classed with Monroe, and other avowed rebels; he could no longer dupe the king and the Irish confederates; and he knew, that the most effectual way of ruining them was, to betray them under the mask of honour and loyalty. His professions were for the king, but his acts for the service of his enemies. If he had no secret instructions to temporize with the king and the confederates, his subsequent conduct clears his reputation from any suspicion of cordially promoting the king's service, and was well suited to restore him to favour with the English commons.

When we consider the canting hypocrisy then prevalent, we may well suppose, that the same leaders, who permitted him to act the double part, affected surprise and horror at the odious measure, of whose progress they were well apprised; because surprise, alarm, terror, were their levers to move the multitude. In the same delusive language, they affected to impute the troubles of Ireland, of which they and their creatures were the principal authors, to jesuitical

practices, and a desire of exterminating the protestant religion in Ireland. "But the English parliament, above all others, were provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raising money to support their own contest, and was purposely contrived to give assistance to their adversary. From the very moment that they first received an intimation of the intended treaty, the marquis of Ormond became the object of their resentment. They, who had declared to the Irish agents sent to solicit relief, that if five hundred pounds might save their kingdom, it could not be spared, now affected the utmost commiseration for their protestant brethren of Ireland. New schemes of raising money for the Irish service were devised; and the utmost indignation expressed by parliament, that the distresses of this kingdom should be imputed to their neglect. Before they had been certainly informed of the conclusion of a treaty, they issued a solemn declaration against a design so impious. In this, they ascribe the disorders of both kingdoms to one cause, the influence of jesuitical practices, and a horrid scheme of destroying the protestant religion. They magnify their zeal for the service of Ireland, and assume the merit of every advantage gained against the rebels. "God hath been pleased," say they, "to bless our endeavours with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the protestant blood, which, at first, was spilt like water on the

ground, hath been revenged; their massacres, burnings, and famishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosom." They impute the design of a cessation to the artifice of the rebels, who were in a far worse condition than the protestants, reduced by "the remarkable judgment of God, even to feed one upon another; and who laboured a treaty of cessation, in order to gain some respite for reaping the harvest, and receiving their expected supplies without molestation. They acknowledge their apprehensions of the king's deriving some assistance from such a treaty, or, to use their own language, of the Irish forces uniting with the popish party of England. They complain that the lords and commons, to whom the care of Ireland had been committed, had not been consulted on this intended treaty. To the rumours of such a treaty they boldly impute those distresses of the protestant army, pleaded as a pretext for the cessation; rumours, which had discouraged adventurers, and stopped contributions: they, therefore, pathetically call on all those who are well affected to the protestant religion, those who, by their adventures, have embarked their particular interests in the public service of Ireland, to obviate this plea of necessity, by their liberal contributions, as "the cry of much protestant blood, the great indigence of many ruined families, and the danger of their religion, almost exiled out of Ireland, call for this last act of piety, charity, justice, and policy."*

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. v. p. 210. 211. 213.

Every one must agree with Leland, in his remark on this declaration, "The falsehoods by which this declaration is disgraced, are indeed flagrant!" Yet one cannot so readily subscribe to the palliative, but, possibly not altogether intentional. The promoters of Irish insurrection could not possibly be ignorant of the means employed by them and their creatures to excite and extend it. Those, who were indignant at the cessation, and abhorred the idea of a peace in Ireland, as furnishing the king with resources, and depriving them, his enemies, of powerful means against him, displayed the same active industry for breaking the cessation, and continuing the civil war, as they had exerted in kindling it.

Now the English commons adopted prompt and vigorous measures for breaking the cessation, and rekindling the flames of war. Orders were sent to Monroe to continue the hostilities. "In the northern province the Scottish general, Monroe, disclaimed the cessation. And though, when he had first slaughtered some unoffending Irish peasants, he consented to wait the orders of the state of Scotland, or parliament of England, before he should proceed to further acts of hostility, yet he soon received instructions to carry on the war, without regard to the king's chief governour.... Owen O'Connolly, (the informer) now the creature of the English parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the British colonels in this province, recommending to them to disclaim the cessation, and to take the covenant. On these conditions, they were assured of

their arrears, and full provisions for their future maintenance. Monroe's officers, and those of the old Scottish regiments, were all eager for the covenant, and had already sent to Scotland for a copy of that famous engagement."*

Soon after they made good their promise of supplies to the covenanting army of Monroe, and such other troops as would take the covenant. "Ten thousand pounds, some cloathing, and provisions, were remitted to Monroe from Scotland, together with four ministers of the kirk to enforce and tender the covenant. These missionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal, through every parish of the counties of Downe and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with enthusiastic ardour. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peasants, all flocked round them, all contending for the glory of running foremost in the godly cause, and first accepting an engagement so precious, and so essential to the welfare of their souls. The prohibitions and menaces of government, the proclamation against the covenant, which some English colonels, at length, ventured to publish to their regiments, only served to enflame the general fervour. Private men and subalterns, who had secretly taken the covenant, now boldly avowed it, and had defiance to their commanders. They, who refused to be united with the godly by this holy vow, were regarded as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity: nor would the

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 216. 221.

inhabitants supply them with the necessaries of life. They, who had ever appeared most attached to the royal cause, now caught the popular contagion. Audley Mervin, so noted for his nauseous harangues, inveighed with such vehemence against the covenant in the parliament of Dublin, expressed such loyalty to the king, and declaimed so copiously against the English commons, and their neglect of Ireland, that the marquis of Ormond deemed him a proper person to be entrusted with the government of Derry. Scarcely had he entered on his new office, when he was prevailed on to take that engagement which had been the object of his severest censure.”*

Audley Mervin and Ormond understood each other, being both arrant hypocrites. What would be the first duty of a viceroy? To keep the peace of the country. To cement union among the king's friends, and disunite his enemies. The very contrary to this was Ormond's chief employment. In soliciting supplies from the confederates, “in vain did the marquis represent the danger of delay; the duty and policy of sending effectual assistance to the king, before their common enemy should prevail.”* In acknowledging the English rebels, the common enemy of the king and Irish confederates, the latter are declared either his majesty's allies, or his loyal subjects, there is no other alternative. The former title could only belong to an

* Leland.

independent power; the latter was justly claimed by the confederates, as both their own conduct, and that of the king's enemies, sufficiently evinced. If they were backward in handing over supplies to Ormond, their diffidence of their application was justified by experience; and if they refused the sale of arms in their quarters, i.e. the disarming of their troops, having had abundant trial of the perfidies practized on them by almost all officers acting in the king's name, it only proved them not quite ideots. Well, how did this paragon of loyalty, the hero of Carte's romance, manage these acknowledged loyal confederates? To the satisfaction of the English commons, and the injury of the king. "The marquis of Ormond experienced various difficulties in supporting and regulating his army, preserving the public peace, and managing the proud and intractable spirits of the Irish confederates. His favourite object was, to break their union; and, for this purpose, he desired a power of granting pardons to such particulars as should return to his majesty's obedience. The demand was discovered to the confederates; nor were they insensible of its dangerous tendency: yet Ormond was not discouraged. He held his correspondence with some of their principal leaders; he flattered their ambition; he hinted, that by zealously exerting themselves in the king's service, they might hereafter be preferred to such places of trust and honour as suited their birth and quality, and enjoy that consequence in Ireland which their inferiours of English birth had hi-

therto obtained. Many considerable places were now vacant, which were eagerly solicited by various competitors about the court of England. These he recommended to be still kept unfilled; at least, that they should be conferred on moderate Irish protestants, as the method to which neither party could justly except, and the safest to be pursued for allaying national discontents.”*

How did the loyal viceroy deal with the king's enemies? Just as a hearty rebel would do. He laboured to unite the king's troops with the Scotch rebels under Monroe; and after saying and publishing some things against the covenant, like his friend Audley Mervin, he loyally advised his majesty's troops, not to take that oath of treason against the king, and persecution against his subjects, until they consulted. Whom? The king's enemies! “ But the English officers of the royal party were not deceived by this apparent lenity. They every moment expected an order from the English parliament for imposing the covenant by force; and their apprehensions were confirmed, when a commission from the English houses, under their broad seal, was received by Monroe, empowering him to command all the forces of Ulster, Scottish and English, in their name, and under their authority, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royalists assembled at Belfast to resolve on an answer to be returned the Scottish general, when he should require

* Ireland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 220. 221.

them to submit to his command. In the midst of their consultation, Monroe contrived to surprise the town. Hence he marched to take possession of Lisburne, but was foiled in his attempt by the spirit and vigilance of the English officers. The Ulster forces were thus on the point of declaring war against each other. The superiour numbers of the Scots were formidable to the English; the resolute spirit of the English was alarming to the Scots; an amicable agreement was the interest of both; and a stipulation was soon framed and subscribed. It was agreed, that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they should first address themselves to the English parliament, and represent their reasons and scruples to the contrary; that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions, and have the same privileges and appointments with the Scots. On these conditions, they engaged to join with Monroe in a vigorous prosecution of the Irish rebels, unless his majesty's command should hereafter contradict their further proceeding.”*

This speedy junction of his majesty's troops in Ulster with the Scotch rebels there; their acceptance of part of the supply sent from the rebel parliament; their acceptance of the covenant; what else can be understood from the travestied language of Carte, or his copiest Leland? That they would not take it without consulting the

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 221. 225.

king's enemies; and proposing their scruples to those very men, who sent over positive orders to impose it. Conscientious men! Their scruples were soon removed when they entered into an alliance with the king's sworn enemies, and promised to carry on war in conjunction against the most loyal of his subjects. Such was the care pretended by Carte and Leland to have been taken of the loyalty of his majesty's troops, by his loyal viceroy, Ormond. I can see nothing in the conduct of that man at all compatible with the double part assigned him, that was not detrimental to his king and country, serviceable to their enemies.

The event, however, completely vindicates the hesitation and parsimony of the confederates, in the grant of supplies, and the necessary precaution of not suffering their troops to be disarmed in their quarters, on pretence of employing them for the king's service, while arms and stores lay in the king's magazine at the castle unemployed. No wonder the confederates were enraged and alarmed at this unprovoked breach of the cessation. "The seizure of Belfast, and the union of the Ulster forces, were incidents both alarming and provoking to the confederate Irish at Kilkenny. Their forces were scattered, their generals divided by frivolous competitions. Their pride was inflamed by that consequence which they had gradually acquired. While they detached Castlehaven to the assistance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he should accept the supreme command of all their forces, and march against

the stubborn Northerners with the whole united power of the royalists: for in this party the Irish affected to be ranked. At the same time, they required that he should proclaim the Scots rebels, in consequence of their outrageous infringement of the cessation.

“ It was obvious for Ormond to reflect, that by accepting the command of the Irish, he must blend the rightful power of the king with the usurped authority of the rebels, in a manner odious to every protestant subject, disgraceful to his royal master, and really dangerous to himself, however the bold measure might be recommended by some present advantages. To issue a proclamation against the Scots, and to brand their adherence to the parliament with the name of rebellion, appeared equally dangerous and obnoxious. It must afford them a fair pretence for their opposition to the king, furnish them with plausible arguments for seducing others, and provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favourers of the covenant. The marquis therefore, could not, consistently with the plainest rules of prudence, irritate the English parliament, already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of almost all his forces. On the other hand, it was dangerous to disoblige the Irish. They might find pretences for with-holding that part of their subsidy which remained unpaid. They had promised to supply him with corn and cattle: they might retract this promise: they might cut off all commerce and freedom of markets. The scanty and precarious remittances from England,

if not intercepted by the ships of parliament, yet were utterly inadequate to the necessities of government. So that his hopes of subsistence depended on the Irish, who, if provoked, might reduce him to sudden famine.

“ In this situation, Ormond resolved, instead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuse them with a treaty tending to their own purpose, but in a different manner. He pleaded the want of direction from the king, and the impropriety of declaring against the Scots, before he had received explicit orders. In the mean time, he proposed that the Irish should make provision for the payment and maintenance of six thousand foot, and six hundred horse of his majesty’s forces. With this body, thus effectually supplied, he engaged to restrain the Scots from violating the cessation, or annoying the provinces. The Irish were sensible, that by proclaiming the Scots rebels, the king must in effect avow, that he depended entirely on their confederacy for the subsistence of his power and government in Ireland; and in the fulness of their pride insisted on this measure. For the same reason, Ormond, strenuously, yet artfully, opposed their desires. Some time was necessarily spent in propositions, answers, and replies: and, in this interval it appeared, that the Scottish general, notwithstanding the violence of his declarations, and some attempts to re-commence hostilities, was really not inclined, or not enabled to prosecute the war with vigour.”*

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 225. 226. 227.

So then the catholics only affected to be ranked among the royalists ! The king, and his enemies likewise, did rank them among the most zealous of royalists. This was the king's reason for urging a cessation and peace, and claiming succour from Ireland. It was the motive of the parliament, for fomenting the Irish troubles first, and opposing the cessation of hostilities afterwards ; least, as they published, the popish party in Ireland would come to the king's assistance ; or, in their words, come to aid the popish party in England. It was their motive for subsidizing Monroe, and his barbarous, plundering, covenanting crew, to divert the Irish from their distressed monarch. It was their motive for that bloody edict, ordering no quarter to be given to any Irish papist, in England or Wales. If their professions of loyalty, like that of most protestants then in Ireland, were affectation, what party did they espouse ? Not that of their mortal enemies, the rebel, covenanting parliament. What then were they in arms for ? A separation from England, and the erection of Ireland into a free state. No. The majority of the assembly was against that, for reasons noticed before. They were, in fact, utterly divided in object and principle. A considerable party rose to recover their estates and goods unjustly wrested from them. The greater number were forced to take the field, by the cruelties and perfidies of the parliamentary faction, then governing Ireland as the king's representatives. They remained under arms, in defence of liberty of conscience, of their

civil rights and privileges, and in defence of the king. Could they be considered, loyal subjects, if, laying down their arms, they reposed in a deceitful neutrality, while England and Scotland were in open rebellion?

The effrontery of Carte and Leland, in attempting to impose on the sense of mankind, falsifying facts, misconstruing intentions, and constantly drawing false conclusions, is contemptible sophistry. So, "to publish a proclamation against the Scots, and brand their adherence to parliament as rebellion, appeared to Ormond obnoxious and dangerous!" The king's lieutenant in Ireland thought it obnoxious and dangerous to declare by the authority vested in him, what the Scots in Ulster, and their abettors, the English commons, really were, rebels, two years in open rebellion against the king. To a viceroy, so careful to guard his reputation with the king's English and Scotch enemies, so scrupulous to avoid every appearance of dealing honestly with the king's zealous friends, the confederates, it must have appeared highly obnoxious to declare them rebels. But of this reproachful epithet he was lavish to the royalist confederates of Kilkeppny. Yes, that was grateful to his patrons and masters, the rebels of Westminster.

Scarce a syllable that is not falsehood, prevarication, misrepresentation. The authority of the Irish assembly was not usurped; they were freely chosen, by a people driven to that extremity by a law paramount to all law, self-preservation; the necessity of defending their lives and

fortunes against a combination of sanguinary and perfidious foes. One party, as the justices and Ormond, proceeding against them, with fraud and cruelty, in the king's name, with the aid of resources drawn from their selves. Another party, in open rebellion against their lawful sovereign, sworn enemies to him and to his catholic subjects; especially the Irish, having vowed by their covenant to exterminate their religion with fire and sword; a thing to be no otherwise atchieved but by the destruction of their persons. The motives that drew them together, are the fundamental principles on which human society is founded, the protection of person and property, and liberty of conscience from violence or oppression.

“To blend the kings authority with the usurped authority of rebels.” Rebels they were not, as Ormond confessed, when he declared their cause and the king's to be but one common cause against a common enemy; unless Charles himself was a rebel. That the authority of the convention was not usurped, is just now demonstrated. If the viceroy was faithful to his trust, he would gladly embrace the voluntary offer of a powerful body of his majesty's subjects, to put all their resources under his command, in order to punish the violators of the cessation, prevent the renewal of hostilities, and hasten a peace, which would enable them to gratify their ardent wishes of sending effectual succour to the distressed monarch. This was the object of the cessation; the fervent wish of Charles and the confederates.

“ Accepting the service of Irish catholics, would be odious to all protestant subjects.” Odious to the rebels of Westminster? Yes; and to their covenanted coadjutors in rebellion. What pretences or means of seduction it would afford the English commons, was a matter of little consequence, compared with the pacification of Ireland. “ And provoke numbers of protestants, puritans at least, if not secretly favorers of the covenant? The marquis, therefore, could not, consistently with the rules of prudence, irritate already his enemies, and hazard the revolt of all his forces!” That is to say, he could not do the king’s business, nor accept the service of loyal subjects; for fear of provoking the king’s enemies, especially his sworn enemies, the puritans! What a true and loyal viceroy? What if the troops he had revolted, and joined the Scotch rebels? So much the better. Such rebels, as they proved afterwards, and are here admitted to be, deserved not to be maintained at the expence of the public. If they joined Monroe, their defeat would rid the king and country of a miscreant crew. The honest, either-side viceroy would neither provoke his friends, the rebels; nor yet disoblige the Irish, as he could not subsist his troops without their assistance. But while he seriously promoted the views of the king’s enemies, by conniving, and of consequence contributing to the breach of treaty, which he was in duty to his sovereign, and to his own engagements, bound to maintain inviolate, he amused the confederates with negotiations, propositions,

replies, demand of subsidies for the support of six thousand foot and six hundred horse, which common prudence would not entrust to so perfidious a minister. But he pleaded his want of an explicit order, before he could proceed against the Scotch rebels! As if any further order were required, than the violation of a treaty, signed by his majesty for the benefit of the service, at the instigation, and by express command, of his rebellious English subjects; sending for that purpose, arms, provisions and money. Such are the paltry artifices, with which the prostitute pen of Carte, and the prejudiced of his follower, Leland, endeavour to gloss over the masquerade policy, and palliate the manifold treasons of Ormond against his king and country. No degree of ability will cover falsehood, hypocrisy and treason in public characters, from detection; and it is the duty of history, to tear away the flimsy veil, drawn over them by purchased or partial writers. “While the marquis of Ormond thus contended with the wants and distresses of the state, the arrogance of the popish confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters!” What a pretty verbiage of falsification! Did he love truth, he would, consistently with his facts, have stated; while Ormond bore the distresses and wants of the state, rather than have them relieved, by accepting the zealous co-operation of the confederates, for his majesty’s service, because that would disgust and irritate the rebels of Westminster, their fellow-covenanters, who were his enemies already, says Leland. If so,

his policy was like that of the Stuarts, who, courting their enemies, and forsaking their friends, deserved to be paid in the same coin by such faithless ministers.

While he served the king's enemies, by tolerating, perhaps secretly encouraging, the outrages of the northern covenanters; for he that would betray his master to his enemies in one instance, would in another; Oxford was an important scene of Irish negociation. The commissioners of the confederates, for treating with the king and his ministers, then at Oxford, for the purpose of settling the constitution and government of the kingdom on a firm foundation, reciprocally advantageous to his majesty's subjects, and to both islands, arrived at Oxford, on the twenty-third day of March, 1644; and the propositions they offered to consideration, must appear reasonable and moderate to an impartial reader; especially if he compares them with the arrogant pretensions of English and Scotch protestant rebels, amounting to nothing short of the overthrow of the monarchy. "The most important were, the freedom of their religion, by a repeal of all penal statutes; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's law, during it's session; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since the seventh day of August 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all subsequent disorders; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish catholics, since that day; a release of debts, and general act of obli-

vion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, and an act of limitation for the security of estates; the establishment of an inn of court, and seminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic subjects; a free and indifferent appointment of all Irish natives without exception, to places of trust and honour; that no persons, not estated and resident in Ireland, should sit and vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act should pass, formally declaring the independency of their parliament on that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy-council should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued above three years, and that during his government, he should be disqualified to purchase any lands in the kingdom, except from his majesty. To these, and other articles of less consequence, they added, with an affected indignation at the charge of cruelty urged against their party, that a parliamentary enquiry should be made into all notorious murders, breaches of quarter, and inhuman barbarities committed on either side, and that the offenders should be excluded from the act of oblivion, and brought to condign punishment. On the grant of these propositions, they declared their readiness to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's service; and, particularly, to contribute ten thousand men towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion of England."*

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 228. 229.

But the king, always too prone to hearken to ill advisers, summoned his own enemies, devoted to the parliament, and fanatically furious against popery, to assist at the conferences for signing the treaty. "He had directed that some experienced men should be sent from the privy council of Ireland to assist in this treaty. They nominated archbishop Usher, and eight others, of whom the king summoned four to his assistance. But a number of zealous protestants, not acquainted with this transaction, or not entirely confiding in the nomination of the council, assembled at the house of the earl of Kildare, and chose four persons, by whom they desired, and were permitted, to present their petitions to the king. To this number, Sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parsons, were afterwards added; by what authority seems not very material to enquire, as they were received as agents from the protestants of Ireland by the king. The whole party was of the puritannic cast; possessed with a violent aversion to popery, enflamed against the professors of this religion, by a painful recollection of the late disorders in Ireland, suspicious of the king, and Coote and Parsons, at least, who took the lead in their transactions, devoted entirely to the interest of the English parliament. In the alacrity of their zeal, they had contrived to present themselves at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Irish council, and summoned by the king, had yet arrived.

"They were received with sufficient grace,

and immediately presented the petition of that body of protestants from whom they derived their authority. The king expressed a tender sense of their distresses; and acknowledged, that they had truly stated the iniquity of the first popish insurgents; intimating, however, that some distinction should be made between these and the gentry of the Pale, who, he seemed willing to believe, had been forced into rebellion by the Irish chief governours. Provoked at any tenderness expressed towards the popish party, and much more at the attention and respect with which their agents were received at a court, where the influence of the queen was too predominant, these men grew importunate and bold. They demanded permission to enter into a particular confutation of the Irish remonstrance framed at Trim: they required a copy of the propositions lately presented by the Irish agents: they were reprov'd, yet not dismayed; they exhibited a copious answer to this remonstrance, together with a collection of propositions from the Irish protestants, dictated by the spirit of triumphant pride, as if they had already vanquished and subdued the whole popish party.

“ They required the most rigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants; that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved; that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to

repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge: that the oath of supremacy should be strictly and universally imposed on all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which nothing should be attempted derogatory to the law of Poynings, the great bulwark of the royal power, and protection of the protestant subjects of Ireland; that the king should take all forfeited estates in his own hands, and after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the residue entirely to the British planters.”*

Hitherto, in spite of all the art and industry, employed by the falsifiers of history to white-wash Ormond, and blacken the confederates, he has been convicted of detestable double-dealing and treachery to his king and country; the confederates have been truly exhibited, as actuated more by chivalrous principles of loyalty, than prudence and sound policy. Now some flagrant act of treason must be approaching; as Ormond's advocates have recourse to all the low tricks and paltry quirks of special pleading. They put a speech in Charles's mouth, to the agents of the confederates, considering his circumstances, fit only for a fool to utter. He could not now grant their demands, for fear of giving a handle to his enemies, and disgusting his own party! They

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 229. 230. 231.

must take his royal word for it, that, if they assisted him to suppress the rebellion in England and Scotland, he would satisfy all their just expectations. If no concessions were to be made, wherefore the treaty? wherefore solicit supplies and forces? But why should the confederates, so long and often deceived and plundered by him and his father, trust his royal word, while the majority of his protestant subjects, in England and Scotland, would not take his royal oath in trust. He had more substantial boons to give, as pledges for the performance of the rest; the dissolution of a packed illegal body, miscalling itself the Irish parliament; and, by easy consequence, the repeal of the penal laws against Irish catholics. This, indeed, he promised: but, to his own great misfortune, he was too slow in the performance. Then again, after inviting commissioners from Ireland, to treat for the settlement of the kingdom, he becomes delicate on the point; he hesitates, dreads to give a handle to his enemies, and lose his partizans. Why not have considered this before inviting the conference? All this presto work is to prepare and blindfold the reader, for excusing a flagrant breach of trust on the part of Ormond. The king was afraid to conclude the treaty. Had not his vicegerent, to whom its conclusion was delegated, his fears of that terrible vindictive parliament? Not a word, to be sure, about those magnificent promises, made good to him afterwards. Charles shrunk from the odium of making any concessions to Irish papists by the treaty. He feared to dis-

gust and lose his partizans by concluding it! Would he not incur that odium, and disgust his partizans equally, if it was concluded by his viceregent, in his name and by his orders? Surely, the apprehensions of this timorous king were very injudicious. If a treaty with the confederates would appear odious and disgusting to loyal English protestants, one should think, the presence of an Irish popish army would be still more intolerable. It is scarce possible such puerile slight-of-hand dealing should have passed between rational beings, as prejudiced or venal writers have related of the negotiation of Charles and his Irish catholic subjects. Charles did not shrink from the odium of the treaty; but he might not wish to be responsible for the articles in detail. He wished it to be carried on at a distance from his English partizans; because he saw, that their prejudices, and the demands of the Irish confederates, were not easily to be reconciled; though they ought to see, that his distress coincided with justice to enforce concession. But above all, he was impatient for Irish supplies and Irish forces; consequently, eager for the conclusion of the treaty. This must have been his chief motive for transferring the negotiation to Ormond. At Oxford it must have been retarded, both by the distance and danger of travelling thence to Kilkenny and back. The commissioners of the confederates could not surrender an iota of the propositions sent over, without the consent of the assembly; hence nothing could be concluded, without dispatching

messengers, and waiting their return. Now, besides the distance, death awaited those messengers; for the Irish sea was infested with parliament ships, who had strict orders to put to death any Irishman, or papist born in Ireland, going to or coming from England and Wales. Their scouting parties by land had similar orders; so that the communication between Oxford and Kilkenny was uncertain; and this circumstance might retard the negotiation to a length unsuited to the views and interests of both parties. Besides, while Charles and his council spent this time in negotiation, his enemies would take advantage of such a diversion, and carry on the war with redoubled vigour. Clarendon puts words in Charles's mouth, in a conference with the Irish delegates, which, most probably, he never spoke, and apper to have been prophecy after the event, "that if they did not give timely and effectual assistance to suppress the rebels, the people, who would destroy him with difficulty, would, without opposition, root out their nation and religion." If he considered them such dispirited cowards, as to give no opposition to their sanguinary exterminators, why wish for their assistance, or confide in their valour? They were, indeed, overrun, and miserably cut down, without any adequate opposition; but this was the contrivance of treachery, which he probably did not foresee, else why employ the traitor, his viceroy?

Thus Charles's ill stars led him from one impolitic step to another. It was a fatal mistake, to surrender the management of the Irish war, to

the parliament. It was insanity to attempt enforcing his own liturgy on the Scots, embroiled as he was with the English parliament. Another capital error it was, to entrust the government of Ireland to the creatures of the English parliament, Parsons first, and Ormond next. One of the most capital faults was, to commit the conclusion of a treaty with the Irish confederates, to one of the most dangerous of his enemies; because insidiously playing to the hands of his enemies, under the mask of loyalty. If the marquis was loyal, as he professed, and his advocates plead, why give no proofs thereof, but many of the contrary disposition? Why not raise a body of men, at his own expence, for the king's service, like the marquis of Antrim? Was he inferior in property, credit or followers? Why were the troops under his command, notwithstanding his pretended care of their loyalty, more attached to the covenant than the king; as by fact it appeared, when the detachment sent to the king's forces in England marched reluctantly to join the royal banners, and either cowardly fled, or joined the ranks of the enemy? Why strictly pursue every measure that could serve the parliament, or disserve the king? His usual line of conduct he followed exactly, on receiving a commission to treat with the confederates. He would consent not to a single proposition, that afforded them any safety for the present, but in their arms; or any security for the future, on laying them down; while he was secretly in alliance with their sworn exterminators, open

rebels to their lawful sovereign, whose viceroy he basely assumed to act. "They," the Irish delegates, "offered the very same propositions which had been presented at Oxford, together with some others of less moment. Particularly they required what could not be granted in the present juncture, that the Scots and lord Inchiquin who concurred in opposing the cessation, should be declared traitors. For this, they claimed a promise from the king; and his minister, lord Digby, acknowledged that such a promise had been given, provided that a peace or cessation should be first concluded. Thus, did Ormond, possibly for the first time, discover a secret train of negociation between the king and the catholics of Ireland. But from his knowledge of the temper of the Irish protestants, he deemed it necessary to decline this measure; and for his own honour, as well as that of his royal master, returned the same answers to the Irish commissioners which their propositions had already received in England. To their demand of a repeal of all penal statutes enacted against the professors of their religion, he answered, by repeating the royal promise that these statutes should not be enforced: a new parliament he refused: a suspension of the laws of Poynings he opposed: nor could he consent to an act of oblivion so extensive as they required. He demanded, that the Irish should abolish their usurped government, restore all towns and castles to the king, the churches to the protestant clergy, and to the laity their estates and property. The propositions

made, and the answers returned, Ormond cautiously determined to lay before the king. The treaty was adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January: and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners by a vessel in the service of parliament, all further proceedings were suspended until the month of April 1645.”*

What a marvel, that Charles, surrounded as he was by open and clandestine enemies, the most dangerous of whom were, those in his employment, should correspond with a loyal and powerful body of subjects, zealous for his service, and of approved integrity? A new parliament he refused. That is, he would not have a constitutional parliament, but a packed illegal junta, formed by the violence of the justices in violation of the constitution; the majority of which, as of the privy council, was devoted to the English parliament. He further insists on their disarming, while their sworn enemies continue in arms, disowning the cessation, and confident, as they well might be, of his friendship. The Scotch and lord Inchiquin could not be proclaimed traitors, because they were in alliance with the English rebels, against the king; the confederates were so called, because they earnestly desired to join their forces with his majesty's, but not before they had some reasonable assurance of safety, after detaching the flower of their defenders. Thus Ormond adjourned the treaty, from July

* Leland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vi. p. 238. 239.

1644 to April 1645. More than a twelvemonth now elapsed, and still no treaty. The king's affairs declining, the rebels gaining strength, and his principal reliance, the Irish reinforcements still fraudulently held back by his own representative, the storm of war increasing on him, he urged, commanded his deputy, to conclude a peace upon any terms. To obtain obedience to his commands, or rather compliance with his solicitations, he enlarged his powers. While Charles was thus eager to receive assistance from the Irish confederates, his deputy was secretly tampering with his enemies, the Scots in Ulster, in order to carry on the war. This appears evident from his secret correspondence with Galbraith, a major in the Ulster army.*

From their first being forced to take up arms in their own defence, the catholic confederates made warm professions of loyalty; nor could they be more insulted, than by the slightest imputation of a contrary disposition. From the first breaking out of the rebellion, in England and Scotland, they were most forward to unite with heart, hand and purse, in his cause. His majesty was convinced of this. His enemies were no less so, as already stated, proved by their unremitting endeavours to prevent a cessation of hostilities or peace. The insulating medium, that kept asunder their ardent wishes for conjunction, consisted in the depraved, distempered state of the public mind, in England and Scot-

* Carte's Ormond.

land, partially here; and in the treachery and duplicity of his ministers. By long continued calumnies, virulent invectives from the pulpit and the press, idolatry, impiety, simony, and other enormities, falsely imputed to popery; murderous and treacherous plots, fabricated by her enemies, as popish, and fathered upon, to make her an object of abhorrence and abomination. Political faction, availing itself of this popular engine, tried every art to inflame the animosity against popery, to a delirious phrenzy. Every pulpit brawler, however illiterate or immoral, was godly, in proportion to the vehemence of his railing against the church of Rome. Out start from the mystic page of the Apocalypse, Antichrist, the man of sin, no less a person than his holiness; and the scarlet whore, sitting on a beast, having seven heads and ten horns, and a mouth speaking terrible things. In the theatre, and in the senate, a lash at popery was always welcome. By these means, a maniac abhorrence, and dread of popery, like an epidemic pestilence, deluged these islands, and nearly extinguished every spark of religion, common sense, and candour; leaving nothing but demoniac enthusiasm, a furious cant of vicious spite, and outrageous malice and hatred against the catholic church. The demagogues of the puritan and levelling faction, cultivated this popular delirium to the utmost; and blended monarchy and prelacy with the execrated object of popular horror. The rage against popery in particular, was carried so high, that in England and Scotland he

would be considered an enemy to God and religion, who would shew it the least lenity or indulgence; but to tolerate it, was sacrilege, impiety, atheism. So far was Charles hemmed in by these prevailing prejudices, that he durst not own, even to the most loyal of his partizans, his intention of granting liberty of conscience to the papists. Hence, his disavowal of the private treaty, made in his name, by the earl of Glamorgan, which held forth liberty of conscience to the catholic confederates, after the parliament had obtained and published a copy of it. Hence, his unwillingness to conclude the treaty in person, at Oxford; and his wish to shift the responsibility of a measure, so odious to the majority of his English and Scotch subjects, loyal as well as rebel, upon other shoulders. Hence, his ruin, and the downfall of church and state, *pro tempore*. Were he not so fettered and immured by the weighty barrier of inveterate public bigotry, he needed not have entrusted this treaty, so essentially necessary, to the management of perfidy and hypocrisy.

Well, had not Ormond a right to dissemble, since his master did? There is a considerable disparity. Charles was, by birth and the constitution, bound to fill the throne, and discharge the duties of a monarch. The situation, held by the other, was optional. If the king was so restricted, by the maniac horrors of popery, prevalent among the loyalists almost as much as among the rebels, and could not grant the indulgences claimed by the confederates, nor even

publicly avow the intention of such concessions, without alienating numbers of his followers, and risking thereby a total discomfiture, to the overthrow of the constitution, and the ruin of millions involved in his fate; the odium and burden of tolerating popish idolatry, and granting concessions to Irish papists, falling on a subject, whose commission thereto could be afterwards, if necessary to his cause, disavowed by the king, would not be attended with the same ruinous consequences to the constitution, and the three kingdoms. Was Ormond, then, bound in honour and conscience, to become the scape-goat of tottering royalty; and the voluntary martyr of the constitution, and the public welfare; with the example of Strafford and the bishops before his eyes, whom the king was, by oath, bound to protect, and whom he afterwards surrendered to their enemies; an infidelity afterwards corroborated, in the imprisonment of the earl of Glamorgan by the king's order, and his public disavowal of the secret commission he gave him, to treat with the confederates? Was he to encounter the vengeance of a formidable implacable party, most like to triumph finally? No. If he did accept the employment, and hold it in trust for the king, and exercise it in his name, and by his authority; and not alone in trust for him, but for the public, for whose benefit kings reign, and that with a settled design of ruining both. Could a man of honour accept a situation of the highest trust, not only without an intention of fulfilling its duties, but with a design of con-

verting the trust to the destruction of his employer? Could a royal deputy act steadily for the king's enemies, and as constantly against the king and his loyal subjects, for prudential reasons of personal safety, apprehension of vengeance from the king's enemies, or the more flimsy plea, that obedience to his majesty's orders would disgust the protestants, and had not the approbation of the privy council? He had examples in his own country of men changing sides in civil commotions. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, pro tempore deputy, during his father's absence in London, on a false rumour of his having been put to death, revolted against the king; but, in the chivalrous spirit of frankness and honour, he did not avail himself of the artificial powers of government, then in his hands, against his sovereign, but, resigning the castle and the sword of state, took the field on fair terms. Inchiquin, (O'Brien) O'Neil, the two first names of which Ireland boasts, revolted to the parliament; but they did so without disguise, publishing to the world their change. Had Ormond openly declared for the parliament, he would have rendered most material service to the king and confederates. No longer dupes to artifice, they would find in him an enemy much less formidable, than a dangerous feigned friend. His small disaffected force, either by famine or by arms, would soon be compelled to surrender; and the confederates, no longer amused by sham treaties, would have expelled the marauding covenanters back to Scotland, with disgrace. The

destruction of this covenanting army, by the victorious Owen Roe O'Nial, afterwards, proved that it was not lack of power, but respect for treaties, for the royal authority, traitorously perverted to their ruin, and an eager desire to send reinforcements to the king, withheld the avenging sword, and allowed the barbarous fanatic rebels to prowl on the blood and substance of the people so long. First, as lieutenant-general of the army, he was the prompt, willing and bloody instrument of the inhuman orders, issued by the justices, in obedience to the commands of the Westminster rebels, purposely to provoke the Irish to rise in arms. 2dly. Since, on the evil hour, he was appointed lord lieutenant, he followed the footsteps of the displaced justices, in perfect unison with the covenanters, but with more efficacy; as the former were notorious partizans, the latter, under the mask of loyalty, sapped the royal cause; playing their own resources against the royalists, the name and authority of the king, the subsidies and personal aid of the subjects. An intermediate agent between both, he abused their confidence to their ruin. 3dly. When he opposed the cessation with all his might; a measure so much desired by the king and his friends, so much dreaded and counteracted by their enemies; did he not prove whose servant he was, what party he favoured? When he proposed to the city of Dublin, and afterwards to the privy council, that if they could raise him ten thousand pounds he would recommence hostilities, and break off the treaty; yea, he after-

wards offered to set out on three thousand pounds. When he avowed to various correspondents, that he kept the cessation for the sake of subsisting his troops; because he could not subsist them without supplies from the confederates. When he refused, in his majesty's name, to declare the Scotch in Ulster, and Inchiquin in Munster, then in open rebellion against his majesty, and violating the cessation, rebels, to be proceeded against as common enemies! And why? Say his advocates, that would offend the English parliament, with whom they were in alliance! Fine excuse for a king's lieutenant, to take no step against his enemies, for fear of giving offence to them. But then he had no explicit order for it. Good again. This is mockery outrageous. If a viceroy of a kingdom, in time of troubles, or a general in the field, is to wait for positive orders, before he moves a step, or adopts any plan, till the time for action will be gone, there might as well be no deputy or general. Besides, that it was ridiculous to require positive orders for calling rebels rebels; and proceeding against them as such, with his forces, and the volunteer battallions of loyal subjects. But what could the loyal marquis do, so jealous of his reputation with the parliament? Not only he refused to proclaim the rebels, and employ his majesty's forces, subsisting on the bounty of the confederates, to suppress the outrages of the covenanters in the north, but he secretly negotiated with these rebels! To gain them over to his majesty! say his advocates, Carte and Leland. How likely it

was, that he, who kept not the troops under his immediate command attached to his majesty, notwithstanding their military oath; as the sample sent to England proved, by their reluctance in marching, their backwardness in fighting the king's battle, their promptitude in joining the enemy's standard; and from Ormond's declaration, in answer to the confederates request of joining and commanding their troops to suppress the violations of the cessation, "that if he led his troops against the Scots, he dreaded a general revolt." Conscious then, of the infidelity of his own troops, held for the king, and engaged to his service on oath, by what arguments did he expect the conversion of the Scots, and other covenanters, to the royal cause; tied to the parliament, and the majority of England and Scotland, by the fanatical adjurations of the solemn league and covenant; inflamed with a hatred of popery, and the church established; but above all, cemented and animated with the hope of plunder, of which they had already unrestrained licence; and the prospect of fresh forfeitures and plantations, held out to them by the revolutionary leaders? We are not told what proselytes the loyal controvertist made; but, during the correspondence, Monroe took Belfast by surprise; and, turning out the king's troops, garrisoned the town for the parliament. The truth is, as Currie has fully proved,* "That he was all this while privately soliciting the king's

* Hist. Rev. c. 16.

greatest enemies in Ireland, to join all their forces with his, in order to renew the war against the confederate catholics: with whom he was, by his majesty's reiterated commands, publicly negotiating a peace. In the same chapter he gives evident proofs of the marquis's duplicity; in contrasting his correspondence with, and proposals to the Scotch, with the sentiments he expresses of the same people, in corresponding with those of the royal party; and in his public acts, in which he styles the covenant full of treason, sedition and disloyalty: while he authorized the commissioners of the parliament, to report to his secret masters, "that Ormond wanted but the power and opportunity of breaking with the confederates, and falling on them."* And this after spinning out the treaty one year and four months, from July 1644 to November 19th 1645. To sum up the whole of his conduct, it is quite manifest, that he never meant to conclude a peace with the confederates. It is further proved, from the frivolity of the pretences, which he eagerly grasped at, to postpone, adjourn, and by every artifice delay, the conclusion of peace. It is manifest, from his concealing from the Irish the powers he received from the king of granting their demands, and the promises of further concessions, not to be divulged for the present, on political considerations. From the vexation he expressed, that any part of the king's injunctions to him should transpire; and his impertinent

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

command to lord Digby, the king's minister, that no dispatch of his should be communicated to any of the Irish. It plainly follows, that, establishing himself the sole medium of communication, he meant to reserve the power of deceiving both parties; transmitting such propositions from the confederates to the king, and such answers from the king to them, as he thought proper for his own private views. His frequent applications to the king's enemies for assistance, to break the cessation, and remove every prospect of peace or succour to his majesty, are not more solid arguments of his infidelity, than his private and public management of the commission for concluding a peace. While the king sent orders for grace and concession, his deputy held the language of insulting tyranny. The king says, they shall have a constitutional parliament. The deputy says, "a new parliament you shall not have at any hand." You must be contented with a gang of intruders, consisting of clerks, attornies, &c. illegally forced upon the house by Parsons, in room of the legitimate members, illegally excluded. No repeal of penal laws. You must own yourselves rebels, lay down your arms, and submit to your majesty's government! This was language for rebels subdued, at which the confederates spurned; with good reason deeming themselves loyal, as yet unbroken. We have heard of secret articles in a treaty; such Charles wished those concerning religion to remain. But an attempt to conceal and alter the propositions of one party to the other, was un-

questionable fraud on both. Why, then, did he accept a commission, whose purpose he intended to defeat? Why does every traitor accept a situation of trust? that he may the more effectually accomplish the destruction of such as confide in him. He accepted the commission, the better to defeat its object; and thereby serve the parliament and his own private interests. Had he refused the commission, he could no longer dupe the king and his loyal Irish subjects. They would look for another organ of communication, through whose intervention, if the organ was sound, a peace might speedily be concluded, between parties so zealously desirous of understanding one another; as it was by the mediation of Glamorgan, when too late, in one month, after being three years nearly protracted by the insidious arts of Ormond. From the king's distressed situation, great concessions might be expected to come; among the rest, a free parliament: a body of men, whose inquisitorial eye into their mal-practices, and treasonable transactions, neither Parsons nor Ormond would cheerfully meet. To which may be added, the magnificent promises of the Westminster rebels would be frustrated. By accepting the commission, they would, for a considerable time, be deprived of any other channel of mutual correspondence, become both difficult and hazardous, on account of the sanguinary order of parliament to their ships, which infested the Irish coast, who might be timely informed of the dispatch of agents from the supreme council; and no less danger

afterwards, in travelling through any part of England or Wales. The king was so circumstanced, with regard even to the loyal part of his English subjects, that he durst not avow the design of a liberal toleration to Irish papists, and must be delicate as to divulging any important concessions of civil rights. In the progress of this cautious circumspect management, in which prudence and will were at variance, many private instructions would be given, which it would be the highest impolicy to publish; and which prudential reasons would force a monarch, in bondage even to his own party, watched, criticized in all his actions with malignant industry by his adversaries, as a fomenter of Irish rebellion, as a favourer and abettor of popery, to disown, so far as that was practicable. The perplexity of the monarch, and the variation of his private instructions from his public dispatches, would leave his deputy room for hesitation, and wasting precious time, in awaiting fresh orders. The king's concessions he might, as in fact he did, conceal from his loyal subjects; and their demands he could magnify beyond reality; and interpret in the most invidious sense, with the comments of a puritannic faction, to whose scrutiny they were submitted, before transmitted to the king. While he and the parliament played into each other's hands, opportunities would occur, or be created, for procrastinating, or entirely breaking off the treaty. For this express purpose, many provocations were given; which the confederates, from a hearty desire of peace, and of succouring his

majesty, bore with uncommon meekness. The Scots and Inchiquin violated the cessation, committing the most shocking, inhuman excesses, by authority and command of the king's enemies. Ormond could, and did oppose the treaty of peace; but he could not oppose the violators of the truce, signed by himself; and therefore became a copartner in breach of treaty. These Scotch and Irish rebels were allies, too useful and necessary for him and his masters, to be suppressed; therefore, they went on from outrage to outrage, massacring, plundering, burning, with public connivance, and private encouragement, from the deputy, without any opposition, save what they experienced from the confederates; who were all this time feeding this loyal viceroy, and his disaffected garrison, while the whole object of his negotiation was, the ruin of his king and country.

In the structure of the Irish assembly too, he could flatter himself to find the means of division; which, according to the avowal of his advocates, he sedulously cultivated. The old and new Irish scarce as yet learned to eye each other as one people. Those, whose countries were forfeited and planted, were not of a mind with those whose estates had escaped the ordeal. The former could brook no peace, that would not restore them to the whole, or some considerable portion, of their property; the latter would be satisfied with a *uti possidetis*, or things as they are. The former would be encouraged to petition the assembly for restitution; the latter would be encouraged to oppose the petition; hence discord

and rupture. Besides that, in all popular institutions, the jealousy of ambitious demagogues and officers, contending for honours and preferment, would open a wide field for intrigue and dissention. That the noble marquis availed himself of every advantage, presented by the divided, distracted state of the nation; by the distresses of the king, and the growing power of his enemies; and laid hold of every incident that served to betray his king and country, defenceless, into the hands of their cruel, implacable enemies, with great address and ability, cannot be denied. In that canting age of religious hypocrisy, moral delinquency, and political treachery, he was hardly outdone by the cleverest adept in the infernal digest of the covenant. He lived to enjoy the triumph of his infernal machinations, his royal sovereign beheaded, and his country covered with ashes and dead bodies. But we have not as yet done with this great delinquent; more of his exploits in the sequel.

One might be tempted to ask, why did Charles continue him so long his viceroy? Let the querist reflect, that when Charles committed the management of the Irish war to parliament, he, in fact, during the continuance of that war, and until a definitive treaty of peace, surrendered the substantial part of the executive to them; and that none could keep the situation of his nominal viceroy, against whom they could object any thing; such as being Irish, Irish inclined; popish, popish inclined, unfit for war, &c. They had, in truth, a veto on the appointment of lord Dillon,

as one of the justices; they put in their veto, whereupon he was set aside. Hence their aversion to peace; because it would terminate their executive power in Ireland, strengthen the king, and weaken them; besides depriving them of a commodious bugbear for alarming the Bull family, and governing the panic-rid multitude at pleasure; and taking away a popular pretext for raising men and money, for the Irish war, or for the relief of the poor, distressed, massacred protestants of Ireland, to carry on the war against the king. Therefore, no deputy could have their favour, who did not counteract the peace. 'Tis true, after the sword was drawn between them and the king, an honest deputy might easily shake off their trammels; especially, as all the money and men they could raise were expended in the cause of rebellious; and no supplies were sent, adequate to the support of a government at war with the Irish. That Ormond might have done. He could have saved his king and his country; and erected a monument of everlasting fame to his memory. Unfortunate Charles! ill-fated Ireland! ye had an unprincipled Machiavel to deal with, who preferred selfish views of family aggrandizement to duty and honour.

Already Charles had tried to benefit by a change of deputies. The rough, unqualified tyranny, the open, undisguised treasons of Parsons, provoked remonstrances against him. His removal from office caused no regret to his masters. He had hitherto answered their purpose by provoking and extending insurrection. Having

done thus much, his part in the drama was finished. A blunt, detected traitor to his majesty; odious to the Irish, by his principles, party, tyranny and treasons, was no longer suited to fill a station which required, to serve their turn, dissimulation, intrigue, the art of managing parties, and all the arts of deception that can be learned in the political school painted by Machiavoglio. The headstrong fury of Parsons would lead to a sanguinary war directly, for the prosecution of which the English commons could not spare sufficient means, from the necessary expenditure of their own rebellion. They wanted, therefore, an insinuating ambidextrous politician, who could deceive both the king and the Irish; and, deceiving both, by appearances of frankness, and speeches of loyalty and attachment, to ward off peace, and wage no war, but keep them suspended between both, as 'tis fabled of Mahomet's coffin; neither downright peace, or downright war; but a suspense and agitation, vastly worse for the king and Irish, than the hottest war the parliamentarians could then wage in Ireland, and more beneficial to the English rebels. Because that unsettled state of suspense and agitation effectually deprived the king of all the resources he might otherwise derive from Ireland, and eased the parliament, pro interim, of the burden of an Irish war. Had Parsons been suffered in power a little longer, a fierce war, and a total derout of the rebel parliamentarians in Ireland, would be the speedy consequence; when the confederates, unshackled by treaties made to

decoy them, unopposed might send powerful reinforcements to the king, before it was too late.

How unfortunate was Charles, when he dismissed the rough, unpolished rebel Parsons, to chuse one infinitely more dangerous, because more refined and artful, the favourite and bosom friend of the rebel commons, on whom they long before had conferred a valuable diamond, as a token of their esteem, and whom they recommended to royal favour with more than usual warmth! (this was before the rupture.) What blindfolded the poor king in this inauspicious choice, we can barely conjecture. His deputy must be a protestant. To counterbalance the insignificance, to which his resignation of the management of the Irish war brought his deputies, it was desirable he should be an Irishman, of great family and interest in the country. If one should be found, endowed with statistic and military talents, he would deserve the preference. The earl of Ormond appeared to combine all these requisites. He had been tried in war and in council; was one of the most opulent and powerful noblemen of the kingdom; of great influence over an extensive train of followers. His family was conspicuous for inflexible adherence to English interest; never known to give up an iota of English supremacy, for the benefit of Ireland. Such was the man, destined by fate or providence, for the downfall of his king and country. Charles had more occasions than one to repent him of his choice; but he was too deep in his toils, too

far entrusted with the *arcana imperii*, to be provoked. What were the *arcana*, whose promulgation appeared so terrific to the king? Unhappy, fallen, degraded king; a slave to those who fought for him; a target to those who fought against him; beset with spies, false friends; sold, betrayed in every quarter. Why, those dreadful secrets, communicated to Ormond, to be cautiously communicated to the supreme council of the confederates, under seal of secrecy, and which the deputy maliciously withheld from them, amounted only to this, that his majesty pledged himself by every tie of honour and religion, as a king and christian, that he would grant their demand to the Irish catholics, if they assisted him to get the better of his enemies.

Finding the third year of the negotiation far advanced, without a nearer approach to a conclusion, than when it commenced, and his own affairs verging to a crisis, he found it high time to employ a more sincere mediator of peace than Ormond; who, it clearly appeared by this time, had no real intention of concluding, but rather of evading and procrastinating it. The displacing one deputy, and appointing another, under the limitations he had restricted himself to, he found, by experience, to answer no purpose. The formalities, attending such public acts, would require more time than the pressure of his affairs would admit. Besides, such an affront to that haughty peer might provoke him to give publicity to state secrets, very injurious to the king in his present predicament. Why, the good

people of England, loyal and disloyal, would learn with astonishment and indignation, that their king dare treat the Irish as fellow men and fellow christians; that their loyalty and services should be requited; their persons and property secured; their nation represented in a free parliament, as well as the English are in England; and their religion tolerated. To avoid two evils, delay, and the publicity of his intentions, so reasonable in themselves, so odious to a people the most irrationally selfish, he chose a special agent, to treat and conclude a peace with the Irish. No man could suit his purpose better than Edward Somerset, lord Herbert, eldest son of the marquis of Worcester, afterwards created earl of Glamorgan, a zealous royalist and catholic. "Upon this earl's first arrival at Kilkenny, lord Muskerry acquainted the marquis of Ormond from thence, with the business he came about, in general terms. To which his excellency answered, "that he knew no subject in England upon whose favour and authority with his majesty, and the real and innate nobility, he could better rely, than upon lord Glamorgan's; nor any person whom he (Ormond) would more endeavour to serve, in those things which that lord should undertake for his majesty's service."

"This answer lord Muskerry communicated to the general assembly, then sitting at Kilkenny; as an indication that his excellency was disposed to support, or at least would not disavow, any agreement they should make with Glamorgan. Upon which presumption, the assembly resolved

to conclude a public peace, for civil matters, with the marquis of Ormond, on his own terms; after they had made a private one with that earl for matters of religion; which last they soon after did about the latter end of August, 1645.”*

Here we see, that as soon as a negotiator took up the business in earnest, he found no reluctance or opposition from the confederates. Would not one think the marquis a wisher of peace, from the warmth with which he recommended Glamorgan? He could no longer conceal the king's promises from the catholics; they having full assurance thereof, from one of the king's most confidential friends, his legate a latere. He could no longer decline accepting the treaty, without openly declaring himself the enemy of both king and country, which it was his policy to conceal. As for his eulogium on Glamorgan, whose mission was a heavy censure on his own incapacity or treachery, it is an ordinary resource of statesmen, to veil chagrin, disgust, or hatred, under a volley of compliments. Those who betray are, by a consciousness of detection, or even suspicion, of which the mission of Glamorgan was proof positive, stimulated to revenge. By what method will just now appear. “The government's determined opposition to a peace with the Irish, on any tolerable terms, made it absolutely necessary to keep the treaty with Glamorgan secret. But a copy of it having been accidentally found, soon after its conclusion, it was

* Curry's Rev. Civil Wars in Irel.

transmitted to the English parliament, and by them made public. And lord Digby, who was then in Dublin, fearing that the large concessions, in point of religion, which the confederate catholics had obtained by that peace, might alienate the affections of his majesty's protestant subjects in both kingdoms, did, in concert with the lord lieutenant, summon the earl of Glamorgan before the council; where they confidently accused him of having either forged, or surreptitiously obtained his majesty's commission; upon which, on the 26th of December, the earl was committed close prisoner to the castle of Dublin. About the same time that the king was prevailed upon, publicly to disavow, in a message to both houses of the English parliament, Glamorgan's commission, and thereby made void the peace, lately concluded with the confederate catholics, in virtue of it.

“ In what light we are to consider his majesty's public disavowal of Glamorgan's commission, may, I think, partly be gathered from his dispatch to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland on that occasion; wherein, among other things, he says, “ the truth is, that the pressing condition of my affairs, obliging me to procure a peace in Ireland, if it might be had on any terms safe to my honour and conscience, and to my protestant subjects there; and finding also that the said peace could not be gained but by some indulgence to the Roman catholics, in point of freeing them from the penalties imposed upon the exercise of their religion, as although justly

and duly I might grant, yet haply, in public transaction, could not be without some scandal to such of my good subjects as might be apt to be wrought upon by their arts, who did continually watch all opportunities to blast the integrity of my actions; I thought fit, over and above my public power, to assure the said Roman catholics, in a less public way, of the said exemptions from the penalties of the laws; and of some such other graces as might, without blemish to my honour and conscience, and without prejudice to my protestant subjects, be afforded them. With the knowledge of those secret instructions to the marquis of Ormond, I thought fit to acquaint the earl of Glamorgan, at his going to Ireland; being confident of his hearty affection to my service; and withal, knowing his interest with the Roman catholic party to be very considerable, I thought it not unlikely that the marquis of Ormond might make good use of him, by employing that interest, in persuading them to moderation, and to rest satisfied upon his (Glamorgan's) engagement also, with these above-mentioned concessions; of which, in the present condition of affairs, Ormond could give them no other but a private assurance; and to that end, it was possible, I might have thought to give unto the said earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman catholics, in case Ormond should find occasion to make use of him, either as a further assurance of what he (Ormond) should privately promise; or in case he should judge it necessary

to manage these matters for the greater confidence, a part by him (Glamorgan) of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be less jealous."

"On the 30th of the same month of December, the earl of Glamorgan, having sent to the lord lieutenant the original counterpart of the articles of peace with the confederate catholics, was set free from his close confinement, but still remained a prisoner in the castle, having only the liberty of the house, until his majesty's further pleasure was known. And shortly after, his lordship was enlarged, upon his own recognizance of twenty thousand pounds, and that of the earl of Kildare, and the marquis of Clanrickard, of ten thousand pounds each, to appear on thirty days notice. Soon after his enlargement he went to Kilkenny, where he shewed the utmost zeal to bring the confederate catholics to agree to the terms of peace offered by the marquis of Ormond, the defects of which, in the articles of religion, were to be supplied by himself."*

Curry says, that a copy of the secret treaty was found by accident, and communicated to the long parliament. Leland says, it was found in a bishop's packet, who was slain fighting at Sligo. The copy was procured, and the procurer was as interested to keep the manner of communication secret, as the king and Glamorgan were to cover their transactions with the confederates in secrecy. Is it probable, the vigilant and powerful enemies

* Carte's Ormond.

of Charles would leave the discovery of such important affairs to accident? They, who narrowly watched his every motion; had him beset with their spies; every foreign correspondence pried into by their agents; most particularly his negotiations with the council at Kilkenny. The mission of Glamorgan, and the king's expectations therefrom, was no secret to them. The nature of a treaty with Irish papists, that shunned publicity, while it craved powerful succour, was readily guessed; but an authenticated, not accidental copy, whose publication might, as the temper of times stood, disgrace and injure the king, was desirable. The Irish government was devoted to them; they had their agents at Kilkenny; and, besides, Ormond extorted a copy thereof, during Glamorgan's confinement in the castle, under promise of secrecy. It is not easy to see, what Ormond could want with a copy, if he meant to keep it secret. First, he was, in the fact of seducing or bullying Glamorgan into a breach of secrecy, guilty of breaking the secrecy which he promised. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se.* "He who gets an act done by another, makes it thereby his own act." 2dly, The concessions there made or promised to Irishmen and catholics, were as much as possible to be concealed, even from the king's partizans, until the king should be in a condition to fulfil them. 3dly, The secret treaty, and the private embassy, whereby it was conducted, were odious to him; partly, as an avowed enemy to popery, an efficient partizan of the rebels, his services to whom were

too slightly veiled by the insincerity of professions. Conscious that a distrust of his principles occasioned the mission extraordinary, the best revenge he could take for this affront would be, to hand over a true copy of the secret treaty to the king's enemies. What else did an enemy to that treaty want with it? If ever the adage be correct, 'shun the over curious, for they will be prattlers,' it is, when an enemy betrays an overweening desire of knowing the secrets of his foe; when a statesman wishes to sift secret measures, which he detests. In state affairs, and diplomatic transactions, plagiarism, swindling, theft and forgery, have been practised. That no copy of it was found in the king's cabinet, after the fatal battle of Naseby, the king's message to both houses, disavowing the commission, may pass for sufficient proof. They did well, to father the copy on a dead man, who could not rise to refute them. Yet 'tis unlikely a prelate going to war should be entrusted with such an instrument. He might, possibly, have formed an address to his soldiers, encouraging them to fight valiantly for a good and gracious monarch, who held out prospects of relief to his catholic subjects, which on such occasions would rather be magnified than extenuated; but such a military harangue was not the authentic copy of a secret treaty, to be published to the face of those who concluded it, in defiance of contradiction. The treaty, however, was concluded too late for the king's affairs, or for any benefit to Ireland; through the pride and obstinacy of the popish confede-

rates, say Ormond's advocates, who elsewhere lay the blame to the pope's nuncio and the Irish catholic clergy.

The reader, I trust, has been satisfied, that the real culprit, who treacherously delayed the peace until it came too late, has been unmasked, and pourtrayed in his proper features. He, who promoted the civil war with all his might, in conjunction with the justices, devoted servants of the rebel parliament; who constantly opposed the cessation, making frequent overtures for assistance to break it; who, after its conclusion, refused to take care it should be observed; refused to proclaim the king's enemies, in open rebellion against him, or use the sword, put into his hand for that purpose, against them; who was so tender of his reputation with the covenanters, as to decline the king's service, that he should not give offence to his enemies; who could excuse himself from discharging the duties of his station in the king's service, on frivolous pretences, 'that the privy council would not agree to it; that it would disgust protestants; but, above all, that prosecuting their friends and allies would provoke the formidable parliament;' who, while he publicly carried on a mockery of negotiation, in the king's name, and by his authority, with the confederates, was privately, and with more sincerity, treating with the king's enemies, the Scots; and other British rebels, in Ulster, for a treaty of alliance against his majesty and his loyal subjects; who was barely prevented, by a warning from the king, to let Dublin and

Drogheda fall into the hands of the English and Scotch rebels; a private article, one may suppose, which he afterwards, in due season, punctually fulfilled. In a word, let the proceedings of the parties, in this long-spun negotiation, be dispassionately scanned, and the blame of protracting, and ultimately defeating, by delay, the chief objects of the treaty, will not fall on the confederates, or their clergy, who sincerely and eagerly wished for it, as an emancipation from present ills, and a security against future; but, on the guilty man, who invariably thwarted and crossed the wishes and welfare of his king and country, both in his public acts and private intrigues.

In a history, so obscured by the prejudices and passions of various partizans, many difficulties remain to be cleared; none more interesting to the cause of religion and historical truth, than the false light in which the conduct of the pope's legate, and that of the catholic clergy in general, is viewed. Their character has suffered under a load of obloquy, flung on them by writers of all parties. The accusation of some protestant writers, of their having struggled for a re-establishment of their hierarchy, as founded on no authentic document, may be omitted. As to their opposition to the unprecedented sort of a smuggled peace, carried on by Glamorgan, it is reasonable to examine the grounds of their objections, before we condemn them. Not to dwell on an indisputable axiom, too often deviated from; that ligeance and allegiance are reciprocal: that the sovereignty, rest where it will, with one, few, or

many, owes impartial justice, and protection in person, property, and civil rights, to all who have not by their conduct, and the judgment of the law and their country, forfeited the same. Not to insist on the imperious claim of strenuous exertions of loyalty, in critical times of danger, had the clergy, had the confederates, a right to rest satisfied with the declaration of a private agent, and that too soon after disowned by Charles, in a message to both houses? The king, in his distress, would promise mountains; but where the security for performance? Who denied the promise while expecting succour, would be more punctilious, when established in power, independent of that succour? Would they rely on the magnitude of their services? They knew not then, that sovereigns dislike those to whom they owe too much; or might not the gratitude of the son resemble that of the sire, who, on receiving unusually large supplies from an Irish popish parliament, courteously, in the court fashion of his family, bid his lieutenant thank them for their alacrity in granting the supplies; and put the penal laws strictly in force against them! Would they rest their expectations on the character of Charles? The royal martyr may have been a very good man, but, unluckily, very few of his subjects, protestant or catholic, English, Irish or Scotch, had implicit faith in his declarations or promises. If we believe Leland, English catholics would not rely on his promise of toleration; because, in violation of his oath, he surrendered Strafford and the bishops. He

seemed to think, that principle must yield to circumstances; which made many desert his service, apprehensive of being sacrificed, should his circumstances make it appear expedient. At all events, there can be but little doubt, that a prince, so forward to send a public disclaimer to both houses, then at open war with him, of any promise or intention to enfranchise catholics, to whose aid he looked as his sheet anchor, would, in case of an accommodation with his English parliament, as a token of cordial union, forget any promises made to so odious a people, when their service was no longer courted.

Renuncini thought it unbecoming the dignity of the holy see, to proffer alliance and support to any monarch, who would not give some public pledge of his determination to tolerate the catholic faith. A secret treaty, made by a secret agent, and afterwards disowned, he could not accept as such. This must be allowed consistent with his public character, as pope's nuncio, protector of the catholic faith, and his unacquaintance with the English system of governing Ireland. Better informed on that subject, he would drop the vain distinction between public and private treaty. He would no more rely on a public treaty, signed by the deputy, than on a clandestine one, signed by his footman; because the established maxim is, no faith to be kept with the Irish; and this maxim, older than the reformation, inculcated and acted upon by English papists!!! He would find, that the English never made a treaty with the Irish, which they did not violate. That

they always treated the Irish as natural enemies, with whom peace was but truce; and treaties, political expedients. In after times, the treaty of Limerick was as solemn a pledge of public faith as could be required. It was accelerated from certain information, that considerable reinforcements and military stores were on their way, to relieve the brave garrison. Shortly after it was signed, the French fleet, with troops, stores and provisions, appeared in sight; the garrison, as honourable as brave, refused to receive them. The English broke the treaty—it was made with the Irish. They enlarged the penal code, like Draco's laws, written in blood. They were scourges for the Irish. Not ill informed of these particulars, the nuncio waved the distinction between English treaties with Ireland, public or private, only recommending to the confederates, to rest on their arms, until security could be obtained; meanwhile, to send succours to the king. What security, shall it be asked, could be given at that conjuncture? A free parliament. Charles could summon an Irish parliament; and the confederates, in despite of Ormond and Monroe, could enforce the summons. Without obtaining this grant, their due, and in his power, no adequate reason can be assigned, why the Irish should sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his defence; unless, as was frequently urged to them, their defence was connected with his, against a common enemy, implacably bent on the ruin of both.

Having hitherto assigned Renuucini's motives

for not abetting a clandestine truce, affording no pledge for civil or religious rights; and his advice to the confederates, not to be dissolved or disarmed, by what would be improperly called a peace, until they had obtained such security; it may not be displeasing to trace the cause of his mission to Ireland, independent of the vague one given by Leland, "the desire of a new pontiff to distinguish the commencement of his pontificate by zeal for religion." In the capital of the christian faith, formerly mistress of the world by the sword, as latterly by the word, Ireland had a powerful friend, unsolicited, unemployed, but not the less zealous. Luke Wading, native of the county of Wexford, was professor of theology in the Irish Franciscan convent at Rome, where he became a member of the order. An eminent divine is, at any time, a respectable character; but, in them days of religious war and warlike controversy, when kings and princes disputed the cause with the pen, as well as with cannon, he was a superior being. Great learning, modesty and piety, recommended Wading to the public, and to the cardinals, princes and bishops of Italy. Though absent in the flesh, his affections were centered in his native country; and the only conflict he could experience would be, between patriotism and piety; if such congenial passions can conflict, which so naturally assimilate and blend all the secondary virtues in their train. The civil war raging in Ireland, the persecution of catholics, the threats of extermination, repeatedly hurled out against them by the English

parliament, and other covenanting clubs, were the frequent subjects of his melancholy reflexions and fervent prayers. Neither inferior in merit or zeal for his country and religion to the preachers of the crusade, like them, he employed his eloquence and influence to raise friends in support of his distressed country and persecuted communion. By his indefatigable and successful exertions, he was enabled to send large supplies of money to Ireland. On the accession of his particular friend and patron, cardinal Pamphilio, to the chair of St. Peter, he prevailed on his holiness publicly to espouse the cause of the Irish catholics, sending them a nuncio with liberal supplies. On his way to Ireland, he stopt at Paris, to wait on the queen of England, who would gladly have detained him there, until the Irish treaty should be concluded. "He had intimated a desire of attending her with the usual solemnity, and producing his credentials in a public audience. But the law of England did not allow the admission of a foreign minister without consent of the king and council; and the English protestants of her court warned her majesty of the danger of such a visit, which would imply a treaty between the king and the pope. The nuncio was too tenacious of the honour of the holy see, to accept a private audience: so that their correspondence was carried on by the intervention of the attendants on each side, Sir Dudley Wyatt and Dominic Spinola.

"The nuncio expressed his attachment to the king, and, according to his instructions, endea-

voured to convince her majesty that the business on which he was to proceed would prove the most effectual means of restoring his power and authority. The queen, with equal insincerity, declared her satisfaction at his being appointed to go to Ireland, and the hopes she entertained that by his mediation a firm peace would be established between her royal consort and the Irish, an event equally necessary to the interests of both. She represented the danger of the catholic confederates, should the king be totally subdued, or forced to an agreement with his adversaries. Hence she inferred the necessity, that the Irish should moderate their demands, and not "endeavour to extort the whole at once." She mentioned her desire, that the nuncio should stay at Paris until the treaty should be finished; that by his endeavours with the pope, he might have the honour of giving success to an affair so ardently desired by all the powers of Europe, who justly trembled at the ruin of the king of England, and dreaded the conjunction of the English parliamentarians with the Huguenots and Dutch, a conjunction hateful and formidable to all monarchies.

"This intimation was enforced by a memorial which the nuncio received from the catholics of England. They had heard that Sir Kenelm Digby had been sent by the queen to apply for subsidies at Rome. They solicited Rinuccini that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish should receive their just demands with regard to religion, and the rights and interests of English

catholics be equally secured. They proposed to unite with their brethren of Ireland, so as to form one army for defence of the king; but insisted on a previous concession of their demands, and full security for the performance. "The king," said they, "is not to be trusted, when his interest may tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he had so often solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the catholics. And that there can be no reliance on his word, appears from the case of the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, though sworn to protect them."

"In this bustle of negociation, the nuncio amused himself with the flattering idea, that he had proceeded considerably in the glorious work of extirpating the northern heresy, the object of his labours, and professedly the final object of the English catholics. The queen was solicitous for an absolute pacification in Ireland. The catholics of England also, represented it as the first necessary step to all their measures, and the means of transporting such a body of Irish troops, as, in conjunction with the English of the same religious profession, would at once serve the king, and over-awe him, so as to extort the performance of those conditions, which, if left to his own free choice, he might not grant. A scheme was now revived for transferring the conduct of the Irish treaty to the queen of England and queen regent of France. The nuncio was thus further flattered at the prospect of that important part he was to take in this negociation, and being regarded as

an umpire between the king and the catholic confederates. But the court of Rome deemed his presence necessary in Ireland, to preserve the interests of the church. He was repeatedly ordered to proceed on his journey, embarked, and arrived at Kilkenny on the twelfth day of November, when the negociation with Ormond seemed hastening to a conclusion.

“ In his first audience of the supreme council he professed the fairest intentions of promoting the interests of religion and the peace of the kingdom. The council on their part assured him, that all their proceedings should be with his knowledge and concurrence. They explained the several concessions granted by the lord lieutenant in civil affairs; and those of a religious nature yielded by the earl of Glamorgan. In such a situation, they observed, it was of the utmost importance to determine what might still be requisite for the preservation of their religion, and support of the king, as his necessities were urgent, the power of the English parliament formidable, and the cessation speedily to determine.

“ Glamorgan also addressed himself to the nuncio, with particular deference. He declared the utmost reverence for his character, a firm resolution of acting entirely with his concurrence and by his direction; explained the nature of his commissions to treat with the Irish, together with several other powers he had received from the king, and which demonstrated the extraordinary confidence his majesty reposed in him. He

shewed him a letter from the king, sealed, and addressed to pope Innocent the Tenth, as a proof of his attachment to the holy see: and to the nuncio himself, he delivered another letter, in which Charles expressed satisfaction at his purpose of going to Ireland; desiring him to unite with the earl of Glamorgan, and promising to ratify whatever they should jointly resolve; recommending a punctual observance of secrecy, and assuring him, that although this letter was the first he had written to a minister of the pope, yet he hoped it would not be the last. “When the earl,” said he, “and you have concerted your measures, we shall openly shew ourself, as we have assured him,—Your friend.”

“The only effect of such condescensions was to make this vain ecclesiastic more confident and assuming. He objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty as insufficient and precarious. He condemned the design of publishing the political articles, while the religious were suppressed, a matter of great scandal to foreigners, who would obviously conclude, that the honour and freedom of religion had been sacrificed to temporal advantages. The performance of these religious articles, he observed, was doubtful and insecure; the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could insist on such a confirmation, might be suddenly taken off by death. If the confederates were cautious of alienating the protestants, by publishing the religious articles, they should be at least equally

cautious of alienating the pope and all christian princes, by suppressing them. And even in these boasted articles, he observed, no mention had been made of a catholic lord lieutenant, no provision for catholic bishops and universities, no stipulation for a continuance of the supreme council, or government of the confederates. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections. Various papers were drawn up, discussed, answered, without any effect, but to confirm the nuncio in his opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpose of an immediate accommodation.

“ The nuncio, when he found it impracticable to bring the council into his own measures, resolved to give every opposition in his power to their sentiments. He summoned the Romish bishops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined with him in a protestation against the peace, and a resolution to oppose it. Their instrument was not to be produced, “ until the treaty should be abruptly or preposterously concluded by the council.” Such was the affected style of their resolutions. The nuncio, in the next place, addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely observed that the king should no longer be deceived by heretics; that the safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of all his catholic subjects with those of other countries; that it was of the utmost moment to his interests to secure the Irish, by granting all their just petitions; and that his lordship was bound to apply

those extensive powers with which he was entrusted, to the service of the king and monarchy, as well as to the establishment of the orthodox faith. The earl, whose temper and understanding were nearly on a level with those of the Italian prelate, readily yielded to these instances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Irish army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in parliament, universities to be erected under their regulation, and that the jurisdiction of the supreme council should subsist until all the private articles were ratified.

“ To counteract the schemes of those confederates who wished to make peace on such terms as might secure the toleration, without the establishment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty said to be framed by the pope, and transmitted by his nephew, cardinal Pamfilio. It consisted of extravagant provisions for the church. Rinuccini was empowered to make such additions as he should think proper: his additional articles were still more extravagant: and the whole collection of absurdity and presumption was presented as a treaty already formed and determined at Rome, though not approved by the queen, nor signed by his agent, Sir Kenelm

Digby. He collected his clergy, and easily prevailed on them to sign a protestation in favour of this treaty. He recommended it to the general assembly, as the only plan on which their rights and interests could be effectually secured: he exhorted them to wait the arrival of the original articles; in the mean time, to prolong the cessation, and to send their forces for the relief of Chester. He wrought with equal assiduity to gain Glamorgan to his project. This earl, who, from his conversation with the ministers in Dublin, had adopted what were called among his associates the sentiments of moderation, declared loudly for a speedy conclusion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for considering his own separate treaty as a sufficient security for the ecclesiastical interests. His instability, and impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal master, now disposed him to comply with the nuncio. He wrote to the marquis, that "the effects of his secret endeavours absolutely vanished, when a more advantageous peace was offered by the munificent and powerful hand of her majesty;" assured him, "that it was of the utmost importance to the king and kingdom, that no cause of offence should be given to the pope's nuncio;" insinuating the necessity of treating with him in his own manner, and on his own terms. "But since the high post," said he, "which you hold, and the difference of religion, will not permit your excellency to engage openly in this affair, I believe it would not be at all improper for you to delegate that office to others,

with whom, if your excellency shall join me; who, though unequal in other respects, am inferior to none in friendship and regard for you; I doubt not that we shall in a few days, and even a few hours, obtain of the nuncio whatever shall be thought reasonable and honourable for his majesty; myself alone having by the interest and good will of the nuncio, gained this point, that three thousand soldiers are designed to be sent to the relief of Chester; and to-morrow or next day, he is to have the chief management of that proposal in the general assembly."

"The style of this letter seems to imply a consciousness in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The answer of the marquis of Ormond seems also inconsistent with a real persuasion that the earl was not duly authorised to treat with the confederates. He cautiously declines engaging in any negociation foreign to the powers he had received; expresses his total ignorance of any grounds for the expectation of advantageous conditions by means of her majesty. "My affections and interest," saith he, "are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the sad condition he is in; and, therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed to yourself to serve the king, without fear of interruption from me, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by."

"While the nuncio exerted himself with such vigour in favour of a treaty, which probably had

no existence but in his own heated imagination; while he ventured to assure the general assembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby; the more sensible and moderate of this assembly contended for the speedy conclusion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. They urged the condescension of the king in granting all their temporal conditions: that in spirituals, nothing was wanting but the pomp and ostentation of public worship, and an established hierarchy. The circumstances of the king, they observed, could not admit any further concessions: they should rely on his inclinations manifested by the earl of Glamorgan, and otherwise. The pope himself had declared, that a connivance was all that could at present be reasonably demanded for their religion. One ecclesiastic attested the reality of this declaration; another, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, maintained that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, an imposition on the Irish, purposely devised to ruin the king, and to prevent the peace. Others again, with greater indulgence to this intractable prelate observed, that a conclusion of the civil articles could be of no prejudice to any ecclesiastical peace from by the pope; since it was provided, that all things should stand good which the king might grant in point of religion, by the intervention of any person whatever.

“ In the midst of these delays and altercations, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to another,

attempted to moderate the violence of each, professed the warmest attachment to the nuncio; signed an instrument, whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, provided, that if the original articles should arrive by the first day of May, his instrument should be void; and, in the mean time, kept secret, unless the political peace with Ormond should be published before that day. The nuncio yielded to these condescensions of Glamorgan. They signed a convention with some deputies of the general assembly, whereby it was stipulated, that the cessation should continue to the first of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty was not then produced, the nuncio should ratify what he and Glamorgan should agree upon; that the political treaty with the lord lieutenant should proceed, provided that nothing should be concluded or published, no alteration of civil government attempted, nor any thing in prejudice to the present transaction. From the readiness of Glamorgan's concessions, Rinuccini still suspected his sincerity. He still dreaded, that the earl might unite with Ormond in opposition to a treaty received from the pope. To remove such impressions, the earl, by a voluntary oath, engaged to support the nuncio and his measures against the partizans of Ormond, and all others: he declared his resolution of going to France, to procure transports for such forces as should be provided for the king; he amused the vain prelate with promises of vast military stores, together with a considerable navy, to be entirely at his

devotion and command. The suspicions of the nuncio were thus quieted: he exhorted the general assembly to proceed in their preparations for peace and war; and Glamorgan hastened to Waterford, to attend the embarkation of the troops destined for the relief of Chester, when this city had already surrendered to the parliament.

“ The earl was still possessed with apprehensions of the instability of the nuncio, and the opposition he might still make to the design of sending effectual succours to the king. From Waterford he repeated his zealous assurances of attachment, and his magnificent promises to this prelate. He offered to make use of his powers of conferring titles; and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, so as to enable him to gratify his Irish friends, and strengthen his party. At the same time, in a strain of perfect confidence, he assured the unhappy Charles, that ten thousand men should speedily be transported for his service; and that, his majesty remaining still constant in a favourable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince. The publication of the king’s message to parliament, in which Glamorgan’s private treaty was disavowed, seemed scarcely to damp the confidence of this lord; however it surprised and confounded the confederates. He represented it as “ a forced renunciation:” he declared, that the king had expressly instructed him, that “ if by any un-

fortunate accident he should be involved in counsels apparently contrary to the powers granted to his lordship, that he should consider them only as an additional motive to hasten to the succour and rescue of his sovereign:" he spoke with ease and assurance of the military stores, subsidies, and transports he was to procure by his negotiations on the continent, and required only that he might find an army ready on his return.

" While the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged his imagination with splendid projects never to be executed, the supreme council of confederates was engaged in the final settlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond. The articles to which he had assented appeared so satisfactory to the general assembly, that even their prelates concurred in accepting and approving them. It had indeed been formerly stipulated with the nuncio, that no peace should be concluded until the first day of May; but the new general assembly, convened on the sixth of March, did not consider themselves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commissioned to conclude the treaty; and, in defiance of the protestation thundered by the nuncio against their further proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of the same month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, whereby the king was disengaged from all his concessions, unless those succours were obtained, which were the great purpose and final

object of his negotiations with the Irish. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand foot well armed and provided, by the first day of April, and four thousand more by the first of the ensuing month. In the mean time, the treaty was to be deposited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis,) as an instrument of no force until these troops should be sent away. It was agreed, that the peace should be published with all due solemnity on the first of May. But if the troops were not sent at the times appointed, (unless prevented by some unavoidable impediment, or reasonable cause, to be allowed by the marquis of Ormond,) the articles were to be considered as no effect, and the counterparts to be mutually restored to the respective parties."*

The observations preceding this narrative appeared necessary, as none written by an impartial pen can be obtained, except in brief scraps and quotations. The treaty was indeed too long deferred; but not, as Leland says, by the pride and obstinacy of the Irish confederates, but by the perfidious policy of the king's lieutenant, who deferred it until it could not injure the parliament, or serve the king; and when he could no longer defer acceding to it, without acknowledging his hostility to his king and country, for which circumstances were not as yet ripe. The subsequent measures of the confederates shew, that this delay alone deprived the king of such succours, as, arriving in due season, might enable him to subdue his English and Scotch enemies.

* Leland.

“ The supreme council of the confederate catholics, immediately issued warrants to have four thousand men drawn out of the standing forces of Leinster and Munster, and two thousand more from the other provinces; prefixing a day for their being at Ballyshake and Passage, places commodious for their embarkation. And they gave out commissions for levying the remaining four thousand, which were to be transported in a second mission; having laid embargoes on all vessels in the river of Waterford, and in the harbours of Wexford and Dungarvan. And as no industry was omitted on their part, so there was not any occasion, since the beginning of the war, wherein the council found more prompt obedience to their commands, or more hearty willingness in the people, to bear any charge that might conduce to the advancement of it.”*

“ But the king himself, on account of the unhappy situation of affairs, in the places now mentioned, thought fit to countermand this embarkation. For, in a letter to the marquis of Ormond, March 26th, (two days before the conclusion of the peace) he told him, “ that his condition was then very sad and low, by the late disbanding of his army in the west; which,” adds his majesty, “ if succours of foot had arrived in time out of Ireland, might have been prevented, to our most certain advantage. That he thought fit to advertise him thereof, that he might stop the sending over foot, which would be lost, if they should come, he having no horse, nor ports

* Carte's Ormond.

in his power to secure them." And in another letter to lord Digby, of the same date, which he desired him to communicate to Ormond, he says, "forces from Ireland, unless they were much greater than he believed could be sent him from thence, would do him more harm than good; yet that he much desired that the peace there was made. But that Ormond stop any forces from coming over, and employ them for the reducing of that kingdom into a perfect obedience; by which," says he, "it is possible, it may please God to restore me to the other two; or be a safe retreat for myself."*

Carte and Leland tell the public, Ormond was zealous for this peace; and that the principal enemies to it were, the pope's nuncio, Owen Roe O'Nial, and their adherents. Curry acknowledges the hostility of the latter to that peace; but represents Ormond, at bottom, an enemy to it, and with good reason. What fresh inducement had he, in 1646, to be zealous for a measure, which he thwarted and delayed by art and chicanery, recurring to the most frivolous pretences to palliate his tergiversation? Was it zeal for the king's service? Why did not that zeal appear while he could render effectual service, by the timely settlement of this kingdom. He, who betrayed his cause, and served his enemies, while his prospects were not hopeless, would he now forfeit his claims of meritorious service on the party grown all powerful, for fallen Charles, a

* Carte's Ormond.

prisoner with the Scotch rebels, whom he betrayed while at the head of an army? Was it, then, the settlement of Ireland? No peaceable settlement of the kingdom could answer the scope of his avarice and ambition. His forefathers laid the foundation of their fortunes in Irish troubles; which, by a repetition of the same, through torrents of blood, they raised to princely magnificence. Resolved to tread in their footsteps, and profit by the confusion of his country, he expected, from civil war and the harvest of forfeitures, such emolument and encrease of honours, as a quiet settlement would not give. Knowing that such an event could not be far distant, as it must follow shortly after the settlement of England and Scotland, he resolved to profit of circumstances, and improve the interval for the advancement of his private schemes of aggrandizement. During this interval of suspense and anxiety, he knew it to be his interest to keep his station, and to shew the possibility of his coalescing with the confederates, and uniting the kingdom in formidable opposition to the parliamentarians; and that he could, if he chose, hold his situation, derived from the king's commission, independent of them, with the consent and aid of the Irish. That his affected attachment to the peace, and his hypocritical negotiations with the Irish, were mere political expedients, while he was negotiating with the parliament to betray his king and country, and to make the better bargain, appears from his advocates, Carte and Leland. "In these circumstances, the council

looked to the marquis of Ormond for support. They earnestly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to assist them to maintain the peace against the violence of the nuncio, and to concert measures for checking the progress of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the southern province, regardless of the orders of government, and in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

“ However desperate and deplorable the present situation of the king appeared, however impracticable the transportation of Irish forces, and however ineffectual, yet a peace was absolutely necessary to support even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governour without forces, without money or provisions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, and by the catholics of these, and the remaining province, could subsist scarcely for a day. The kingdom must unavoidably be reduced by the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of some foreign power. His commission for concluding a peace with the confederates was determined by the peace already concluded: if this should not take place, there was no possibility of renewing a treaty for another. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, and was received with such respect, and such abundant joy, as seemed to indicate a general disposition in the people to be again admitted into the

king's protection. But this gay prospect was soon clouded by disappointment and suspicion. Preston, on pretence of indisposition, refused to attend the lord lieutenant. An emissary he had dispatched to practise with Owen O'Nial, could not by the most magnificent offers detach him from the nuncio. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to dissuade them from their violent measures, and reconcile them to the peace. But he found them obstinate and inexorable; and was justly scandalized at the virulence of Rinuccini, who declared his firm purpose of opposing the peace to the utmost, and uttered "other expressions," saith the earl, "relative to blood, not becoming a churchman." To compose the tempers of the people, Ormond attempted some excursions into Munster; he prepared to march to Cashel; when one of his own kinsmen appeared in arms to oppose him; and the magistrate of this town assured him, that the utmost vengeance was denounced against the inhabitants, should they presume to give him admittance, and that O'Nial was on his march to execute these threats."

Ormond was not only necessitated to these compliances, for the support of his army, but undertook this cavalcade to Kilkenny, and sundry negotiations with the Irish, partly to divide them, and to display his own consequence, and the facility of encreasing it, to the commissioners from the English parliament, whose arrival he daily expected. Nor was it averse to the policy of the English parliament, that he should deceive

the king's friends in Ireland and abroad, by these sham negotiations, corresponding with the queen and prince of Wales, Glamorgan, &c. and to make such use of the king's name and authority, and the zeal of his friends, as might subserve their views, until they were ready to take possession of the kingdom. But he carefully avoided every thing that might offend parliament, however necessary for the settlement of the kingdom, or for demonstration of his sincere desire thereof. Of this he gave manifold proofs, by refusing the urgent requests of the confederates, to assume the command of their forces, and act in conjunction against the king's enemies. " They informed him that they had received intelligence that Monroe, with a numerous army, was going to fall upon Newry, Dundalk, and other maritime towns within his excellency's quarters; and that the Scots of Tyrconnel were gathering in a body of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to invade Connaught, where they were sure to be joined by Sir Charles Coote's forces. That if his excellency would agree, that they might, on all sides, fight to clear the kingdom of the common enemy, their councils in civil and military matters should be managed by his advice. And the council having understood that the want of money to prepare for the field, was what chiefly retarded this conjunction, they promised to send his excellency three thousand pounds; two thousand of which they soon after sent him."*

* Carte's Ormond.

But he obtained, through the medium of his friends, the Scotch rebels, from their captive monarch, an extorted command to his lieutenant, not to proceed farther in the treaty with the Irish.* Leland is agreed with Curry, concerning the solicitations of the confederates, 'that he would take the command of their forces and join against the king's enemies.'†

While Ormond amused the confederates, the queen and prince of Wales, with professions of loyalty, and attachment to the Irish peace, which he knew the king and confederates looked to as to their common palladium, he could, to extort supplies, throw out alarming hints of his being driven by despair to do, what he at that moment was secretly doing, to sell the king and country to the English parliament! "Ormond had just now received intelligence that the king had resigned himself to the Scottish army, an incident of such consequence as might require some change in his counsels and measures. He deliberated, and at length determined to return a spirited answer to the confederates. The necessity of union, he observed, was too apparent, but refused to unite with those who derived not their authority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the assistance of any of the king's subjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit, that they had been guilty of no failure in their stipulations; for, however it might have been impracticable to

* Currie, B. VII. c. iii.

† Leland, B. V. c. viii. p. 282. 283.

send their forces into England, yet the sums which they engaged to supply for the service of government, were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been disavowed by the king; he, therefore, could not admit the publication of them. He required, that they should consent explicitly to suppress them; and that the treaty of Dublin should be instantly published. If these overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the condition of his majesty's affairs in Dublin must soon force him to seek some other way of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland."*

What a poor contemptible figure did this Irish junta make, to hear and bear such language from an insolent traitor, who could not support his station, or carry on his treason, a single week, without their toleration and support. Not treat with those who had not the king's authority! Did not the king's commission to him, and repeated orders, and even supplications, afterwards, to treat with them, and conclude a peace as soon as possible, equally authorize him. Did not Glamorgan's private commission authorize the same? In his majesty's present thralldom, captive with the Scotch rebels, he could give no orders, but what must be considered as extorted. The apology sent by Ormond to the king, for continuing the cessation, to which he was always an enemy, while it could serve his majesty; and which he now palliates, as being useful to the

* Leland.

rebels, on account of the distresses of English government in Ireland; and the impossibility of breaking it, and carrying on war against the Irish, without large supplies of men and money, was clearly intended not for the king, who wanted no apology for a favourite measure, but his keepers, the Scotch, and their masters, the English parliament; to justify his adopting, as a temporizing expedient, a measure so odious to them. Again, as if forgetful of his refusal to treat with men not authorized by the king, he shortly after, in the presence of lord Digby and the privy council, registered his protestation, that he was fully satisfied of his authority to conclude a peace, upon the articles deposited with the marquis of Clanrickarde in manuscript.

Ormond knew extremely well, the captive state of the king; and that all orders, coming from the Scotch army in his name, should be considered, not his, but their command; who were enemies to the peace, such as it was. This has been sufficiently proved by Curry.* But, had he received no such intimation, every man, not destitute of common sense, must have foreseen, that the Scots would have turned their possession of the king's person to their account; and make use of his name and authority in Ireland, the only part of his dominions where either was then respected. He promised himself many advantages from this truce. First, maintenance in his station; now become ambiguous, if not null and

* Currie, B. vii. c. 3.

void, by the captivity of the monarch, destitute as he was of any supply from England, unless he acknowledged hisself the parliament's deputy, for which things were not as yet ripe. Neither was this the acceptable sacrifice. His services were to be of another kind; for the remuneration of which the contract was pending. Secondly, knowing the Irish to be divided on the question of this peace, he expected to widen the breach by its conclusion, and possibly to bring the parties to open warfare; to effect which he neglected no means.

Before we pursue Ormond through all the labyrinth of his tortuous politics, now negotiating with the Irish, then with the covenanters of Ulster; acting, ostensibly, as the king's deputy, in true earnest as the cringing slave of his enemies, until he surrendered Ireland, naked and divided, into their hands, we must review the conduct of the loyalists; and how far they contributed, by their divisions, their consequent tardiness, and half measures, to their own and country's ruin. To have the conception of their proceedings and their effects, it will be necessary to take a concise view of the different parties in the two islands, their views and expectations, when the rupture about the peace took place. The royal party, in the neighbouring island, was crushed; and the rebels triumphant. The king, reduced to desponding extremity, and deluded by the flattering invitations and promises of the Scotch rebels, surrendered himself into their hands; who kept him a close prisoner, with a

view of making the most of their prey. These were averse to either cessation of arms or peace in Ireland, for two reasons. First, it was only in times of trouble that they could turn possession of the king's person to account; and an Irish peace, accompanied with the utter overthrow of the royalists in England, by putting a period to the war, and, indeed, removing all pretences for its continuance, might lead to a settlement in both islands. Further, they had been promised the plunder and forfeitures of Ireland, by the English parliament; of both which lucrative objects, an Irish peace threatened to deprive them. The English parliament was an enemy to the settlement of Ireland, until they would settle it on a model of their own fashion. The king had left heirs, who would, of course, set up their claims to the throne; their pretensions might be supported by foreign powers, and Ireland, in its present state, a dangerous nest of royalists and loyalists, lay, as a convenient back door, to receive them, and furnish them with great resources and opportunities for invading England and Scotland. A great revolution in landed property appeared to them necessary. Vast forfeitures; the erection of a new landed interest; fresh plantations of colonists, armed and covenanters, to bridle a disarmed and depressed people, appeared the best and only means of obviating the danger from that quarter. Hence, 'tis plain, that, though they disliked not a temporary truce with the Irish, especially such as Ormond contrived, of a nature to divide them,

they would never ratify a peace, advantageous or satisfactory to the Irish; any, than left things there in their actual state. The king, since the battle of Naseby, looked on his cause at least extremely doubtful; and countermanded the sending of auxiliary troops from Ireland, a good while before his captivity; ordering Ormond, nevertheless, to conclude the peace with the Irish. His Scotch subjects, having deceived him by their fallacious promises of restoring him to to his rights, either by treaty or by force, he saw no asylum for himself or his family, but in the loyalty of the Irish. There he might expect such succour from foreign powers, interested to support the cause of royalty, and chastise an example of rebellion in subjects, as might enable him to reconquer his other kingdoms; or, at worst, protect his throne in one. He found some means of conveying his wishes to the nuncio and Glamorgan, who were plotting to devise some means of effecting his escape from the Scotch to the Irish; but they were frustrated.

From this brief statement of parties, a statement which all authorities of all parties justify, the reader will perceive, that the opposers of the so called peace of 1646, are not dealt fairly with, in any writings, that I could see. That writers of the regicide party would cry down the Irish in general, would be as natural to expect, as that the republican writers of France would calumniate the royalists of la Vendée. That English and Anglo-Irish writers should vilify the original inhabitants of this country, victims of their op-

pression and plunder, is just as consistent as the accounts given by the Spanish adventurers, under Cortez and Pizarro, of the aboriginal South-Americans; 'that they were not of the race of Adam, and could scarcely be reckoned among the varieties of the human race.' That the compound malignity of anglicism and protestant bigotry, would fasten on Irish papists; a people insulated from the intercourse of mankind, by a heavy foreign yoke, excluding them from general intercourse, converting the sea that girds their isle into the wall of their prison; as a proper subject on which to vent all the foul aspersions which prejudice or malice could suggest, for the double purpose of indulging a national aversion to a people, who are hated and despised, because oppressed and ruined; and by gratifying their lust for defaming the catholic church, by caricaturing a limb thereof, remote from the inspection of the literary world, abject, unprotected, and often driven to excesses by the cruelties of their defamers; the misrepresentations and exaggerations of these turmoils, almost always raised by the perfidious policy of their task-masters, divulged to Europe with the strongest varnish, greedily seized on by foreign protestants, as demonstrations of the inhuman spirit of popery, might be expected, as the kindred fœtus of sectarian animosity. This inhuman, irreligious passion, has an undistinguishing voracious appetite for every odious, abominable crimination, that a delirious spirit, or depraved heart, can invent, to soothe or delude preconceived prejudices. So far

as the infirmities of human nature are concerned, catholics, who partake of these in common with the rest of the world, are liable to be duped, by prejudice or malignity, into a credulous reception of slanderous tales, fabricated against those who dissent from them. In the indulgence of such uncharitable belief, they are less excusable; because, as the principles of their religion are concerned, they have not an equal or similar impulse to malevolent credulity. Conformably to their system, their faith rests on its own proper foundation; divine authority revealing and continuing it, unimpaired and unaltered, as a beacon and standard for all nations and ages. It leans not for support or apology on detecting or exposing the errors or crimes of sects. In its whole superstructure, as well as foundation, it is utterly independent of them; and promises itself, on grounds not inconsistent, duration and extent, to which the inconsistent contradictory principles of all other sects forbid them to aspire. Resting on these solid foundations, the catholic would degrade his religion, by resorting to controversial chicanery, false witnesses, or testimony. These low shifts of litigious fraud, should be left to plaintiffs and defendants in a bad cause. To such people, false witnesses, forged deeds, bribery and perjury, will be congenial associates. Those, whose sole titles are in fraudulent or forcible possession; who can bring no better apology for the illegality and violence of their proceedings, than the crimes and errors, real or fictitious, of the legal preoccupants, are unavoidably subject

to a suspicion of yielding to strong temptations, to impute crimes and errors of their own invention; to exaggerate the ill, and conceal or depreciate the good. That a reverend gentleman of the established church should daub, with a heavy pen, the national character of the Irish. That the epithets, rude, barbarous, uncivilized, bigoted, ignorant, illiterate, odious, detested race, should be concomitant with their name in his pages, is no deviation from the liberal philanthropy of our masters. That he should draw an invidious portrait of the ambition, avarice, pride and tyranny of the Irish popish ecclesiastics, would be only verifying the adage, that 'two of a trade cannot agree;' especially if a new branch of trade is set up, to cry down the old ware as trumpery, and boast of its new invented colifichets with mountebank assurance.

There can no reason be assigned, why catholicity had not as equitable a claim for establishment in Ireland, as episcopalian and presbyterian protestantism in England. The idea of the nuncio need not appear so very strange. By the abolition of monarchy, the only constitutional link, binding the two kingdoms, was broke; and the nuncio's idea would have a fair chance of being realized, by any other people, who were not distracted by division and jealousies. But the owners of the estates forfeited from the antient Irish, sat in the assembly of Kilkenny, clinging to English connexion, on any terms of humiliation and bondage, as the fancied security for retaining possession; little foreseeing, that they

were only keepers on them, until swarms of fresh adventurers would come to demand and seize them. Doctor Currie, in his Review, though a diligent enquirer and lover of truth, was carried along with the torrent of writers, to join in censuring the proceedings of the nuncio, the Irish clergy, and other opposers of that peace. Yet he sets down some arguments, brought forward by them, of considerable weight. After submitting those authorities, the question shall be discussed.

“ The nuncio Renuccini, and general Owen O’Nial, absolutely refused to submit it; the former, because there was no provision made for the free exercise of the catholic religion; without which the confederates were engaged by their oath of association, never to conclude a peace; and the latter, on the same account, as well as that no stipulation was made for restoring him, and his numerous followers, to their forfeited estates in Ulster. The nuncio alleged besides, that the commissioners who had concluded the peace, did not, according to their instructions, insist upon the repeal of the penal statutes against the Roman catholic religion. The marquis of Ormond could not deny the fact; but he maintained “ that the peace which the confederates’ commissioners had concluded, by virtue of an authority derived from their general assembly, whether advantageous or prejudicial to those that trusted them, ought to have been inviolably stuck to, how blame-worthy soever they might be pretended, for transgressing instructions.”

This manner of reasoning, however, seems to have been taken up by his excellency, only for present convenience; for he argued very differently on the same topic of instructions, when, in a former treaty with the confederates, the case was to be his own; and when, in order to justify his rejecting some of their propositions, he told them, “that if he had exceeded his instructions, he would have deluded those he treated with, with the shadow of concessions; for that the substance would be lost, by his transgressing the rules given him, in any one particular.”

“But however that might have been, the nuncio’s casuistry differed materially from that of his excellency on this occasion; and therefore that prelate resolved to enforce his opinion by such means as, it appears, he had neither commission nor instructions to pursue. For, having called together, at Waterford, such of the Irish bishops and other clergy, as were mostly under his influence, on pretence of forming a synod to settle ecclesiastical matters, they entered all at once on a debate concerning the lawfulness of the late peace; and having soon determined, that all those who were instrumental in making it, were, for the reasons before-mentioned, guilty of a formal breach of their association, they issued an excommunication against them; as also against those of their communion who should afterwards adhere to it; forbidding, under the same penalty, any public dues to be collected by, or paid to such persons as were formerly appointed to receive them; and giving encouragement, at the same

time, to the people to resist any force that might be used for that purpose.”*

The reason of the nuncio, against the peace, was not refuted; that the commissioners departed widely from their instructions; on which account the assembly was not obliged to ratify it. The reasons urged to the queen, in a letter from the archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and the bishops of Elphin, in the name of the congregation of the clergy, were quite sufficient to damn the treaty; “That all was left to the pleasure of the king, surrounded by their sworn enemies!!” What worse could be dictated by a conqueror to a prostrate people? It was hard to surrender their rights, civil or religious, to the pleasure of any man; especially a prince of a different religion, not noted for keeping his word, or even his oath, and under the controul of their sworn enemies; and all this headlong slavery rushed into, by the very men, who, on taking up arms, swore never to lay them down, until they obtained a full ratification of their rights. The argument of the confederates, to reconcile the clergy to the omission of the articles, in the delusive treaty, were extremely futile. They refer to the private treaty of Glamorgan; which the king publicly disavowed, in a message to both houses; and which, together with Glamorgan, his SECRET ambassador, he would consider a slight sacrifice towards an accommodation with his now victorious enemies. If William was, though the victorious de-

* Belling's MSS. Carte's Ormond.

liverer of the English, obliged to give up to their selfishness, and national hatred of the Irish, the treaty of Limerick, can it be imagined, that a subdued monarch, captive, in the hands of his irritated and triumphant subjects, could stickle for private engagements, made with a people odious to them; whom, at any rate, they were resolved to crush? Equally, or more absurd, to refer to concessions, which the king might make hereafter. The king's restoration could reasonably be expected but by the sword, or accommodation. If by the former, of which there was not the slightest probability, he would become an absolute monarch; and what use he might make of unlimited power, they might conjecture, from his having plundered the Irish, for many years, by his tyrannic inquisition into pretended defective titles. If the latter, the Irish must be given up to their sworn enemies. No private engagements would be acknowledged; no public treaties held binding.

The defeat of the confederates was not owing to the spiritual weapons of the clergy, but to the carnal weapons of their enemies. The assaults on religion, persons and property, produced the confederation; the pretended peace produced the rupture, for which it was intended, and which purpose alone it could serve, at that time, and in that form. A peace, which was made contrary to instructions; which surrendered every article, for the recovery and security of which the confederation was formed; and which they were bound by the solemn oath of association not to relin-

quish; and which to abandon, independent of said oath, would be mean and dastardly, unless excused by the extreme of necessity. A peace, which none but a proud conqueror, or impudent impostor, could present; and which, in their circumstances, none of the Irish could hail, except those settlers, whose souls were fettered and manacled by the panic alarm of claims on forfeited lands, and dead to every feeling of honour, religion and patriotism. A peace, as insecure as it was degrading, shameful and treasonable, against the country, without a guarantee for the performance of the wretched contract. Granted, then, that the said imposition had been generally submitted to, by the confederates; what mighty benefits would accrue to the king and country therefrom? would it liberate the king from the Scots, and place him on the throne? It was then too late to think of such romantic exploits. Their forces, were they even not divided, were not adequate to the conquest of England and Scotland; and they had not shipping, to convey or defend them on their passage. Neither France or Spain gave any countenance to favour such a bold attempt; on the contrary, they held correspondence with the rebel parliament. Would it secure the inhabitants in their religious or civil liberty? The former was absolutely given up; and persecution was sanctioned, as toleration was not so much as mentioned in a public treaty, between the persecuted and the persecutor. For the latter, there was no satisfactory voucher. The king could not sign it; and, if he could, his signature

was no pledge, as observed before. He could disavow one treaty, as he did another. He could violate his word; as he did more than once his oath. And how could the confederates expect, that one would fulfill his engagement with them, who broke their solemn engagements, by assenting to so ruinous and vile a measure? Further, the king's signature would be nothing, without the approbation of parliament; a body sworn to extirpation of popery and Irishmen. Where the voucher then? Ormond. What! The puritanic betrayer of his trust; the constant defaulter in all his dealings with the Irish; the partizan and creature of the covenanters. Their sanguinary and perfidious instrument; slaughtering and plundering his countrymen, with whom he never treated but to deceive; never kept a treaty, but during convenience: the obstinate foe of the cessation, and of real, solid peace, until the period was elapsed when they might naturally benefit king and country; and who, at length, filled up the measure of his treasons, by delivering up the executive power, together with his majesty's castles, troops, stores, and the capital of the kingdom, to the mortal enemies of the king, and of the Irish. What would any treaty avail, with a remorseless tyrant, and arrant imposter; who, while publicly mocking the confederates with feigned negotiation, was privately contracting with the rebel covenanters of Ulster, and other parts, to fall on them; and was, during his sham parleying, committing waste and havoc in different parts of the country; to prove to his

real masters, the Westminster rebels, that negotiation gave the Irish no respite from the calamities of war? Had that peace been generally submitted to, and he, and his treasonable packed junta, misnamed Irish parliament, been authorized to levy taxes and troops, it was not difficult to divine for whose service. The English parliament was surrounded by a horde of greedy expectants, raised by the rebellion and revolution, thirsting for Irish blood and forfeitures, like hungry wolves. These must be satisfied, and a revolutionary interest established, through confiscations and new plantations. Ormond's appetite was as keen as any of theirs, for the spoils of his countrymen; as the sequel proved, in the pains he took to recommend his interests to the English parliament, and to earn the solicited remuneration, by strenuously co-operating with their plans. His reward did not fall short of his services to them, or their promise to him; which was punctually awarded by the son of Charles; who acted as if he accepted the crown on such a compact, as passed between the Roman triumvirate, to proscribe his zealous partizans, and perfect all the engagements of the regicide faction, by rewarding their creatures with the forfeitures of the oppressed loyalists. The marquis became duke of Ormond, count palatine of Tipperary, with full jurisdiction and royalties in that county; had all his debts discharged, and large accessions to his ample patrimony; and, to make this *bonne bouche* the more relishing, his character was screened from public detestation,

by attributing these royal grants not to the real source, his services to the enemies of king and country, but as the meet of pretended loyalty, and services to both. Had the viceroy even been a good man, loyal subject, and true patriot, the treaty was inadmissible; as being unjust, insecure and injurious. It was unjust; because it sacrificed the religious interests of the nation, and the temporal interests of a great and meritorious part, to the imaginary safety of the leading settlers. It was insecure, as aforesaid; destitute of pledge or guarantee of any kind. The word of a viceroy, though of the strictest honour, was no guarantee for a transaction, that involved the dearest interests of posterity; because his performance of articles could not extend beyond his stay in office, from which he might be removed by death; and would, assuredly, by an order from England, if detected in favouring the Irish, or administering partial justice.

What, then, were the bad consequences, proceeding from the conduct of the nuncio and the Irish clergy? Was it the ruin of the king? Those, who opposed the treaty, as dishonourable, injurious and unstable, warmly recommended the sending of reinforcements to the king, independently of any treaty. But, indeed, the period was elapsed, when the confederates might interfere for the king with effect. For, after the forces were stationed on the coast, ready to embark, and delayed only by want of shipping to carry them across, a few ships at length arriving, the king, whether from humanity, policy, or both, forbade

the embarkation; as now too late for his succour in England, and only precipitating so many brave fellows into the devouring jaws of destruction, without any advantage to Ireland, or its unhappy sovereign. Did they injure Ireland? By no means. The advocates of that dishonourable, ruinous peace, did inflict a mortal wound; because they were the sole causes of the breach. The plan of the nuncio and the clergy was, for the salvation of Ireland; their opponents planned its downfall; not designedly, let us suppose, but what lead to it, in its inevitable consequences. The nuncio, and the Irish clergy, insisted on an honourable peace; such as might be well received and abetted by the whole nation: a treaty, that would be approved by the head of the church, and other catholic potentates, able and willing to assist the Irish, if they saw them sincere and earnest, in their endeavours to support the cause of royalty and popery. The abandonment of one of these, in a public treaty; and that considered, in an age of bigotry, the most important, was enough to damn the Irish cause with the catholic powers of Europe; who must consider their dereliction of their just demand of a claim to the toleration of the catholic faith, in a solemn treaty, while they were craving the aid of catholic princes for the maintenance of their church, as egregious folly, downright impudence. If they had Glamorgan's secret treaty, to accompany their supplications to the head of the catholic church, and other catholic powers, there would have been some appearance of consistency; but

the king's public disavowal despoiled it even of that colour. Had the nuncio been here, before the fatal battle of Naseby; had he, and the Irish clergy, opposed a peace, when that measure would have relieved the king; when the rebel parliament, the rebel covenanters, of England, Ireland and Scotland, opposed it; when the traitorous viceroy opposed it, for rebellious purposes; they might then be fairly censured. But the nuncio arrived at Kilkenny a month after the battle of Naseby; and the discussion on the conditions of peace were delayed, by the artifice of Ormond, to the spring of 1646, when any decision must prove inefficient to the main purpose.

Those, who are so hasty to reprove the Irish clergy, for insisting on the confederates to keep to their oath of association, and accept no peace, that did not include the toleration of the catholic faith, seem neither guided by candour or love of truth. They should first prove, that the clergy stepped beyond the limits of their office; and, secondly, required impracticable terms. Neither can be proved. 'Tis hard to prove, that it is foreign to the character of a clergyman to procure toleration for his flock; or that the Irish were then incompetent to obtain it, if unanimous in the demand. Let the clergy of the opposite parties be compared. In England and Scotland, the pulpit thundered treason, sedition, persecution; in the words of Hudibras, 'pulpit, drum ecclesiastic, was smote with fist, instead of a stick.'

No writer has ventured to condemn the opposition of O'Neil to that dishonourable treaty.

With what colour could they? At a time when England and Scotland were in arms for their privileges; and the Irish confederates contending for their civil and religious liberties; was it for the brave Ultonians to relinquish their claims to their patrimonial estates, swindled from them. Let it be conceded, which is not true, that O'Neil and O'Donnel did plot; why should their plot implicate the whole nobility and gentry of Ulster? Wherefore should they be attainted, and despoiled of their properties without trial, or conviction of any participation in such plot. If the flight of the earls was taken as presumptive proof of guilt; why not the residence of the remainder, as presumptive proof of innocence? Why not brought to trial? The Ultonians could not, and ought not, approve of any treaty, that did not stipulate an entire restitution of their patrimonial estates. Here was the blow. The majority of the assembly were possessed of forfeited lands. Restitution to Rineal Ruin would encourage other claims; consequently, civil war; of which the Ormondists and advocates of that scandalous treaty were the real promoters, not the Irish clergy, or the disinherited Milesians of Ulster.

About the end of May, 1646, Owen O'Nial assembled near 5000 foot, and 500 horse, and advanced towards Armagh, Monroe, the Scottish general drew out 6000 foot and 800 horse; and, "by a forced march, arrived by midnight at Armagh, in order to surprize O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned, that the Irish army lay seven miles further, at a place called Benburb,

strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, thought difficult to be passed. On the next morning, Monroe marched on the other side of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a considerable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he crossed the river, and advanced on the Irish. Each army was drawn up in order of battle; but, instead of coming to a general engagement, the Irish general contrived to waste the day, and amuse the enemy with skirmishes. The sun, which had been favourable to the Scots, was now declining on the back of his army. A detachment which he had sent to oppose the troops expected by Monroe, had been foiled in the attempt, and now hastened to join the main body. Monroe was alarmed at seeing the enemy reinforced by a considerable troop, which, as they advanced, he had mistaken for his own men. He prepared to retreat, and in that moment was furiously attacked by the Irish, in full confidence of victory. An English regiment, commanded by lord Blaney, maintained their ground, till he and most of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottish cavalry was soon broken, cast the foot into disorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thousand of the British forces were slain on the field of battle, with the loss only of seventy killed on the part of the Irish. The Scots' artillery, most of their arms, tents, and baggage, a great quantity of booty and provisions were taken. Monroe fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoned several

posts of strength, summoned the whole northern province to take arms against the victorious Irish, was vigorously pursued, and Ulster on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was suddenly called by the nuncio into Leinster to oppose the peace."*

If any wish to know the reasons of my opposition to all the printed war that fell under my observation, in defence of Owen Roe O'Nial, the pope's nuncio, and the Irish clergy, it is, because truth was on their side. They, too, wished for a peace; but it was for a real, solid, guaranteed peace. It was not a shameful contract, surrendering the independence of the country; sanctioning, by silence, the detestable penal code. Where was the competent authority to sanction that treaty? Was it the soi-disant viceroy? O'Neil was well informed of his treasonable correspondence with the covenanters and the English parliament. How could he rely on any articles with such a traitor! Well. Was he to be satisfied with the signature of a fallen, captive monarch? Indeed if the English parliament, if Oliver Cromwell, were to guarantee the peace, there might be some security, bad as it was. What, then, should have been done, at that crisis? Any thing but what was done. Any thing but what the distraction of divided counsel drove them to. Precious years, not to be recovered, lost in fruitless negotiations. Half measures, that never avail in a critical emergency. There was

* Ireland, Vol. III. B. V. c. vii. p. 290. 291.

but the alternative. When they began to treat with Charles, they should have fought. Had they unconditionally assisted him with their whole energy; had they appointed Owen Roe commander in chief of the expedition; there was every moral probability, that the rebellion of England and Scotland would have been suppressed. The consequence to Ireland, an advantage; an absolute monarch. Such a monarch would be in a situation to treat his subjects of both islands with an impartial hand. He would not be confined by local prejudices, or partial interests, to deal with one, as a favourite, caressed child; and oppress the other, as a vile, contemptible slave. He would have no motive to concentrate all branches of industry and commerce, in one department of his empire, to the exclusion and impoverishment of the remainder. He could be induced by no envy or jealousy, to deprive any of the bounties that God and nature left within their reach; nor to glut one part with a monopoly of all good things, and make the rest turf cutters and potatoe diggers. He could make a tour of the two islands, and acquire some knowledge of the produce, manufactures and inhabitants, the better to manage their affairs. Am I pleading for absolute power. Nothing is good or complete, but one. Every thing else is only relatively so. The theory of freedom is pretty enough; but it must be fitted to circumstances to be tolerable. Don Quixote found to his cost, the danger of emancipating galley slaves; and a free constitution requires, for its support, more

of virtue and piety, than any nation as yet has been able to preserve for a long lapse of time. The duration of the republican form has not, at least in purity, exceeded four hundred years; and the boasted constitution of England remained in full vigour little more than half a century. The efficient controul on the executive, was not limited to opposition in parliament; but had its chief focus in the pretensions of the exiled family. When they and their party were extinct, the executive obeyed its instinctive movement towards uncontrouled authority. The first grand essay was made on the American colonies; which failed. The second on Ireland, which succeeded; and gave a positive instance in the success of the executive, whenever it comes to be tried, that Europe will resemble Asia, ruled by military governments. Had the Irish confederates chosen the other alternative; and, like the English revolutionists, placed the crown on the head of some potent foreign prince, they would have acted wisely for their party; but they kept angling with the duke of Lorrain, contorting about terms, until they gave up their cause to the ruin that followed.

While the confederates were busied in the formation of a new general assembly, and a new executive government, of which Rinuccini, the nuncio, was president, Ormond was carrying on his treasonable designs with the covenanters of Ulster, and the English parliament; inviting over their forces, with a promise of surrendering the royalty into their hands. He also contrived to

sow distrust and jealousy between the generals O'Nial and Preston, which proved fatal to their cause. Ormond now follows up his treaty with the English parliament; to which, on the 26th of September, 1646, he sent the following propositions; the third of which sufficiently condemns the abettors of the sham peace.

1st. " That the said lord lieutenant will prosecute the war against the Irish rebels, as vigorously as he shall be enabled thereunto by the parliament of England, and that he will faithfully serve the crown of England therein;" against which the parliament was then in open rebellion.

2d. " That whilst he hath the government of this kingdom, and the command of the armies therein, none of the supplies of men, money, arms, ammunition, victuals, or any other provisions of what kind or nature soever, which shall, by the parliament of England, be sent over, or joined with the forces already under his command, nor any other forces that shall be under his command, shall in any wise be employed either within this kingdom or without it, but by the express direction of the said parliament of England.

3d. " That he will not, upon any command, or by virtue of any power or authority whatsoever, enter into any treaty with the said Irish rebels, or conclude any peace or cessation with them, without the consent and express command of the king and parliament of England." A favourite expression, at that time, with those who in the king's name fought against his person.

4th. " He will engage himself to the true performance of all these things, by oath, or any other means that can be proposed to a man of honour and conscience."

" On the 14th of November 1646, commissioners from the English parliament arrived in Dublin, with men, ammunition, and provisions of all kinds; who seeing the weakness of the place, and knowing his excellency stood in need of every thing necessary for its defence, made no doubt of his receiving the supplies they had brought upon any terms. The lord lieutenant expected the commissioners had brought specific answers to the propositions which he had sent to England; but they had brought no such answers, nor any instructions about them. And when he offered them a copy of the propositions, they would not receive it, nor enter into any debate upon the subject; their instructions confined them to treat only for the sword and garrisons; for which they offered to take the protestants of Ireland under their protection, on condition of their submitting to the ordinances of parliament. But no protestant, that would not renounce his allegiance to the king, could depend upon that protection for his security. His lordship, on his part, proposed, until their instructions from the parliament could be enlarged, to distribute their forces into his garrisons, if they would submit to his orders, and to martial law, and if they would lend him three thousand pounds to support the army; but these proposals were refused. So resolving to break off the treaty, his excellency

told them, that he could not, consistent with his duty, part with so great a trust, without his majesty's command, and asked them, whether they could produce it? But the commissioners wondering, with good reason, that he should expect any such authority from them, embarked on board their ships, with all their men, whom they carried into Ulster."*

To gain time with this divided, distracted people, the crafty Ormond contrived to amuse them with delusive negotiations. To work on general Preston, and his officers, he employed the marquis of Clanrickard, and lord Digby, with fair promises, never meant to be kept; solely to detach him from the nuncio's party, and save himself from the joint attack of the Irish forces, then advanced towards Dublin, until he could finish his treaty with the parliament. He must have been a political knave of considerable ability, to deceive the royalists, both of England and Ireland, and to continue the deception with such address, as to be a principal instrument in defeating them. In concert with lord Digby, he entered into a new but secret treaty with the confederates, to dispossess the parliamentary forces, to which they readily agreed; and then "dispatched immediate orders to general Preston to march his whole army, consisting of between seven and eight thousand men, into the English quarters; which he accordingly did, took Naas and Maynooth, by assault; and afterwards sat

* Carte's Ormond.

down before Trim; where, being attacked by Michael Jones, with superior forces, from Dublin, he was totally defeated; having had four thousand men killed on the place, and almost all his commanders taken prisoners, himself hardly escaping.”*

After thus wheedling and engaging Preston to go to war singly with the parliamentarians, to the overthrow and derout of his whole army, Ormond resumed his treaty with the parliament, offering to put his majesty's garrisons into their hands, upon the same conditions they had formerly proposed; which,” as we have already observed from Mr. Carte, “no protestant could accept without forfeiting his allegiance.” And in order to induce them, for the present, to give him the command of some of their men, provisions, and ammunition in Ulster, till they could send him more, he promised to deliver hostages for the performance of what he had undertaken; and accordingly, on the 16th of March, 1647, he sent over as such, the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, Sir James Ware, and Sir Richard Butler, afterwards earl of Arran, one of his own sons.” On their arrival in England, one thousand English foot, and four hundred horse, were ordered to march out of Ulster to Dublin; and on the 7th of June following, the parliament commissioners arriving with six hundred horse, and fourteen hundred foot more, the treaty between them, and the marquis of Ormond,

* Carte's Ormond.

“ was concluded, and signed on the 19th of that month; by which his excellency was to quit the sword, on the 28th of the following month, or sooner, upon four days notice.” Thus did his lordship deliver up the king’s authority to men, who soon after became, as he himself has described them, “ murderers of his royal person, usurpers of his rights, and destroyers of the Irish nation; by whom the nobility and gentry of it were massacred at home, and led into slavery, or driven into beggary abroad.”*

“ On the 28th of June, 1647, five days after the treaty with the parliament was signed, the parliament commissioners published an order, requiring all ministers of congregations, and others officiating in the several churches and chapels in Dublin, to observe the directory, and for the discontinuance of the liturgy and common prayer; although the act of uniformity was still in force in Ireland, and not so much as suspended by any order of either, or both houses of parliament. Accordingly, the established clergy ceased to officiate, and the liturgy was left off in the churches in the city, except that of Trinity-college, where Antony Martin, bishop of Meath, and provost of that college, continued to use it.”

“ The protestant clergy of the city of Dublin, in their petition to the parliament commissioners on this occasion, “ pray that, in pity and compassion to the protestants of Dublin and to themselves, who were else, by their conjunction, id

* Carte’s Ormond.

danger of being exposed to banishment, loss of estate, and present subsistence, with their wives and families, they would restore them to their churches, till such time as further order be taken by the convocation of the clergy, and an act of parliament, in Ireland."* But in vain.

The state of Ireland, as given by Leland, is a true, but dismal picture, of a ruined, falling people: "harrassed by different armies, different factions, various pretenders to power and authority; wasted by war, oppressed by poverty, the nation seemed ready to sink under its complicated miseries;" but much more by the wicked policy of that faithless lieutenant, using every artifice, and abusing the name and authority of the king, his betrayed master, to divide the confederates, ripe for division, through the successful policy of England; expelling or destroying the natives, and planting English colonies on their ruins.

The eye is fatigued with the eternal recurrence of the name of Ormond in every page of the writers on this period. He is here and there, and every where; negotiating with confederates; with Scots covenanters; with the parliament of England; with the fugitive queen and prince of Wales. In this labour to exhibit his loyalty and wisdom, we meet no facts to prove either honest wisdom in council, or generalship in the field. In his treaty with the English parliament, for surrendering the government of Ireland, he shews attention enough to his own interests; as he dis-

* Borl. Hist. Irish Reb.

covered, not mere indifference, but an hostile mind, to the interests of Ireland. " Digby, after strongly advising Ormond, that, on quitting the kingdom, he should have liberty from the parliament commissioners to carry off with him five thousand five hundred men, to any other kingdom in amity with England, adds, " that he ought to value that condition above all the others, not only as most honourable, but far more profitable to him, than if they should give him five times the sum they offered, but that if the parliament would not give him such conditions, then he conceived Ormond's course must be, by temporizing with the Irish, renewing other treaties with the parliament upon lower conditions; in fine, by any art to prolong his possession of the garrison and forces, till he (Digby) could procure him shipping and money for the said transportation. And then, let who will take the carcase of what you shall leave." In a letter to Ormond, July 17th, 1647, Digby states, " if he can have liberty to negotiate in the Irish quarters, that he is not more confident of any thing in the world, than that he can demonstrate to these commissioners, that in a month's time, the Irish shall be more broken, and weakened by art, than they can hope to do with twelve month's war."*

Here we see, Digby and he were scheming what profits they could make by the transportation of Irishmen into foreign service. The expression of Digby is very remarkable, " that if

* Carte's Ormond.

he can have liberty to negotiate in the Irish quarters, he is not more confident of any thing in this world, than that he can demonstrate to the commissioners, that in a month's time, the Irish shall be more broken and weakened by art, than they can hope to do with twelve month's war." This was, to be sure, an honourable employment for his majesty's chief secretary of state! This was the same lord Digby, employed by Ormond to use his artful negotiation with the confederates, and with general Preston to divide them on the phantom of cessation; opposed obstinately by Ormond, while it was no phantom, but a measure of vital importance to the king and country; and then only insisted on, when it answered no other purpose, but that of serving the parliament, by dividing the Irish. It was by this man's counsels, division and jealousy arose between O'Neil and Preston; and that the siege of Dublin was raised when the lieutenant was ill provided with means of defence. He requested, therefore, of his help-mate Ormond, as one well acquainted with his merits, as spy and incendiary, to recommend him to the commissioners of the English parliament in that quality. It is not recorded that his request was granted; and it is likely, the loyal man, to whom he applied, would rather reserve to his own arts, the honour of breaking the Irish by negotiation and intrigue; and thus ingratiate himself with the new rulers of Britain. We may suppose he did not surrender the castle and garrisons, until he received the five thousand pounds in hand, earnest for the rest of the stipulated price.

Weak apologies have been made for this criminal treachery, which is well refuted by some Irish writers. "First, his majesty's verbal order, or at least, permission, privately sent him for that purpose by Sir George Hamilton. And secondly, a design of the confederate catholics, then newly discovered, to transfer their allegiance from their natural sovereign to some foreign prince. The former of these reasons, I shall prove to be groundless, from his lordship's own words; the latter has been always denied by the accused, nor ever yet, in any manner proved by their accusers, though frequently called upon for that purpose.

Mr. Belling, one of the marquis of Ormond's earliest, warmest, and most intelligent apologists, owns, "that this surrender of Dublin, and the other garrisons, did indeed pave the way, not only to the destruction of the people of Ireland, but also to the king's murder in England." But he, at the same time, insists, "that his majesty had sent the lord lieutenant, by Sir George Hamilton, private orders to make it." The same is affirmed by Clarendon, Hume, Carte, and generally by all succeeding writers on this subject.* But the marquis of Ormond himself, in all his letters to the queen and prince, at that juncture,

* Doctor Leland has made a proper distinction on this occasion. "Ormond," says he, "was assured his majesty had signified his pleasure, that in case of extreme necessity, he should submit rather to the English than the Irish. The king's private letters afforded Ormond abundant reason to doubt the truth of these assurances; yet they (the assurances) served to justify the resolution he had now taken to the public."—Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 307.

not only apologizes, with great submission, for this surrender, (which certainly he would not have done, had he received the king's order or permission for it) but also, in that long and laboured state of the affairs of Ireland, which he afterwards laid before the king himself, he represents "that act of his, as done on presumption, that it was more for his majesty's honour and service, and consequently more agreeable to his pleasure, which he had neither means nor time to consult.

"But the following letter from his lordship to the king, which was sent soon after he resigned the government, leaves not the least room to doubt the falsity of this assertion.

"May it please your majesty, I know not how my last actions, or present condition, have been represented to your majesty; the latter your majesty finds in the public articles with the parliament commissioners; but upon what grounds, or advices, these articles were agreed to, I must reserve for a time, when by the grace of God, and your majesty's good pleasure, I shall be admitted to cast myself at your feet. I should, in the mean time, beg the suspension of any thought, that may be suggested into, or arise in your majesty, in prejudice to those sincere affections, wherewith I have endeavoured to serve you. But that were to misdoubt your justice, and so to make myself unworthy of your pardon, if deprived of your directions to guide me, I have erred in the way to your service."

"Sir George Hamilton was so far from

bringing such private orders from the king, that he did not even see his majesty on that occasion; for although his lordship had sent him to wait on the king for some purpose, yet he tells us himself, "that Sir George fell sick at Dundalk, and that, hearing there of the resolution taken by the parliament of Scotland, and by their army, to deliver him up to the two houses of parliament, he proceeded no further in his journey, but returned, with that sad assurance to Trim, where the marquis then was."

To the second reason assigned for this surrender, viz. The discovery of a design of the confederate catholics at that juncture, to transfer their allegiance to a foreign prince. Their answer always was, that they never entertained such a design; and that the only application made by them, for obtaining the aid and assistance of any foreign power, was subsequent to,* and occasioned by, this surrender of Dublin and the other garrisons to the English rebels. For thus they related that transaction, when it was first objected against them, appealing for the truth of their relation, to their assembly's instructions concerning it, which were then in the hands of their enemies.

"The power of those who were in arms in England against the king, was," said they, "in the year 1647, considerable in Ireland; they being then free from any opposition in the former

* This appears plainly from the date of the instructions which the confederate catholics at Kilkenny gave to their agents on that occasion.

kingdom, and at entire liberty to dispose of their forces for carrying on their designs in the latter. Wherefore the confederate catholics, perceiving the danger they were in, met in the winter of that year in a general assembly at Kilkenny, where they took into consideration, that his majesty was in restraint; that all addresses to him were forbidden; and that some members of parliament, who spoke in his favour, were expelled.

“ In that sad extremity, there being no access to his majesty for imploring either his justice or mercy, all laws, human and divine, did allow the said catholics to take some other course, in order to their defence and preservation; not against his sacred majesty, but against those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to destroy or extirpate the said catholics.

“ These catholics, therefore, in January 1647, did, in the said assembly, conclude, that the marquis of Antrim, lord viscount Muskerry, and Geoffry Browne, Esq. should be employed into France; the bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett, Esquire, to Rome; and some others to Spain. Those sent to France were by their application to the prince of Wales and the queen, to declare the danger the said catholics apprehended, and humbly to beseech them to find out some expedient, by which these dangers might be averted. They were likewise commissioned, in case of absolute necessity, to implore the aid and protection of some foreign prince; but they were limited not to act any thing, in order to such

foreign protection, but by the direction of those persons who were employed to receive his majesty's commands. Upon the said application made to his majesty, through the queen and prince, the marquis of Ormond's commission was afterwards renewed, and his excellency qualified with power to conclude a peace with the said catholics. Whereupon all further proceedings, concerning the protection of any foreigner, were stopt, and the agents recalled; neither they, nor any of them, having either moved or acted any thing further, relating to the protection of any foreign power. Those agents who were employed to Rome, did, on their return in 1648, before the general assembly then sitting, give such an account of their negociation, that it encouraged the assembly to hasten the conclusion of the peace with the marquis of Ormond, then in agitation.

“ And the said catholics are so conscious to themselves of the resolution they took, from the beginning, to persevere irremoveably faithful, through all extremities, to his majesty's interests, that they are well assured, though those who possess their estates, have now the books of said general assembly in their hands; yet can they not make it appear, that there was any actual treaty or offer for transferring the subjection, naturally due from them to his majesty's dominion over them, to any foreigner whatsoever, or any thing tending thereunto, but what is here acknowledged.”

“ The account these agents gave to the general assembly from his holiness was, that if the nuncio

did engage, that the confederate catholics should be supplied by his holiness in the maintenance of their war, he did it without any commission from him: his holiness being resolved to give no money upon the event of a war; and that as it was not proper for him to appear, in expressing his sense of the conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, so he left them at liberty to proceed, as best suited with the good of the kingdom. This account," adds Mr. Carte, " putting an end to all the expectations of foreign succours, set every body upon reflecting on their own condition, and disposed the confederates to moderate their propositions for a peace, which was become absolutely necessary for their preservation."*

In their dreadful situation, with the awful prospect of destruction before them; divided, exhausted and impoverished, by their mutual quarrels; threatened with extermination by the victorious rebels of England and Scotland, and their numerous partizans here; such conduct proved much for their loyalty: did it for their wisdom? They were more loyal, surely, than the English or Scotch, who fought, conquered and beheaded their monarch.

To talk of natural allegiance, as binding under all situations and circumstances whatsoever, is the language of passive obedience and non-resistance, the divine indefeasable right of kings. 'Tis a doctrine not admitted as orthodox, in the political creed of the master nation; whose con-

* Carte's Ormond.

duct, on various occasions, proves their contempt for it, as one of the slavish errors of the popish schools. Allegiance and protection are the terms of a compact, which, like other compacts, are only so long binding as the conditions can be performed. When it so happens, that the monarch is unable, either through himself or his ministers, to go on with the duties of his station; when he can neither serve or protect them, or they assist or protect him, and each is in peril of destruction, then the great law of self-preservation commands each to look for relief and protection on whatever terms they may be obtained, short of rebellion against the Most High. Could the confederates sacrifice their party antipathies at the altar of their country. Could they have cordially united with the antient Irish, who, after all, were Ireland's best bulwark. Could they, by wise and liberal policy, have rallied the whole under their banners; expelled a perfidious lieutenant; seized on the government, provisionally, for the king, and assisted him in time with their best forces and best generals; their professions of chivalrous allegiance would then be understood, and they needed not have applied to a foreign prince. The contrary of all this betrayed the weakness and injustice of their counsels. Pusillanimous in their proceedings with a weak and wicked government, they revolted the antient natives with the insolence of their disdain. The best general, and best troops, in Ireland, they hated, dreaded and rejected, and thereby made them enemies; while they cringed to those who

sold them, and to those who could not serve them. The same weakness they shewed in their military plans, as well as in the management of affairs in general. Instead of concentrating their forces under one captain-general, who should turn all his might to the most important objects first; which, undoubtedly, was taking the capital, and the reduction of the Ulster planters to their obedience: the reduction of the rest of the kingdom would soon follow. Instead of leaving their generals to depend on very inadequate supplies of money, who were of course obliged to let their soldiers prowl on the peasantry; a sure method of creating scarcity, by discouraging agriculture; they should have sent commissaries, similar to the Roman questors, to collect magazines at the proper stations; and supply whatever was deficient in coin, by tendering national debentures or tokens, for the value of which the nation was guarantee. No. As if Ireland consisted still of four independent kingdoms, there was one general for the kingdom of Leinster, another for the kingdom of Munster, a third for the kingdom of Ulster, and a fourth for the kingdom of Connaught; all independent of each other, liable to thwart and defeat each others projects; and then their troops were generally left to prey on the country, occasioning two evils or three; scarcity, want of discipline, and disaffection in those whose provisions were consumed without any retribution. Instances have been known, of villages giving information to the enemy, of the number, condition and situation

of troops encamped, in order to be rid of their free quarters.

Another notable defence, set up for the loyalty of the confederation, is, the stout opposition they gave the pope's nuncio, in favour of the cessation. It was too late to talk of a cessation in the year 1647, when the king's party was annihilated in England. Who was the cessation to be with then? With Ormond. They were a miserable confederation, if they could not overwhelm him. With the king? He was captive, and well guarded. With the covenanters? Yes; there would be something in a cessation with them, if any pledge of their good faith could be obtained; but they were sworn to the extermination of popery, and would listen to neither truce nor peace with papists. With whom, then, unless with the good people? The archbishops, bishops, secular and regular clergy, mentioned to have exerted their talents in defeating the nuncio's measures, their loyalty cannot be disputed, but their political wisdom does not appear; for they most diligently prepared the overthrow of their country, and the unutterable calamities, by plague, war and famine, that ensued. Among the worthies, who distinguished themselves by their opposition to the nuncio, is mentioned lord Taaffe, who is said to have made his forces ex-communication-proof! But it would have been more to his reputation, to have made them runaway proof; which, alas, he either could not, or would not, as appeared at the fatal battle of Knock na ndoss.

After the disgraceful surrender, Ormond prepared for a speedy departure; and being requested by lord Digby, in the name of Preston and his officers, to remain a while in Ireland, the old fox, sensible of the public execration his treason merited, could not tell what good his stay would do; and so speedily set sail. To diversify this narrative a little, here commences the hunt of the traitor fox, destroyer of the Irish nation. Away he posts to London, in July, 1647, to receive the remainder of his blood-money. Yet he had greater objects in view. He resorted to the Scotch commissioners, the friends of his old friends, to whom he had taken so many steps of hideous guilt to ingratiate himself. This was the grand lodge of the covenanters; the great resort of the political leaders in England and Scotland. His object, we are gravely told by his advocates, was, to prevail on the Scotch commissioners to contrive ways and means with the Irish for the restoration. *Risum teneatis, amice.* What? Prevail on men actually in consultation with the English parliament on the fate of a king whom they had sold. With men sworn to the extermination of popery; and that too, at the rendezvous of the great rebel leaders, from whom no secret of that kind could be hidden for a moment. He was permitted to see the poor captive king at Hampton-court. Would he, if he had uttered so treasonable a proposal as a junction between the Scotch and Irish? Would he, if he had not the confidence of parliament, as a well affected person? So, after surrendering the king's castle, capital, stores,

strong holds, and garrisons, to the king's enemies, he would propose to the king's enemies to restore him. Could these acute rogues; could any, but an arrant fool, trust the traitor, who had already betrayed his king and country? The places he surrendered were now held for the parliament. Could they believe that any one in his senses would, deliberately, after long consultation, throw such powerful obstacles in the way of his own plan? Had he delivered those places to the confederates, there would have been some meaning in such a proposal. Was it by his sanctifying converse with the godly rebels, that his heart was softened by the grace of loyalty? After depriving the king of all his military resources, strong holds, and garrisons, in Ireland, and handing them over to his enemies, who held him in durance vile, he offers himself a negotiator between the Scotch and Irish; after making himself odious to the latter by a continued series of treasons! He professed to Digby, before his departure, that he did not think himself safe in Ireland; and he would come back with the Scotch, who would not scruple to sell him, after selling their king. Yet such is the account of his advocates.*

All this was theatrically planned, and well acted. He was to wait on the committee of parliament, to receive the reward of his treason, and to give an exact statement of the affairs and parties in Ireland. He was to state what further services he could perform, towards the complete

* Carte. Leland.

reduction of that kingdom. He had indeed laid the corner stone, by the surrender; but he must lend a helping hand to the finishing of the edifice, or miss the golden harvest of his hopes and ambition. His plan had been already formed, and put in practice sundry times; breaking the Irish by artful negotiations, long before lord Digby requested his recommendation to the commissioners of parliament, for that dirty office. In his present state of unpopularity, he was not fitted to undertake the task. He must be white-washed, regenerated by royal authority, before he could again play the wolf in sheep's clothing. For that purpose he must have free access to the king, and work on his unacquaintance with facts, from the knowledge of which he was carefully secluded; on the facility of his temper, and the humiliation of his actual condition. He wanted neither address, or eloquence, or suitable gesture, to work on Charles. He largely represented the dangers and difficulties he had been exposed to, in support of his majesty's crown and dignity, from covenanters, confederates, O'Nial and the nuncio, destitute of competent supplies for his defence. That a conspiracy of these, to besiege him in the capital, and seize that and all his majesty's other fortresses for their own use, determined him rather to surrender them to the parliament; lest, by this acquisition, they should be emboldened to erect themselves into an independent kingdom, or call in some foreign prince, which would expose his majesty still more to the calumnies of his enemies. That

if he erred in a critical circumstance, concerning the least evil to be adopted for his majesty's service, when only a choice of evils remained, he humbly implored his majesty's gracious forgiveness; trusting that, in better times, when he should have the honour of throwing himself at his majesty's feet, and lay before him a full account of his conduct, whatever of human frailty might appear there, he would be found not so guilty as the tongue of malevolence painted him. Meanwhile, his majesty's commission to him alone he would return, on the knees of his heart; and here the apology closed, with theatrical pathos, a few sobs and tears. His majesty, naturally good; indulgent to his favourites and to his servants to a fault; deceived by plausible arguments, concerning which he was but imperfectly informed; moved by a pathos, which he thought unfeigned; and by suppliant adulation, of whose impressions he was not unsusceptible, concluded Ormond still a loyal man, driven to rash steps by the violence of his enemies and the insidious steps of false friends, as he himself had often been; also considering, that hardly any man of weight or abilities would either sue or accept the lieutenancy of Ireland in its present desperate situation, as described to him by his former lieutenant, especially since the fatal surrender. Considering also, the preponderating influence he boasted among the confederates; and that he who inflicted the wound might be the fittest person to heal it; that he had a thorough acquaintance with a country in which

he had a large stake; moved by all these considerations, Charles replied, 'To me, alone, Ormond would surrender his commission; Ormond, alone, shall have it.' Thus re-appointed by the king's authority, he was to repair to the queen and the prince of Wales, in France, with the king's recommendation, to concert measures for the government and defence of Ireland. Thus doubly equipt with the king's commission, renovated with a fresh date and signature, letters recommendatory to the queen and prince of Wales, the parliament's money in his trunk, and their plans in his possession, the confident of both parties, he was sure to dictate to the confederates, and destroy them both abroad and at home. There was one little circumstance more necessary to his triumphant exit from London. Some suspicious rumours must be circulated by his parliamentary friends. The committee of Derby-house must feign an alarm at his intrigues against the parliament, in favour of the captive monarch; jealousy of the army, on account of his private interviews with the Scotch commissioners. The report of a warrant being preparing against him, was industriously spread, to reach through the zealous royalists the ears of the queen's court. To crown all, he departed privately from London to France;* which he and his friends call, fled

* It does not appear that he demanded the delivery of his hostages, which he was entitled to, if he had entered into no fresh engagements with the rebel parliament. 2dly, If what he and his advocates set forth, that he fled precipitately from a warrant preparing against him for plotting against the

with the crown of a confessor for the royal cause. He ushers himself to the queen, thus a good deal altered from her prepossessions against him. Similar apologies for the surrender, as to the king; similar detail and amplification of his sufferings and sacrifices for the royal cause; similar exposure of the deplorable state of Ireland, and of the incapacity of the confederates, perhaps their unwillingness to save it for the king. One point he strenuously laboured to impress on the queen and the prince of Wales, the great danger to the king, now in the hands of enemies, in granting any considerable indulgence or privileges to Irish catholics; because that would inflame the covenanters against him. The chief view he had in this was, to insure the standing breach between the two catholic parties, with whose different dispositions Ormond was well acquainted; and for the purpose of insuring this rupture, and of pre-occupying the queen and her court against any unfavourable information against himself, through the catholic agents, was his speedy departure from Ireland, when requested to stay, not any apprehension for his personal safety. The Irish agents must have been completely confounded to find him before them, in full favour and confidence at the queen's court. In the following manner the Ormondists

parliament, why have we not heard of the death of any of his hostages, or even the threat thereof; especially if he acted afterwards the true and loyal king's lieutenant of Ireland? 3dly, Why did he continue measures destructive to the king's interest, and to the Irish nation; as the sequel shall shew.

and confederalists represent these dark transactions. "The agents proceeded in their voyage to France, arrived at St. Germain's, and were graciously received by the queen and prince. Notwithstanding her majesty's partiality to the marquis of Antrim, she soon learned that her attention was to be given principally to lord Muskerry, and Geoffry Browne, as men of more real consequence and power. She conferred with them in private; they produced secret instructions, signed by Preston and lord Taaffe, whereby they were directed to assure her of the unshaken loyalty of their party, and their unalterable adherence to the king's cause, in despite of those who laboured to introduce a foreign jurisdiction into Ireland; to entreat the countenance and assistance of her majesty and the prince; and to propose, as the measure most effectual for supporting the royal authority, that the prince should come over with arms and money, condescend to the requests of moderate and well affected subjects, and take them under his command. Having thus executed their private commission, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and presented the propositions dictated by the clergy, as the mere form and ceremonial of their office.

"By advice of the marquis of Ormond, the queen and prince returned a general and gracious answer to the Irish agents. They gently condemned the violation of the late peace, but expressed their satisfaction that the confederates seemed at length to discern their true interest.

They observed, that the agents were not yet ready to propose their particular desires with respect to religion, nor empowered to conclude finally on other points of moment, which might require particular discussion and alteration. In these circumstances, they were assured, that the queen and prince would take the only part that could reasonably be expected; that a person should be speedily sent into Ireland, duly authorised to receive full and particular propositions from the confederates, and to grant them every grace consistent with justice and the honour and interest of his majesty.”*

During these transactions, Inchiquin, who had laid the counties of Clare and Limerick under contribution, now treated Tipperary in the same manner without opposition. “ He had no artillery, nor any more bread than the soldiers carried in their knapsacks; but he was so alert, that after taking ten or twelve little castles and passing the river Sure, he took by stratagem the impregnable fort of Cahir, which had formerly held out for two months against twenty thousand men. It was the most important place in the whole province; commanding a pass over the river, and opening a way into Tipperary, which had always furnished the principal contributions to the Munster army of the Irish. But lord Inchiquin drew another important advantage from this acquisition: his army had nothing before to live upon but roots which they got out

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 320. 321. 322.

of the ground, and growing corn; for all the cattle had been driven away as they advanced: but now they ranged over the finest country in the kingdom, took great preys of cattle, and burnt above twenty thousand pounds worth of corn, whereof no use could be made, all the mills in the country being destroyed or burnt. The sudden reduction of the fort of Cahir, too strong to be retaken, struck all the neighbouring country with amazement and terror. Lord Taaffe, who commanded the Irish Munster army, withdrew from Cashell as lord Inchiquin approached it: and the inhabitants leaving the gates open and deserting their houses retired to the cathedral. This was a strong and spacious building seated upon a rock near the walls of the city; which had of late being very well fortified, and provided by lord Taaffe with a good garrison. It was no easy matter therefore to reduce it: and Inchiquin offered before he attacked it to give leave for the garrison and inhabitants to depart, on condition they would advance three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. This proposal was rejected, and the place taken by storm: where a prodigious booty was found, and a most horrible carnage of the citizens and garrison ensued."*

Taaffe now found himself compelled to take the field. At Knock no ndoss the two armies met, in the middle of November 1647. On the right Kolkitto Mac Donnel, commanded a gallant

* Warner. Civil Wars in Ire.

body of highlanders, supported by two regiments of horse. After one discharge of musquetry, the highlanders fell sword in hand upon the enemy's left wing, which was broke, pursued with great slaughter, and their cannon and carriages taken. But the left, commanded by lord Taafe, fled at the first fire; nor could he stop their flight, though he killed several of the fugitives with his own hand. On the return of Inchiquin to the support of his left, the highlanders were abandoned by the cavalry, and by the fall of the brave Kolkitto, left without a commander. Still they stood their ground, until seven hundred of them were slaughtered, when the remains of this brave body surrendered. In this action more than three thousand of the Irish army were killed, six thousand arms, baggage, artillery, generals' tent and cabinet, thirty-eight colours and standards fell into the hands of the victors.

Now he comes, Ormond, the arch-traitor, destroyer of his king and country. He comes, welcome to the miserable infatuated junta. He comes, without any other supply but his commission from the captive king and queen, having expended his blood-money in gaining to his party a young distressed debauchee, afterwards Charles the 2d, and the queen's attendants and favourites. What were his pretences for coming to a country, which he had betrayed? Why, to come as lord lieutenant. He was that before; during which his whole administration was an unbroken tissue of insulting tyranny, cruelty, falsehood and treason. It is affirmed by protestant writers, that his

treasonable surrender of the king's dominion, garrison and strong holds, in Ireland, led to the king's death; and I think not without reason. As long as these were held for the king, there was a possibility of an honest deputy being appointed; and, if honest, he could readily rally the great majority in his majesty's defence, and conquer the refractory. All was not sound at home; for there was still a numerous party of royalists, who, though now dispersed and silent, waited but a favourable moment. They could not always hope to madden the multitude with cant canticles, seditious and false alarms; the fatal axe would awaken that sensibility to fallen greatness, natural to the human breast; especially the feelings of a subject towards a murdered sovereign, who, whatever errors he was led into by the violent and ill-intentioned opposition of his parliaments, or the bad counsel of favourites or ministers, was, in the main, one of their best kings, certainly the best of his name; sober, frugal, attentive to business; in private, a gentleman and scholar; of agreeable manners and amiable conversation; an indulgent husband, parent and master. If he had many enemies, he could not but have many friends. His enemies, therefore, would hardly venture to strike the last blow, while he had one kingdom devoted to him, and in a forward disposition of manifesting their zeal, if not impeded by a treacherous deputy. What other pretence brought back the ill-omened beast of prey, destroyer of his king and country? Why, he had brought a commission from the

king, queen, and prince of Wales, to make peace with the catholics of Ireland! What a consummation of effrontery does the brazen front of treason and hypocrisy display, to the wretched pusillanimous junta of Kilkenny? Had he not that commission many years before? Who for years opposed the wishes and commands of the king, to conclude a peace with the catholics of Ireland? Ormond. Who treacherously concealed from the Irish the king's good intentions towards his catholic subjects? Ormond. Who made war on the peaceable Irish pending the negotiations, purposely to break them off? Ormond. Who requested of the protestants of Dublin, and the privy council, the loan of three thousand pounds; engaging, on receipt thereof, to break off the treaty with the Irish, and continue the war against them? Ormond. Who was privately treating with the Scotch of Ulster, and the king's enemies elsewhere; engaging to carry on the war against the Irish, while he was publicly, by the king's command, negotiating with them? Ormond. Who commenced his career in public life, by obeying the bloody orders of the justices, laying waste the English Pale seventeen miles by fifteen, slaughtering indiscriminately the unoffending inhabitants? Ormond. Who received a jewel, valued five hundred pounds, with a letter of thanks from the rebel parliament, for satisfying their craving thirst for Irish blood, in his inhuman ravages and butcheries? Ormond. Who made it his study to divide, instead of uniting, the most loyal portion of his majesty's subjects

in his defence; always obeying the instructions of the English parliament, and disobeying the king's most earnest ardent wishes and commands? Ormond. Why, then, govern an abused, insulted nation, in the name and by the authority of a betrayed king? The magic wand of royal authority was necessary to keep a loyal people in obedience to a jurisdiction, which should divide them from each other, and from their king; that he should derive no succour from their zeal until his fate was decided in England. Why, after that unfortunate monarch's irretrievable overthrow, still wear the mask of loyalty, and govern in his name? For the same reasons, and further to prevent any union among the Irish, or recourse to foreign aid. To facilitate the reduction of Ireland to the obedience of the parliament; lest the fugitive family, aided by foreign powers, should there find a back door, and depot, to burst in upon them, before their new scheme of a commonwealth was firmly established. To provide for a number of hungry auxiliaries, whom they were unable to satisfy with money, an equivalent of land in Ireland, by the slaughter of its inhabitants. His treasonable surrender of the king's castle, capital, stores and garrisons; the treasons of his speedy flight to London; his intrigues there, and his trip thence to France, and back to Ireland again, have already been stated. Well, further, the perpetual and implacable enemy of the king's and Irish peace now comes back, to make peace when too late, as Leland observes. Could not the catholics ask him, with

whom are we to make peace? With whom have we been at war? Not with the king; for it was not against the king, but in our own defence, we took up arms, necessary for self-preservation, by the unprovoked inhuman warfare, carried on by you and the justices against us, while in profound peace and obedience to the laws. 'Twas you that carried on war against us; not by, but contrary to his majesty's orders, traitor and rebel as you were, obeying the orders of the king's English enemies; but in so much worse and more detestable than they, as you fired at both king and people from the masked battery of hypocrisy and feigned loyalty. Now that you have betrayed the king's authority into the hands of his enemies, you can no longer make war on us by open force. What strength had belonged to the king, being now in the hands of his enemies, you cannot turn against us; as for family power, 'tis not great enough to frighten us. I have a renewed commission to make peace. With whom, again? With the royal family. We wish we could effectually serve them; and if in their poverty and exile they must be flattered and coaxed by a sacrifice of our civil and religious rights, they merit not our service. Or, oh! but I think it quite necessary for your safety, and a test of your loyalty, to enter into a treaty with me, in which you will sacrifice most of your civil and religious rights to the prejudices and interest of the protestant royalists, that so I may coalesce you into one body of loyalty, to fight for the king, and for yourselves and estates, against

the growing power and insolent claims of that odious, detested race, the old Irish, who are now become terrible under the banners of O'Nial, and set up claims for forfeited lands, that threaten us all. All is hush then.

On the 29th of September, 1648, he arrives at Cork; loud acclamations hail him at his landing. "On the next day, the general assembly, sitting at Kilkenny, gave a very signal proof of their desire to be again received under his government, by fixing a public brand on the two principal opposers of the late peace, the nuncio Renuccini, and general Owen O'Nial. For they proclaimed the latter a rebel and a traitor; and upon entering into a treaty of peace with the marquis, they drew up a charge against the former, "representing the manifold oppressions, transcendent crimes, and capital offences, which he had been continually, for three years past, acting within the kingdom, to the unspeakable detriment of their religion, the ruin of the nation, and the dishonour of the see of Rome."

"With the above-mentioned charge, Sir Richard Blake, chairman of the assembly, sent him notice, by their order, that there was a declaration and protestation preparing against him, which were sent to his holiness, to the end that his lordship might prepare for his journey, and for his defence; and that, in the mean time, he should not intermeddle, by himself or any of his instruments, directly or indirectly, with the affairs of the nation, on the penalty which might ensue, by the law of God and nations."

“ The nuncio, accordingly, left Ireland on the 23rd of February following, to the great joy of the principal nobility and gentry, and the most respectable ecclesiastics of the kingdom. Yet while he was preparing for his departure, the lord lieutenant sent him a private message, by two of his particular friends, the bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett, Esq. “ that if he would then, at parting, take off his excommunication, and dispose the people to an absolute obedience to the peace, and the king’s authority, he should not only receive all possible civility from him, at his departure from Ireland, but that he would make a very advantageous mention of him to the queen, whose distressed condition,” he said, “ would certainly gain some credit to her at Paris, if it was not worse than London.” But the nuncio did not wait their coming; for on the night before, he went to sea in his own frigate, and, on the 2d of March, landed at St. Vaast, in the Lower Normandy.”*

What welcome news to the covenanters of England, Ireland and Scotland, the illustrious hero of Ireland, Owen Roe O’Nial, crowned with laurels on the continent; the only name on the military staff of Ireland formidable to its enemies; who had the praise even of his enemies, both at home and abroad; the lineal descendant and rightful heir of so many kings and monarchs of Ireland, of a race almost always its ornament and bulwark; munificent patrons of arts and

* Carte’s Ormond.

sciences, favourers of the muses, all that essentially grace and adorn human life; champions of the faith, protectors of the weak, terrors of evil-doers, and to their enemies. Owen Roe O'Nial, the only true champion, the shield and right-hand of Eirin, is declared a rebel and traitor! This was hard treatment to those gallant Irish officers, who quitted foreign service, where promotions, honors, and honorable family alliances were open, on the continent; and which numbers of inferior fame had before, and have since reached, in order, at the invitation of their countrymen of both races, to assist their common distress. All this, too, shortly after he had offered the confederates to bid defiance to their enemies, on receiving such assistance as their other very unsuccessful generals; which offers, says Leland, they rejected with disdain.

And what mighty senate issued this decree against the Hannibal of Clanna Gaodhal? A second edition, with a little augmentation, little for the better, of the parliament of the Pale. The descendants of those blood-thirsty, pelf-seeking, English papists, who thronged here successively. To improve, was it? They said so. But what improvement could they impart? Men, described by some of their English countrymen, as jail-birds, indigent and profligate, loaded with debts and crimes, who ran away from domestic infamy, the hue and cry of the offended laws, the cells of their prisons, or, what was as galling as any of these, the pangs of hunger and poverty. Some younger sons of

genteel families must be allowed of the number, but the mass was of the foregoing description. That their countrymen, remaining in England, gave no untrue pourtraiture of those adventurers, their conduct, since their arrival, gave unequivocal proofs. There was nothing revolting in crime, at which they would boggle. There was no scheme so base and dishonourable, so perfidious and atrocious, but they would eagerly embrace, to circumvent, destroy and plunder a wealthy native. The poisoned bowl, the dagger of the assassin, the midnight ruffian, the treacherous invitation to the murderous banquets, were all welcome instruments to murder and plunder the natives. From coming over swindlers, vagabonds, beggars, and all the outcast scum of the neighbouring island, they came, by infernal arts, fraud, treachery, cruelty, to gain estates here, and become great men. Behold their descendants sitting in state in Kilkenny, mock representatives of a nation once renowned for humanity, valour, piety, hospitality and learning. Like cat, like kitter, they abhor the remnants of that once renowned and honourable people, whose blood was shed by their fathers' arts; and whose patrimonial estates they now enjoyed. They dreaded the resurgency of Milesian power, under the victorious banners of an O'Nial; a hero, whom they alike hated and dreaded. The restitution of forfeited lands; this was the secret anguish that preyed on their thoughts by night, and the whisper of alarm by day. 'O'Nial is terrible; we know not where he will stop.'

What else, but alarm for their landed property, artfully excited by Digby, and similar creatures of Ormond and the parliament, could inflame them to such a pitch of fury, and such headlong courses of improvident phrenzy? They were already sure to have the parliament forces on their hands: that was not enough; they must accelerate and invigorate their operations, by a declaration of war. That declaration roused all the republican energies of England and Scotland, to co-operate with the parliament; so that all requisitions of men, money, provisions and warlike stores, would be promptly obeyed, to chastise the insolence of popish rebel royalists. Proclaiming Charles king, and bowing to Ormond as his viceroy, was that declaration. The covenanters, throughout England, Scotland, Ulster, and the rest of Ireland, were their avowed enemies. Ormond wished to persuade them of the loyal co-operation of the protestants of Ireland; even so, they were but a weak auxiliary against such powerful enemies.

Least they had not enemies enough, they were inspired by Ormond's creatures and coadjutors, to insult and banish the venerable archbishop of Fermo, whose zeal for the catholics made him obey the commands of the sovereign to visit this oppressed country, and assist, with his counsel, and whatever supplies could be sent him. The prelate spoke and acted to the best of his judgment. Suppose him in error, which subsequent events acquit him of, it was indecent and illiberal to heap such abuse on his grey locks, after

undertaking so long a voyage, and undergoing so many years of toil and hardship, and endeavouring to reconcile their jarring factions, and convince them of the only sure path to safety. I know they have accused him of aspiring to a cardinal's cap. It was paying a dear price for any cap or hat on earth, to bear four or five years with the wrangling contention, malevolent slanders, corrupt faction, and all the Biscay storms of Irish politics. Corrupt men will judge others on the standard of their own foul hearts. Father Luke Wading, the prime mover, the life and soul of all the interest that Rome took in their cause, and of whatever supplies came thence, was, in like manner, insulted by them. Let no man imagine, that any money came from the pope's treasure, or that of any other prince. Like another Paul, Wading traversed Italy, and every where preached, exhorted the faithful, to give liberal contributions, in support of the distressed catholics. He took from the pope, cardinals, dukes, princes, bishops, chanoines, barons, abbots, nunneries, friaries, pious matrons; and in a word, from all orders, ages, ranks and sexes, he laboured to obtain what he could in support of Irish catholics. I shall be told this was a weak resource for to maintain a war. Allowed. But when the poor man did all that was possible for him to do, neither he, nor the poverty of his means, should be insulted. Well, the confederates, in the giddy intoxication of tottering power, and in the pert petulance of sudden consequence, sent him a letter of thanks, in which they pro-

mised to recommend him to the pope, for a cardinal's hat! Whether Wading considered this extravaganza merely as the effect of presumptuous ignorance, or as a premeditated personal insult, he modestly replied, that he was happy in his present mode of life, in his cloister; and that it became not men, in their condition, to ask for that, which was granted as a favour only for the first crowned heads of Europe. So they heard no more from him, or the Italian supplies.

Having thus dismissed their ecclesiastical benefactors, with the contemptuous insolence connate with upstart puppyism, let us see what this wise senate provided for the defence of the realm. They had foreign and domestic enemies, as already observed. I suppose they laboured to stifle all animosities; to unite all parties; and summon, by every degree of encouragement, rewards and honours. No; the very contrary of all this was the policy pursued by this besotted Areopagus. Instead of reconciling, they divided. At the return of the arch traitor, as viceroy of the fugitive court, O'Nial, decidedly the ablest general in the British dominions, and one of the best in Europe, was declared, by that wretched prostitute conventicle, a rebel and traitor. Monroe, when at open war with the king, laying waste Ulster, and driving thousands of Irish cattle to Scotland, for the edification of the faithful, was never so proclaimed. Inchiquin, after deserting the king's cause, waging a bloody war against the Irish, according to the inhuman manner of Cromwell, Coote, and other parliament generals;

after the massacre of three thousand, of all ages and sexes, in the cathedral of Cashel, was not thus proclaimed. The arch traitor, who murdered his betrayed sovereign, after betraying all that belonged to him, except the hearts of his loyal subjects, was not so treated; but received with hosannahs, as the saviour of a country, whose ruin he had conspired, and was enabled to accomplish, by their own infatuation. Was this a liberal recompense for gallant officers, who, at the solicitation of their distressed country, renounced the bright prospects, and honourable situations abroad, to hasten home to its relief, and shed their blood in its defence. The call was not from one national party to another; it was from those unfortunately divided races, to all foreign Irish officers, without distinction of blood; as was natural for a people, in their first struggle, to wish for experienced military men to organize their mobs.

This act was extremely fatal to Ireland. By it the confederates damned their own cause, and surrendered themselves and their country into the hands of their enemies. They did that, which the English parliament, Cromwell, Coote, Ormond, and all the open and covert enemies of Ireland, wished. They delivered Samson into the hands of the Philistines; and the latter took care to get off the man, who was the terror of all the popish and covenanting enemies of Ireland. Sir Charles Coote, holding Derry for the parliament, and being sorely pressed for want of provisions, having sustained a long siege from the

lord of Ardes, who commanded the royalist army, contrived to send a messenger to O'Nial. Having heard of his being proclaimed a traitor and rebel; and knowing, consequently, that he must be distressed for money to pay his troops, he offered him a large sum, on condition he relieved him. Owen, indignant at the outrage offered to him and his brave troops, marched to raise the siege. The lord of Ardes, not thinking it prudent to wait his arrival, departed from before Derry hastily. Owen Roe was received, with every appearance of friendship, into the town; a ball and supper was prepared, for the entertainment of the deliverer of Derry and his officers; and he received a present of a pair of russet boots, in order to dance with a young lady, who particularly coveted to enjoy the honor of that diversion with the great man. Supper being ended, he danced with her and some others, untill he fell into a perspiration, and was wearied. He soon after retired to bed, fell sick, and in a few days expired. Whether the popular opinion, of his having been presented with a pair of poisoned boots, be well founded, still rests on conjecture; yet, I think, the probabilities favour that opinion. Coote, as well as his father, was a mortal enemy to Irish papists. He had engaged for a large sum, which, perhaps, he was unable to pay; and the general, at the head of his forces, could compel payment, or make reprizals. He would be well rewarded by the enemies of Ireland, the English parliament and the Irish confederates, for the dispatch of this great man, so formidable

to both. He durst not openly attack him, his army being so near to take revenge; and can we suppose that Coote would be more scrupulous than English papists, who never hesitated, in similar circumstances, to get rid of a great man, when his life would be loss, and his death gain.

Now Ormond arrives in Kilkenny, with treachery, death and destruction in his train, and a solemn mockery of every sacred and civil institution ensued, that made our canonized forefathers weep. The murderer of his sovereign, and of millions of his countrymen; the betrayer of the nation, the avowed enemy of the catholic faith, is seated on a throne of state, representing the majesty of our kings! The civil and religious rights of Ireland, their plighted vows in defence of toleration, are laid prostrate at his feet, by this vile, self-degraded assembly, cringing to an idol of their own creation. How did he murder his sovereign? When, for years, to serve the king's enemies, he prevented the union of the king with his loyal Irish subjects, so ardently wished by both; when the succours of the Irish could easily have turned the vibrating scale of victory in his favour. He murdered millions; because, by the destruction of the king, and the surrender of his force into the hands of his enemies, and by his subsequent bargain with the parliament, he delivered Ireland, defenceless, into the hands of its enemies. Now for the particulars of the farce.

“The lord lieutenant being invited to Kilkenny by the general assembly, October the 28th, in

order to a more expeditious settling of the points in dispute, made his entry into that city in a splendid manner; having been met at some distance from it by the whole body of the assembly, and by all the nobility, clergy and gentry in the neighbourhood. He was received into the town by the mayor and aldermen, with all those ceremonies and honours, which such corporations used to pay to the supreme authority of the kingdom, and was lodged in his own castle, with all his own guards about him."

"The next day after his arrival at Kilkenny, his excellency entered into a treaty of peace with the general assembly; and after he had advanced so far in it, as that, "he thought he had good grounds to hope it would be speedily concluded, upon the conditions he was empowered to give them, he found it suddenly interrupted by a very dangerous mutiny, raised by some leading officers in lord Inchiquin's army, who endeavoured, not only to hinder the conclusion of the peace, but also to incline those under them to a treaty and submission to the English parliament."

"On this occasion, it was thought necessary by his excellency and lord Inehiquin, to suspend the conclusion of the peace, "in such manner, as might induce the mutineers to believe it would be wholly laid aside for their satisfaction." On the other hand, the article concerning the free exercise of religion, was not yet adjusted to the satisfaction of the assembly; some of the clergy having much higher expectations, in that respect, than others thought fit to be insisted on. "This

was the only point, in which there was danger of the treaty's breaking up unfinished, it being very difficult to give content therein to the Roman catholics, without at the same time disgusting the protestants." But an incident happening at this juncture, united the differing parties in that assembly, and greatly accelerated the peace. Some copies of the remonstrance of the independent army in England, which had publicly avowed their design of subverting every thing, that had been hitherto known for government in these nations, were then brought to Kilkenny, and read with universal abhorrence. This immediately removed all the difficulties which some of the Roman catholics, in zeal for their religion, had thrown in the way of the peace. The general assembly receded from their demands in that point. And on the 28th of December, upon consideration of his majesty's present condition, and their own hearty desires, says Mr. Carte, of spending their lives and fortunes, in maintaining his rights and interests, they resolved unanimously, to accept of the marquis of Ormond's answer to their propositions for religion. "That desperately wicked remonstrance," says the marquis himself, "whatever mischief it may do, hath yet done this good, that it put us quite from all disputes upon the necessity of conditions, and was no small cause of the speedy, and I hope, happy conclusion of the peace.

"On the 17th of January, 1649, the general assembly repaired to the presence of the lord lieutenant in his castle at Kilkenny, and there,

with all solemnity imaginable, presented to him, sitting on a throne of state, the articles of the peace, by the hands of Sir Richard Blake, their chairman, which he received; and having confirmed them, on his majesty's behalf, caused them to be publicly proclaimed. Nine Roman catholic bishops, present in the assembly, joined, the next day, in a circular letter, which they sent to all the cities and corporations of their party, exhorting them to receive and obey the peace now concluded; which was in substance that which had been made in 1646, but rejected by a former assembly."*

Let me ask again the confederate traitors, and the arch traitor, with whom this peace? To what mighty conqueror, this headlong prostitution of the honour and interest of the nation, this solemn breach of their association-oath, for the repeal of all the penal statutes? To the king? Were he even in the plenitude of his power, it were base to sacrifice so much without compulsion. But now his authority was defunct in England, and what remained to him in Ireland had been betrayed by the golden image set up at Kilkenny. To the fugitive family? They ought and would thank heaven, that so respectable a portion of his majesty's subjects still retained their loyalty, while the rest rebelled; and, instead of bidding them fasten on the yoke of bondage heavier than before, they would, as they ought, promise them equal privilege and favour with the most favoured

* Carte's Ormond.

subjects, as the reward of such exemplary devotion to the reigning family. To whom then? To the arch traitor? Apparently yes, but in reality to their hatred and fear of the antient Irish; least, under the victorious standard of O'Nial, they should demand restitution. "In a close conference it appeared to them that their only salvation lay in a close union with Ormond."* If that was not the object of their voluntary surrender of their rights and breach of their oaths; compulsory it could not be, because Ormond then had no more power than they chose to confer on him. What else? Was it warding off the invasion from England? Yes, indeed, after declaring war against the parliament, by proclaiming the so called pretender king. Was it to procure foreign alliance? No. After voluntarily abdicating their religious rights, and breaking their vows for maintaining them, foreign powers must laugh them to scorn. Was it to consolidate their interest at home? All true catholics abominated their treaty; candid protestants laughed at their voluntary servitude, and judged them bad allies for the cause of freedom: besides their doing what their enemies most of all wished for, depriving Ireland of her spear and shield; of the only hero most capable, in the opinion even of his enemies, of saving her at that time of emergency. The definition of the so-called peace then is this: on the part of Ormond it was an engine to divide and destroy the Irish, through their

* Leland.

fears, artfully excited, of losing their estates, unless in conjunction with Ormond they could beat off, or put down O'Nial, and the antient Irish, fighting with him. On the part of the confederates, it was a combination against the antient Irish, to secure possessions acquired from their forfeiture. On the part of Ormond it was a trap to divide first, and then accomplish the sale of the Irish to the English parliament; to smooth the way for Oliver, and make his conquest easy.

Every one who reads, or even does not read, has heard of the penal laws and catholic emancipation; but not every one knows, that the base, traitorous junta of Kilkenny, which began with swaggering professions, never to sheath the sword until they obtained the abolition of all the penal statutes, ended with breaking their oath, and decreeing a penal code against their own profession, as cruel as any that preceded it. Ormond possessed neither the means of corruption or coercion. His blood-money was spent abroad, in corrupting a very corruptible young prince, the queen's favourites; his power, as viceroy, had been already betrayed to the enemy; his private fortune was inadequate to bribe or terrify: the penalties, therefore, contained in what was ridiculously called a treaty, were so many voluntary inflictions of penalties, by an assumed legislative authority, against popery, by a popish junta. Were the poor abject slaves flattered with a hope of gaining the friendship and co-operation of their protestant fellow-subjects, by this voluntary

abnegation of their faith? On the contrary, they were viewed in the same odious light as the Hollanders in Japan, spitting on the cross, for filthy lucre's sake. How could Irish protestants, always zealous for their civil and religious liberties, trust people, who so willingly sacrificed both, without compulsion or necessity, to the dictates of a traitor. Let one instance of the penal code, passed by the traitorous popish junta of Kilkenny, against popery, and the sentiments of a protestant German prince thereon, suffice for all; *ex pede herculem et ex ungue leonem*.

“ Prince Rupert had desired 1000 landsmen to man his fleet; and no sooner were they granted, when his partiality to the Irish encouraged them to sedition. Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their mass in the sea-ports; and, spirited up by the attendants of the prince, they insulted the protestants, and raised such commotions, as all the diligence and prudence of lord Inchiquin were scarcely sufficient to allay. Rupert himself held a correspondence with Antrim, O’Nial, and other discontented Irish. Encouragement was given in his name to all who were willing to serve the king in “ an opposite way to the present government.” Thus was a turbulent spirit excited in Connaught, which Clanrickarde with difficulty repressed; schemes were formed for raising forces in the south; Ormond discovered these practices, and Rupert was ashamed to avow them. As the marquis now meditated the design of investing Dublin, the prince was in-

treated to block up the harbour with his fleet. Jones must have thus been speedily reduced to extremity; but, a service so easy and so essential to the king's interest, prince Rupert unaccountably declined. With the same obstinacy he refused to favour the blockade of Derry and to cut off the supplies expected by Sir Charles Coote; nor would he furnish Ormond with the money which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public service.'*'

This paragraph is well worthy of observation. Is this the end of eight years war, and almost as long a period of negotiation? Is this the decree of the profligate junta of Kilkenny; that it is mutiny for a catholic seaman to hear mass ashore? Contrary to the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate their mass in the sea ports! Do the Ormondist writers mean, that the sailors read mass ashore? No; they heard mass. Thus ended, then, all the bravadoes and oaths of the catholic association of Kilkenny, that they enacted a penal code against their own profession, making it mutiny for a catholic seaman to hear mass ashore!

Who was this prince Rupert, who encouraged this shocking mutiny in Irish catholic seamen, to hear mass ashore, contrary to the statutes of the popish assembly of Kilkenny? Every English reader will have read of that gallant prince Rupert, to whose valour and skill, as general of cavalry, king Charles owed all the advantages he

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 339. 340.

obtained in the war with the rebels. Grandson of the king, a brave German protestant prince, stranger to the strange bigotry of religion prevailing in Ireland, he could not see how a sailor would be a worse man, for worshipping God his own way; and he could not but think ill of a popish junta, making it penal for a popish seaman to hear mass. Advocates of catholic emancipation, attend to this. Here is a penalty against your religion, decreed by a popish conventicle at Kilkenny, which your protestant fellow-subjects would blush to sanction now. Readers of every description pause here. The so-called peace, you see, is a sanctioned penal code; and a combination with the traitor Ormond, against the old Irish. Ye revilers of the pope's nuncio and O'Nial, where are you now? How can you defend these traitors to God, religion and their country? Every article of this advocate of Ormond must be noticed. "Prince Rupert envied him the glory of reducing Ireland to the king's obedience!" They were in the king's obedience, until the traitors, Parsons, Borlase and Ormond, drove them to arms; they longed to serve the king, while Ormond hindered them; but now they are indeed reduced to king Ormond's obedience.

"Contrary to the articles of peace, the popish sailors were allowed to hear mass, by prince Rupert!" This was not the only offence of that gallant protestant prince; encouragement was given in his name, to all who were willing to serve his majesty, in an "opposite way to the present government." Reader, do you understand this?

in an opposite way to the present government? Who was the present government? Ormond. Who made him such? Was it a slip of paper from St. Germain's, or the confederates? Doubtless, the confederates. What say you now, advocates of catholic emancipation; revilers of the nuncio and O'Nial? Here, by the concurrence and vote of a popish assembly, papists are rendered unfit to serve his majesty.

Rupert also refused to block up the harbour of Dublin, at the intreaty of Ormond. That proved him not a blockhead, to refuse his trust to a traitor, who had given proofs enough of his treasons already, in betraying the king's strongholds and garrisons. Had he come into Dublin bay he must fall a prey to the parliament ships, likely intended by the traitor.

We have seen the frantic pranks of the confederates, during what they were pleased to call their treaty of peace with Ormond; and how, amidst a host of enemies, they cut off Ireland's right arm, by declaring against O'Nial. We have seen their distracted councils in peace; the imbecillity of their preparations for war; let us now see, how they, and their favourite Ormond, planned and executed their campaign. On the approach of a formidable foe, a good general would demolish almost all the forts, and untenable fortresses of the kingdom; such as Drogheda, Dundalk, Newry, Carlingford, Trim, &c. places which might bid defiance to pike and musket, but were not proof against battering cannon. He would remove all manner of provision into the

interior, and destroy what he could not remove. He would, instead of dispersing his forces into a number of weak garrisons, where they must inevitably become a prey to the enemy, collect them together, in order to watch the enemy's motions, straighten their quarters, attack his convoys and foraging parties, and intercept his reinforcements. Without hazarding the fate of the country in one general battle, he would reduce the enemy, by a war of detail, until some favourable opportunity might offer of dealing a heavy blow. Thus it was, that Fabius defended Italy, and Washington America. Thus also, O'Cavenagh defended Leinster, and O'Nial Ulster. The direct contrary was the foolish or treasonable plan of Ormond and the confederates. They dispersed their forces over a great extent, in places untenable against battering cannon, where no relief or co-operation could be expected. For example, Drogheda is encompassed by heights north and south, and defended only by a stone wall, good enough in the old Irish wars, but no defence against Cromwell's artillery. Three or four thousand of their forces were slaughtered there, almost without opposition. Not fewer than twenty thousand soldiers were in this manner dispersed over the kingdom, which, collected together, might harass or fight Cromwell. This mismanagement was the contrivance of folly or fraud. Last of all, and after weakening their force, by distributing them in untenable garrisons all over the kingdom, they undertook, what ought to have been the very first enterprize, with undi-

impish force, the siege of the capital. The folly or wickedness of this attempt, is self-evident. To besiege a large city, with a force scarcely more numerous, certainly not so well appointed as the garrison! A division, marching a whole night from Rathmines to Baginbun castle, to fortify themselves there, in a few hours, and command the passage of the river Liffy! It is clear enough, either that Ormond was one of the most incapable generals, or that he was fulfilling his engagement with the parliament, and facilitating the conquest of Ireland. Thus, he who exposed between six and seven thousand men to destruction, by leading them against the capital, where all the advantages were against them, would not attack the garrison, laden with booty, on their return to Dublin, where he might engage them on equal terms. "So that when Jones had marched some distance from the capital, and Ormond had the fairest opportunity of engaging him to advantage, he was forced to keep his station westward of the Liffy, and to suffer the governor to retire unmolested."* Was it want of provision? The best inducement imaginable for attacking a party laden with that article. It was want of courage or honesty.

The long impending calamities of Ireland were at length on the point of bursting on it like a thunder clap. Measures, which were their ruin, were matured both at home and abroad. The confederates had sacrificed their religion and country, like the Dutch in Japan, for the security

* Leland.

of their estates; and the sacrifice availed them nothing. Their resources were all mismanaged in the hands of treachery or incapacity; they had insulted the only man capable of standing in the breach, and allaying the storm, and were chiefly instrumental in shortening his days. That great man resigned his breath, with a painful presentiment of calamities which soon followed; for the inhuman Cromwell landed, and arrived in Dublin, on the 15th of August, 1649, with eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, well appointed, abundance of military stores, a formidable train of artillery and money, the sinew of war.

He began his military operations against Drogheda. "Disdaining all regular approaches and formal operations of a siege, he summoned the governour to surrender; and, on his refusal, thundered against the walls for two days, until he had made a sufficient breach. The assault was given, and his men twice repulsed. In the third attempt led by Cromwell himself, the town was gained. Quarter had been promised to all those who should lay down their arms; a promise observed until all resistance was at an end. But the moment that the city was completely reduced, Cromwell, with an infernal calmness and deliberation, resolved by one effectual execution to terrify the whole Irish party. He issued his fatal orders, that the garrison should be put to the sword. His soldiers, many of them with reluctance, butchered their prisoners. The governour, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to slaughter by the cowardice of some of their troops, were

massacred without mercy. For five days this hideous execution was continued with every circumstance of horror. A number of ecclesiastics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches. Some few of the garrison contrived to escape in disguise. Thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage; and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes.

“ This execrable policy had the intended effect. The garrisons of Trim and Dundalk, in their consternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn these towns, and demolish the fortifications; so that they were immediately possessed by the enemy. Venables was detached into the province of Ulster. He soon reduced Carlingford: Newry was surrendered: in marching against Lisburne, he was attacked, and exposed to some danger, but fortunately extricated himself, and was received into the town without resistance. Belfast was surrendered upon articles, in four days after his approach; Colerain was betrayed to Sir Charles Coote, who drove Sir George Monroe from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the castle of Carricfergus.

“ In the mean time, Cromwell with his usual vigour, resolved to seize the advantage of the consternation and dissensions of his enemies, and to proceed in his operations notwithstanding the

advanced season of the year. He had his correspondencies in Munster, his secret partizans in the cities and forts possessed by the Irish, and now marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of this army; and the country people, assured of protection, and made to believe that they should enjoy the liberty of their religion, crowded to his camp with provisions, for which they immediately received the full value. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferiour note were at once surrendered; and, on the first day of October, he sat down before Wexford. The citizens had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obstinately refused to admit any troops. In their present terrour, which was artfully enflamed by those who held intelligence with Cromwell, they first proposed to open their gates to the enemy; at the urgent instances of the marquis of Ormond, they at length deigned to accept of succours; yet, with a fanaticism not peculiar to popery, they continued in their extremity to reject the assistance of heretics, and demanded a garrison composed entirely of the faithful. Ormond was by this time considerably strengthened; he, therefore, contrived to throw fifteen hundred catholic troops into Wexford; and, at the requisition of the magistrate, five hundred more. Having thus provided for the security of the city, he retired with the remains of his army, and arrived securely at Ross, though an attempt had been made to intercept him by a party under the command of Michael Jones.

“ But all the provisions made for the defence of Wexford, could not secure it from secret treachery. One Stafford, governour of the castle, had been suspected by Ormond; but as he had the merit of being a catholic, the commissioners of trust would not consent to remove him. No sooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play, when this man admitted his soldiers into the castle upon conditions. The citizens were suddenly confounded at sight of his colours waving on the battlements, and their own cannon pointed against the town. In the first tumult of terror and consternation, they sent commissioners to treat with the enemy; but the townsmen were impatient of delay; the soldiers ran tumultuously from the walls; every man consulted his own safety, and thus were all destroyed. The enemy gained the city without farther resistance, and proceeded to put all to the sword who were found in arms, with an execution as horribly deliberate as that of Drogheda. Hence Cromwell proceeded to lay siege to Ross, a town situated on the river Barrow, and more considerable for navigation than that of Wexford. At the same time he detached a strong party under the command of Ireton, to invest Duncannon. Such was the general consternation, occasioned by the progress and severities of Cromwell, that the citizens of Waterford, though nearly interested in the defence of this fort, refused to supply it with provisions, and seemed ready to submit on the first appearance of an enemy; while the commissioners of trust, seated at Kilkenny in all the futile

pomp of authority, began to tremble for their security, and were scarcely restrained from flying to some place more inaccessible to the parliamentarians. To confirm these terrours, the town of Ross was immediately surrendered upon articles.

“ The fort of Duncannon made a more honourable resistance: and so considerably had the victorious army been reduced by the severity of the season, in a country at this time unfriendly to English constitutions, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was sent from Dublin, and had been some time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of these forces; and, with consent of Ormond and the commissioners of trust, resolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated. Yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven, he made a sally with such vigour and success, that the enemy at once raised the siege, not without some confusion. On retiring to their main body, they found the general transporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny, by a bridge of boats constructed on the Barrow, a device utterly strange and astonishing to the rude Irish. Ormond, who had concluded his accommodation with Owen O’Nial, and already received part of his forces, made some preparations for disputing the passage of the river; but Cromwell, superiour in vigilance and expedition, as well as numbers, had already transported his army, and obliged

the marquis to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the rest of the northern Irish forces ready to receive his commands. The presence of their favourite general was still wanting; for O'Nial now laboured under a grievous malady, which soon after put a period to his life."*

Yes, indeed, their favourite general, the favourite of the great majority of Irishmen, was wanting; and a grievous blow to Ireland was that lamented death. He was not a man to fear the fanatical fury of Cromwell, or his army; formidable only when not opposed by a skilful general, and disciplined forces. General O'Nial was, by the confession even of his enemies, peculiarly fitted for the service of Ireland, at that momentous period; and the force he left behind him, conveyed to the confederates by his friend, Ever Mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, by his dying recommendation, bore honourable testimony to the abilities of the commander, who trained them to war; sufficient to make Ireland mourn the immense loss it sustained by his untimely death. Had he been invested with power there, he would not have dispersed but reinforced them, and followed the footsteps of Cromwell, and encamped near him as he laid siege to Waterford, to besiege the besiegers. He would never lose sight of him, but watch his every motion, in order to seize some favourable opportunity.

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. i. p. 350. 351. 352. &c.

But Ormond seemed peculiarly guarded from offending his friends, now ruling in England, to whom he owed his promotion; nor was Cromwell less complaisant to him. He could not, in decency, pass by Kilkenny, without some appearance of hostility, lest the lieutenant should be suspected of collusion. Some skirmishing took place, after which the republican general, having done enough to lull suspicion, was inoffensively marching away, when the magistrates of the town opened the gates, and politely invited him in. Thence he marched to Clonmell, where he expected to repeat the butcheries of Drogheda and Wexford. But “ Hugh O’Nial, a northern officer, with twelve hundred of his provincials, maintained the town with such valour, that in the first assault two thousand of the besiegers were lost; and Cromwell determined rather to starve, than force the city to submission. Harassed and enfeebled by delay, he made the most pressing instances to lord Broghill to hasten to his assistance. On the other hand, Ormond laboured indefatigably to succour the garrison. Notwithstanding the infatuated obstinacy of the commissioners of trust, who defeated all his attempts, he prevailed on lord Roche, a person of considerable power in the south, to collect a body of troops for the relief of Clonmell; but these were encountered and defeated by lord Broghill. The Romish bishop of Ross, who had been particularly active in raising and animating these unfortunate troops, was taken prisoner in the engagement. A man so distinguished in his

opposition to the parliamentarians could expect no mercy; Broghill, however, promised to spare his life, on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of a fort adjacent to the field of battle, and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort; but the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their religion and their country, and instantly resigned himself to execution. His enemies could discover nothing in this conduct but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate.

“ In the mean time, Cromwell was repeatedly called into England, where the alarm of a Scottish invasion rendered his presence absolutely necessary. But his reputation must be considerably impaired, should he abandon his present enterprize; he, therefore, continued to invest Clonmel. After a brave defence of two months, the garrison found their ammunition and provisions totally exhausted, without any prospect of relief. Hugh O’Nial withdrew secretly with his forces, and conducted them to Waterford; while the townsmen treated with the besiegers, and were permitted to surrender the city upon honourable terms on the 18th of May, 1650. Cromwell now resigned his army to the care of Ireton, and in the next week embarked for England.”*

The specimen of Owen Roe’s troops, exhibited

* Leland.

at Clonmel, under the command of his namesake, shewed the Irish what they might expect from that general at the head of an army; had God inspired them with a proper sense of their danger, and of the most efficacious and natural means of safety.

At the very time of Cromwell's greatest distress, when his army was reduced by sickness and want, and some hopes entertained of his being obliged to abandon his further enterprize on Ireland, "On a sudden, and altogether, all the considerable places in the province of Munster, as Cork, Youghall, Kinsale, Bandon-bridge, Moyallo, and other garrisons, under lord Inchiquin, revolted to the English parliament; and thereby gave them a safe retreat, free passage, and necessary provisions of all they wanted; as likewise harbours for their ships, to bring every thing to them they could desire. This defection, in so fatal a juncture of time, when the straits Cromwell was in by the winter, and want of provisions, had raised the spirits of men; and when they looked upon themselves as like to have at least some hopeful encounter with him, was not a loss, or a blow; but a dissolution of the whole frame of their hopes and designs; and confirmed that spirit of jealousy and animosity in the army, which no dexterity nor interest of the lord lieutenant could extinguish or allay."*

In this manner the only plausible pretence, for inducing the catholics to yoke their necks

* Carte's Ormond.

under a penal code, in compliance to protestants, in order to reconcile them to a junction with the confederates, for his majesty's service, and the preservation of the kingdom, vanished in smoke; and those people, long before suspected of a fanatical taint, and a longing eye to forfeitures, at length threw off the mask. "Immediately after the surrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan, a fort of great consequence, on account of the quantity of stores and artillery there deposited, was reduced, notwithstanding a brave attempt made by lord Castlehaven to relieve it. Huson, the noted republican, had taken Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places; Carlow was invested and reduced; Waterford was surrendered by Preston; the strong fort of Duncannon soon shared the same fate. Ireton, not yet prepared for the siege of Limerick, detached Ingoldsby and Sir Hardress Waller, to block it up at a distance, who gained some advantages over detached parties of the Irish, and some adjacent forts. But, having made all provisions for an early campaign, and received some reinforcements from England, he resolved to open the campaign by besieging Limerick. As it was necessary to pierce into Connaught, in order to invest this city on all sides, Sir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. The Irish prepared to relieve this place; when Coote, suddenly drawing off his men, passed, with some difficulty, over the Curlew-mountains, and invested Athlone. Clanricarde, embarrassed as he was by faction and opposition, made some efforts to op-

pose him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was taken; and Coote, pursuing his advantage, marched against Galway. The deputy was solicitous to defend this important post; he summoned the earl of Castlehaven to his assistance; but scarcely had this lord marched a few miles, with a detachment of four thousand men, when a party, which he had left to defend a pass over the Shannon, suffered themselves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the panic, and dispersed with that ease and suddenness usual to the Irish, when indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged, and secure of a retreat among their kinsmen. At the same time, an officer called Fennel, who had been stationed at Killaloe, to defend this passage of the Shannon, abandoned his station, either from treachery or cowardice; so that the English burst rapidly into the western province; and all preparations being made for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton commenced the siege in form.

“ Both the citizens and the clergy had promised all submission to the lord deputy; but, when he proposed to shut himself up in Limerick, and to share their fortune, he was excluded with the same insolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger indeed, the magistrates deigned to accept some troops, of such number and quality as they chose; and appointed Henry O’Nial, who had so bravely defended Clonmell, to be their nominal governour, reserving all real power to themselves. A con-

stant correspondence was maintained between the besiegers and citizens, by means of those Irish who had compounded and submitted to Ireton. It was industriously suggested, that the independents were by no means uncharitable to popery, or friends to compulsion in matter of religion; and, when the cruel executions of priests and prelates were mentioned, of which every day afforded new instances, these proceedings were imputed entirely to the virulent spirit of the presbyterian party. Such was the influence of these insinuations, and such the division and distraction within the walls, that in three days the citizens proposed to surrender. The bishops and clergy well knew, that Ireton would except several persons from the benefit of any articles, and dreaded that they would be made the first victims of his cruelty. They, therefore, opposed all motions for capitulating with particular zeal; while O'Nial exerted himself against the besiegers, with a spirit worthy of the reputation he had already acquired.

“ In the mean time, lord Muskerry, alarmed at the danger of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a strong party to its relief. Lord Broghill was detached to oppose him; and, after a sharp engagement resolutely maintained on each side, Muskerry was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Hugh O'Nial continued to make a brave defence, and in several successful sallies slew considerable numbers of the besiegers. Winter now approached; and the severity of the season, and

sickness of his army, must soon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and sedition proved too powerful for the gallantry of O'Nial. His authority had ever been controuled by the magistrates, and of consequence slighted by his officers. Of these a number assembled tumultuously, and resolved to treat with the enemy, without objecting to any exceptions which might be made of particular persons, with respect to quarter or confiscation. The bishops clamoured against the design of sacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication against the authors of such impious counsel; but, in the hour of terrour, their spiritual authority was utterly neglected. Fennel, who had yielded the pass of Killaloe, at the head of a seditious rabble of soldiers and citizens, seized two of the principal gates. The chief magistrate protected him from the authority of the governour. He turned the cannon on the town, insisted on capitulating, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The garrison were allowed to lay down their arms, and to march out unmolested; the citizens to remove with their effects; twenty-four persons, clergy, soldiers, and inhabitants, were excluded from mercy; and Ireton, now master of the city, executed the severest vengeance on those who had been the most distinguished partizans of the nuncio, and most inveterate opposers of English government. Of all those who had been excepted from mercy, the bishop of Limerick alone escaped. O'Brien, the popish prelate of Emly, was seized and instantly executed.

Wolfe, the friar, who had seditiously excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, now received the just reward of his presumption. With him were led to execution some magistrates, the most turbulent and seditious of the nuncio's faction. Fennel, notwithstanding his services, was tried for several murders and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Brussels, fell into the hands of an enemy, who little regarded his consequence with the Irish, and suffered by the executioner. The brave Hugh O'Nial had so offended by his defence of the city, and so provoked Ireton by his former gallant behaviour at Clonmel, that the gloomy and intractable republican tried him by a court-martial for a conduct which should have recommended him to the esteem of a soldier. O'Nial pleaded, that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy; that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and ever acted as a fair and honourable enemy. But Ireton was inexorable; and his pliant court shamefully condemned the Irish general to death. Some of the officers, more generous, expostulated with Ireton, and happily subdued his obstinacy: the cause was re-examined, and the court, with difficulty, consented to spare his life."*

Since the opening of this campaign, all the effects of incapacity, treason, or both, appeared in the confusion, disorder and irresoluteness that ensued. The only specimen of valour and mili-

* Leland, Vol. III. B. VI. c. ii. p. 390.

tary ability exhibited was, by Hugh O'Nial. Had the confederates collected their forces, still more numerous than the invaders, under the command of this second O'Nial, they could have done much to save the nation, or at least obtain honorable terms; which, to refuse in that extremity, was a stronger proof of insanity than loyalty. The rest of this war is one continued series of misfortunes on the part of the Irish; painful to relate, and no otherwise interesting, than as it may excite a fruitless compassion for a falling people, whose miseries are no where to be paralleled, except in the history of the Jews.

Meanwhile Ormond, having obtained leave from the fugitive prince of Wales, as soon as he had left the affairs of Ireland quite desperate, embarked for France, on the 9th of December, 1650. On his departure, he substituted the marquis of Clanricarde in his place; a man, perhaps, honest, but mulish and obstinate in the excess of his loyalty, probably the best qualified in Ireland for thwarting any measure, that gave any fair prospect of relief to a people on the brink of destruction.

During these transactions Charles II., proclaimed in Scotland, is invited thither; arrives on the 23d of June, 1650, and submits to the covenant; declares his abhorrence of popery and all superstition; declares his peace with the Irish papists null and void, "a declaration confirmed by him, and acted on, after the restoration;"*

* Leland.

and thus Ormond's peace, the great bane of Ireland, which divided, and ultimately ruined the Irish, proved to be, what the nuncio, O'Nial, and the most intelligent of the clergy predicted, a specious delusion. Charles, indeed, referred the breach of his peace with the Irish to a free Scotch parliament; which, if they should find fitting, he would find some way of bringing about with honor, i. e. with some appearance of honor.

The catholics of Ireland took alarm at this shocking intelligence; and the bishops appointed a meeting at Jamestown, to consider the state of the nation. There they adopted measures, then too late, which, if put in force while the nuncio was here, and O'Nial in vigor, might have saved the country. The king's disavowal of Glamorgan's treaty, having caused them formerly to enter into a resolution, that in case of a breach or disavowal of the peace, on the part of his majesty or lord lieutenant, they would return to their original confederacy, as the likeliest means to hinder their people from closing with the parliament, "they now fell to deliberate on the most effectual way of putting that resolution in practice; and, at length, determined to recal and withdraw, on the peril of ecclesiastical censure, all those of their communion, from the marquis of Ormond's command." Wherefore, on the 12th of August, 1650, they drew up and signed an excommunication against all such catholics "as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency; or assist him with men, money, or any other supplies whatsoever." To this ex-

communication a limitation was annexed, "that the next general assembly, which was soon to meet at Loughbrea, should dispose of it as they thought proper. But that assembly not having met at the appointed time; and fresh and undoubted intelligence arriving daily, that his majesty had taken the covenant, and made void the peace, (the only security that was left them for their religion, liberty, lives and fortunes,) these bishops, on the 15th of September, 1650, published their excommunication in the usual form. At the same time, they unanimously resolved, pursuant to their association-oath, still faithfully to serve the king against the regicides, and to use all the means in their power to hinder their people from assisting them in any respect whatsoever. The sincerity of this resolution appears, by their including in the same censure, all those unnatural patriots, and others of their own flock, that should adhere to these common enemies of God, king, and country; or should any ways help, assist, abet or favour them, by bearing arms for or with them; or by otherwise contributing to them, without urgent necessity."

The marquis of Ormond, though he affected to believe the scandalous declaration of the king at Dumferling a forgery, yet had been privy to, and advised it. So early as the 5th of March, 1648, we find, by a letter from himself, that he understood "the kingdom of Scotland had invited his majesty thither to be crowned; but that he was to secure religion, according to the covenant, before he was to be admitted to govern."

He then says, "if his majesty resolves to consent to that condition, in the most rigid construction of it to himself and his subjects, I doubt not but his immediate going thither is most counsellable."

But he, at the same time, "questioned not but it would be considered, how inconsistent the covenant was with the peace concluded with the Irish, by virtue of the power given him; and that there would be care taken to give that people no apprehension, that they would be broken with, which might drive them to take desperate ways for their safety." In November 1649, he declared, "that he was at no time against the treaty with Scotland; and that much less was he then." In July 1650, "he believed it then appeared, that the treaty was ended, he hoped, in an agreement with the Scots, so that," adds his lordship, "in place of arguments to dispose his majesty to an accord so necessary, as without, or besides it, I see no near hope of his restitution, I shall apply myself to the use to be made of such an accord in this kingdom" (Ireland). And then he proposes, "that himself may be fortified with some gracious declaration from his majesty, subsequent to the agreement of Scotland, in favour of all those (Irish) that had been, and still continued, loyal and affectionate to his service; and he conceived, that, without such a declaration and purpose as to those, his majesty could not acquit himself with honour towards that people; whereof," adds he, "many have perished, and more are likely to do so for their loyalty to the crown."

Dr. Currie, after stating that the generality of Irish catholics disapproved of the ecclesiastical censures passed by the bishops at Jamestown, yet, by contrasting them with the proceedings of the presbytery at Bangor, he has plainly shewn, that they were much more excuseable than them.

“ None censured the congregation at Jamestown more severely than the presbyterians in Ulster; yet none had so little right to censure it. For that congregation only followed the example that was set them the year before, by the presbytery of Bangor; with this difference, that the former, as we have seen, had some provocation given them, which the latter could not pretend.

“ For, on the conclusion of the peace in 1648, the king having sent a commission to Hugh, viscount Montgomery, of Ards, to command all the forces within that province, his lordship thought it necessary to signify to his majesty’s subjects of Ulster his investiture with that commission, and accordingly published a declaration, July 4th, 1649, for that purpose.

“ A presbytery was thereupon convened at Bangor, July 7th, in which a declaration was drawn up, containing several virulent reflections on his lordship. He is therein charged, among other things, “ with lifting up his hand against them; with betraying the covenant; with owning king Charles II.; with cloathing himself with a commission from him; with receiving commands from the marquis of Ormond, and joining with malignants, who blasphemed the covenant. For this cause, as ambassadors of

Christ, we beseech the people, in his stead, not to join hands to such a course; not to join in executing such a commission, by serving either as officers or soldiers, or they shall wring the dregs of the cup, which the malignants have been drinking these many years past. We do also, in the name of Jesus Christ, warn the people of our charge from all compliance with their ungodly course, either by speaking favourably of them, acknowledging the authority of the present command under the marquis of Ormond and the lord of Ards; by imposing cess for the maintenance of their unlawful power; or by obeying their orders, or paying cess to their army, or supplying them with that which is the sinews of war, money and victuals."

"I have said that the presbytery at Bangor could not pretend such provocation for this outrage on the royal authority, as the congregation at James-town really had; for, by the king's having taken the covenant, the latter were threatened openly with the utter extirpation of their religion; but the presbytery were promised, and assured of the preservation, and extension of theirs. Lord Montgomery, who was himself a zealous presbyterian, solemnly engaged in his declaration, "in the presence of God, that he would use his uttermost endeavours, while he was entrusted with power, to countenance and assist the exercise of their religion, as it was then practised; and likewise, that he would solicit his majesty, and, (as he had good grounds to hope) with success, for the confirmation under his

hand." And, two days before that declaration was issued, lord Inchiquin wrote to the same presbytery, " that he being a well-wisher to the presbyterian government, and honoured with a public trust by his majesty, knew that his majesty was resolved, for their satisfaction, to establish the presbyterian government in them parts; and, he believed, in other parts also of the kingdom. And no man knows," adds his lordship, " whether the whole number of protestants may not agree to embrace it."*

The presbytery of Bangor were downright rebels; the less excusable, as, instead of any cause of complaint against the house of Stuart, they were encouraged and protected in their religion; and were indebted to Charles' father for ample possessions in Ulster, confiscated for their advantage from the antient catholic proprietors. The total defection of the Irish protestants followed not long after this decree of the presbytery, of whom the lieutenant was not the last.

Here we cannot but observe, the favoured sects, whose growth and prosperity were cherished and strengthened by the reigning family, unanimously rebel against them; and the persecuted sect hold out to the highest chivalrous loyalty. We also observe, that the aliens, planted in the north, became the bitter, sworn enemies of the family that planted them there; and that, without that plantation, an Irish rebellion could scarcely be possible. Thus we see the great

* Currie. Rev. Civil Wars in Ire.

moral axiom of divine government fulfilled, "the instruments and objects of crime, shall become the means of its punishment." Had the Stuart family not meddled with the religion of their subjects, nor transplanted antient generation, those merited evils had not befallen them. The reader will also observe, that similar engines were now employed against the catholic English settlers, to those employed by them against the unfortunate antient race. As they had made a tool of the abused authority of religion, to nestle here first; and established as a maxim, that the only method of civilizing the old Irish was, to kill them and take their properties; the same engine of religion was now successfully worked against themselves; and the same means of civilizing them, by murder and robbery, adopted, and acted on. He will observe, that their aversion to the antient race, and dread of their resurgency under a great general, and the revival of their claims to forfeited lands, lost them those acres, for which they would sacrifice country and religion. It cannot fail to be noticed, how dangerous it is to trust a traitor; how punctually Ormond fulfilled all his engagements with the English rebels. First, delivering up to them the king's castle, capital, and other garrisons; and now strengthening their hands, by the accession of all the forces under his command; how shamefully he tricked Clanrickard, in leaving him nominal deputy, destitute of means, while he transmitted the king's troops auxiliaries to the enemy. But it is only after the restoration of Charles, that the

reward and object of all this treachery shall be seen in the clearest point of view.

Every one will be surprised at the fanatical loyalty of the Irish, to a family, not only ungrateful, but tyrannical and treacherous towards them. The solicitude of the English settlers, who were now the leading part of the nation, for their acres, will not singly explain this moral phenomenon; nor their apprehensions from the claims of the antient proprietors; though they go a good way towards it. The torrent of rebellion, among their sworn enemies, must have produced a counter current of fanatical loyalty among them; which, as an indulged, favourite passion, overleaped all the mounds of common sense and political prudence. It is impossible to account any other way, for their rebellion against the first law of God and nature, self-preservation.

The declaration of Charles II. at Dumferling, justified the Irish nation in seeking for another ruler. Far less provocation produced the rebellion of England and Scotland; led one king to the block, and expelled another. In the decline of their affairs, they adopted the tardy resolution of seeking foreign aid; and, in their negotiations, were, as usual, dilatory, divided, irresolute. Were the duke of Lorrain ever so serious in his proffers of protection, it could not reasonably be expected, that he would hazard his person, his forces, and treasure, to conquer a kingdom for another person; and, to bar all hope of his aid, the marquis of Clanrickarde published his protest against the treaty concluded with him, by

lord Taaffe and Sir G. Browne. The motives of this alliance we find in the letters of lord Taaffe to the lord lieutenant.

May it please your excellency, I were unworthy the trust, reposed in me, and the many other favours, I received from you, should I omit with all freedom and clearness, to afford your excellency a true account of the countries and princes, from whom any thing was to be expected for the supply of Ireland; whereby your excellency may be the better able to resolve, what is to be done upon the commission, sent by the legate, employed by his highness the duke of Lorrain.

That I may the better do it, I shall set down, according to my information and observation, the condition of his majesty, and the kings of France and Spain, in reference to the parliament of England; so that it may appear what is to be expected from them for your assistance, towards the maintenance of a war.

Your excellency, I presume, knows that his majesty, at his first coming into Scotland, was forced by those of the kirk, to take the covenant, and national league and covenant; wherein amongst other things, he hath solemnly promised to extirpate the catholic religion and prelacy, and to settle the presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. The kirk not content with this, put from him most of his party except the duke of Buckingham, my lord Wilmot, and some few others, who they believed were favourers of their cause; after which they forced his majesty yet further to make a declaration, wherein

he doth, amongst other things, confirm his former promise of rooting the catholics out of his dominions, disannulls the peace made with the Irish, and recalls all commissions, granted to any amongst them. Soon after they lost a battle; and a strong party, under the command of Middleton, declared for the king, and that he would receive, without distinction, all persons, that would assist in his service. His majesty being displeased at the harsh usage of the council of state, attempted to have gone to Middleton; and being in his way, a discovery was made by some intrusted; whereupon colonel Montgomery by command pursued him, who overtaking of him, prevailed with him to return to Sterling, where he is attended with strong guards.

Your excellency may perceive the little hopes, that a party so divided should be able to afford us any succours: and if they should prove victorious, and have power to keep his majesty in the same awe, they now do; nothing but our destruction is to be expected from them. The expectation of assistance from France, is every whit as hopeless.

I have, during my stay there, made application to the cardinal, which was strengthened by her majesty's recommendation, and could never by any sollicitation, procure so much as the promise of supplies for the publick; only some overtures of conditions for some particular persons, in case they should bring men to their service: and even those also were so coldly prosecuted, that I perceived it was rather with design to stay me from

capitulating with the Spaniard, than any intention of agreeing with me. Since my coming hither, they have treated with an agent from the parliament, and are dispatching agents to them for the continuance of a peace; so as I believe they will be so far from affording us relief, that if the parliament insist upon it, they will deny access to all Irish ships to any of their ports.

The Spaniards have yet gone farther; they have already concluded a league, which some say is offensive and defensive, with the parliament; neither will they be drawn to break a capitulation, so newly made with such useful confederates, for any interest of the king's or the Irish. They have declared them a state, and as such are to receive an ambassador from them, who is daily expected in these countries.

The duke of Lorrain when I first moved him by letter, for concluding the treaty set on foot by his agent, he waved it; but my uncle George Dillon, before my coming hither, made him incline to afford us relief; and as soon as I intimated unto him the condition of that nation, he was pleased to advance five thousand pounds for their supply, upon such conditions, as is exprest in the assurance I gave him; a copy whereof, and the money, I sent by my uncle George: and his highness further promises, that if he be invited, and that the command of that kingdom (with subordination to the king) be put into his hands, he will employ his men, treasure, shipping, and person, in reducing thereof; which your lordship

will see more clearly exprest by the commission sent with his legate, to treat, and conclude with that nation.

I shall humbly offer my sense to your excellency, concerning this important affair: I conceive the Irish are not able for any long time to preserve what they possess, much less recover what they have lost, without foreign assistance. And if the parliament prevail, you will not only lose all liberty and fortune at present, but also want ground to hope, for the recovery of them; for if either presbyterian or independent prevail, their animosity against us is equally violent: so as our king being not able to assist us, in order to his and our own preservation; it is necessary we make our recourse to the most probable means of preservation.

His highness upon all occasions hath exprest a singular affection to his majesty, for the advancement of his interest, and therefore is not to be suspected to have any sinister ends, not suitable to his former proceedings. To conclude, that there is no possibility of his majesty's subsistence in Scotland, but by continuing a war in Ireland, or recovering of it, which, without foreign assistance, you are not able to do.

And no prince of Christendom, is either willing or able, to afford (as things now stand) but the duke of Lorrain; who besides the men and money, he intends to expend on the land service, will join a gallant fleet to his majesty's, who in all probability will be the masters of the sea: and resolves to engage so clearly, that no distinction

of religion shall prejudice any honest man, in employment, or fortune.

My lord, I cannot but think it a great blessing of God, upon that kingdom, and by consequence on his majesty, to have a powerful prince, in this low ebb of our fortunes, engaged with us; who is able vigorously to prosecute the war (besides the benefit of his own conduct, wherein he is thought to exceed all men) will employ such a sum of money, as no prince of Europe hath, or can raise: I am very hopeful he will be very instrumental in restoring his majesty to his rights, and render Ireland in a more splendid condition of honour, wealth, and trade, than it hath been of a long time.

I have here given your excellency a clear account of my sense, touching the duke of Lorrain's resolution; and do humbly desire, that your excellency will receive the person employed by him, in the quality of a stout, pious, discreet gentleman; and what commands your excellency be pleased to impose on me, shall be with all chearfulness pursued by your excellency's most faithful and humble servant, Taaffe.*

May it please your excellency, I did not enter into a treaty with the duke of Lorrain, without her majesty's approbation, and letters of recommendation. It hath been debated, what his designs should be, in engaging so freely, in so expensive and hazardous a war; and concluded, that although he did propose to be absolute in

* From Brussels, the 3rd of January, 1650.

that kingdom, that it was fit all encouragement should be given unto him to attempt it, considering that the most powerful instruments he intends to make use of, are the Irish; not having followers of his own, able to master us. And if at any time he should attempt it, its in ourselves to prevent it; besides that, there is no danger we can run by his means, in any kind of degree, equal to that of the parliament, whose animosity against us is sufficiently visible.

It was in debate, whether the king's consent should be demanded, in this affair; and resolved, that, in the condition the king is, 'tis neither safe for him to authorise it, nor own it: but an express is sent unto him, to advertise him of the matter; and his connivance is all I expect or desire. I am now upon a design of taking in the isle of Guernsey, and have engaged my lord Gerrald, and Daniel O Neile in it; the duke of Lorrain helps me to shipping, men, provision, and all other necessaries. I have purchased an indifferent interest in his highness, insomuch, as he trusts me with the providing and agreeing for ships, all manner of ammunition and arms.

If your lordship keeps but life in the business of Ireland, and sends encouragement to his highness, I am confident (by God's permission) we shall be all happy. My lord, I am witness of your courage, I have knowledge of your extraordinary abilities, which make you capable of the greatest employments; and am so great and just a lover of your person, as there lives not that man, whose honour and prosperity, I wish more

happiness unto; and did I not think, that your consenting to the duke of Lorrain's preceding you in command, did contribute mainly to make you so, I should not advise it.

Happily, your own inclination and the advice of others, may prevail with your excellency, to withdraw yourself into some of these countries. It is an insolency in me, (considering your own vast judgment, able to direct you in the most intricate affairs) to offer my sense: but in regard of my affection, I shall presume to tell you, how subject you will be to all manner of inconveniencies. As for imployment, you will get none worthy of you; as for friends, you will find none, but those that are poor; and as for money, you may not expect any. I am a better shifter, than your excellency will ever be, and yet was like to starve at Paris, though every person saluted me with *vostre tres humble serviteur jusqu' à la mort*. Without fooling, there is no such place to live in as Ireland. I pray, my continue me in your favour, as the humblest of your excellency's servants, Taaffe.*

Father George Dillon's proposals on the behalf of the duke of Lorrain were, to return thanks to his highness, the duke of Lorrain, for his offers and desires to preserve this kingdom.

That his highness (out of his zeal to the catholic Roman religion, in imitation of his predecessors and through his singular affection to his majesty of Great Britain, and for the pre-

* From Brussels, the 5th of January, 1650.

servation of the kingdom of Ireland, and his majesty's interest therein) may be pleased to take into his protection, the confederates of the said kingdom, and all such as will adhere unto them, and to free them from the oppressions of the rebellious sectaries of England and Scotland, that oppose his majesty.

To the end, that his highness may, with the greater alacrity and courage, undertake so great and heroic a work ; that his heirs and successors shall be accepted as protectors and preservers of the said kingdom, with as large and ample power, fidelity, and obedience, as by all laws can be due to protectors royal.

That sufficient caution, and security, may be given unto his highness, his heirs, and successors, for what expences and disbursements he will make; and that therein the cities and ports of Gallway and Limerick be engaged.

That his highness be invited to come over in person, and take the protection of the kingdom upon him; or if any occasion retard, that he may send over such supplies of men and money, as may probably recover the kingdom.

That the lord Taaffe may have as ample commission, to treat and conclude with his highness, as his highness's ambassador hath to this kingdom.

To these proposals the marquis of Clanricard could not be induced to agree. The treaty was removed to Brussels, and on the second of July, 1652, the following articles were entered into.

Articles of agreement, concluded upon between his royal highness Charles IV. by the grace of God, duke of Lorrain, &c. and Theobald lord viscount Taaffe, Nicholas Plunkett knight, and Geoffry Browne, Esq. deputies authorised on the behalf of the kingdom and people of Ireland.

1. His highness the duke of Lorrain shall be chosen, taken and esteemed the true and royal protector of Ireland (and this to pass to his heirs and successors;) by this title all power and authority of administering the kingdom, and all other things duly belonging to a royal protector, being conferred upon him according to the conditions particularly to be declared in the ensuing articles.

2. And first of all, whereas in the treaty the cause of religion is chiefly concerned, it seemed fit to the agreeers to begin the whole business, from imploring his holiness's benediction and fatherly help; which help as they hope shall not be wanting unto them, neither in spiritual and temporal ways; so they protest themselves most constantly to remain in the perpetual obedience and faith of the apostolic see and his holiness's.

3. And whereas to the reasons of his highness's taking upon him of this protection, that at length was added, that he should join his help in prosecuting, by war the enemies of the king of Great Britain, and assist him as much as in him lyeth; it is so far from his intention to take any thing from the royal right in the said kingdom of Ireland, that he rather declares himself ready, after having restored religion and the kingdom to their

right state, to resign all his authority into his majesty's hands, being first reimbursed of all his charges expended in that business.

4. That those ends may be compassed, the obedience and fealty of the aforesaid people and kingdom is to be given to his highness free from the superiority of any other; as his highness on his part will not be wanting to expel from thence heretics of religion, and rebels to the king, as also to recover and defend the interests of the faithful subjects of this kingdom.

5. The chief command of the army in the same kingdom, both at present and in future, the raising of men, and all other things in order to the management of the war shall be directed to his highness's sole person and appointment, or if any other professing catholic religion whom in his absence he will be pleased at his own choice to substitute in his place, secluding all other whosoever.

6. Also it is forethought and provided on both sides, that his highness shall not bring in any novelties to the kingdom, cities and places entrusted to him by way of caution, contrary to the securities, privileges, immunities, properties, goods, possessions, estates, or in any way to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but shall preserve the fruition of all these entire and whole to the faithful subjects of this kingdom; reserving notwithstanding to himself the power of remedying any thing that may hereafter happen to the prejudice of the commonwealth.

7. As for the administration of justice, and other civil affairs, that likewise is agreed upon,

that without any innovation all is to proceed according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and form of civil government instituted by his majesty, the governor, or assembly.

8. The manner of holding assemblies shall be the same that formerly hath been, unless through complaints raised against the government, or other urgent occasions, some extraordinary thing must be done. In which cases, according to the antient rights and privileges of the kingdom, the calling of the said assembly shall be in the power or choice of his highness.

9. After that God shall be pleased to grant the wished success in this kingdom to religion, and his highness's arms, if the assembly shall think fit to send aid to his majesty, against his rebellious enemies in his other kingdoms, his highness without delay will fix his mind on that result.

10. But if haply through urgent necessity of his affairs he may be forced to defer his own going into Ireland, it shall be in his choice and pleasure to substitute in his place some man of catholic devotion, and able to undergo such a charge, independent of any whosoever; who also, if his highness will be so pleased, shall be received to the participation of all the councils concerning either the state, or civil government, in equal right with the rest of the counsellors legally constituted.

11. The cities, castles, and possessions to be recovered from the enemy, shall return to their right owners constantly persisting on the catholic party under his highness's command; in whose

power it shall be to garrison the said and other forts and places of strength, at his pleasure, as he shall judge it expedient for the nation's and his own security. Which garrisons, and the rest of the forces, nay all the army, shall receive their pay, both out of the kingdom's revenues as far as they will go, and as a supply out of his highness's own treasury; caution being given for the repayment of these monies, as also of the charges which have and shall be expended to the like uses: but enemies and condemned persons goods shall be disposed towards the said expences of the war, or to the reward of such as behaved themselves stoutly for religion and the kingdom, as to his highness shall be thought just, the general assembly being first consulted thereupon.

12. Besides the twenty thousand pounds English, already laid out for the use of the kingdom, his highness will give such sums of money, and such plenty of arms, shipping, ammunition and warlike provision, and victualling, as shall not be above his ability, nor beneath the necessity of continuing the war, and recovering the kingdom.

13. For the repayment of all which money, as well principal as the yearly profit thereof reduced to a whole sum, the whole nation of Ireland shall stand bound to his highness even to the last payment: and for caution to the same, the under-named cities, viz. Gallway, Limerick, Sligo, Athlone with the castle, and the royal fort of Duncannon, if it shall be recovered from the enemy, shall remain consigned to the hands and possession of his highness, his heirs, and succes-

sors, until full and entire satisfaction be made, as is above expressed. Moreover this on both sides is agreed upon, that the aforesaid cities, forts, and castles, according to their duty to his highness, his heirs, and successors, shall not, upon any pretence whatsoever, deny to admit the garrisons to be sent by them when need requires; and shall by virtue of this present treaty, yield them all prompt obedience. And when the collections are to be made for payment to his highness of that money, as well principal as yearly profit reduced to a sum, the taxes and cuttings shall be made upon the goods and substances of private men; and that to be distributed, according to every man's share in equal proportion, and to be qualified by the general assembly's direction.

14. And the afore-named deputies and his highness will agree upon some certain way, whereby a true and exact account may be made of charges which he shall be at for the good of the kingdom, by appointing certain persons to that task, to be notwithstanding altered by the general assembly, if so they please.

Lastly, that neither his highness shall conclude any thing of truce, cessation of arms, or peace, without the consent of the deputy and assembly; nor likewise the deputy and assembly, without his.

In witness whereof, his highness the said duke of Lorrain hath set his hand and seal, July 2, the year of our salvation 1651.

Ch. Lorrain.

Locus Sigilli.

A. Geoffry : S.

On receipt of this treaty, the marquis of Clanricard took effectual measures to prevent it taking effect. He reproved the deputies; sent his protest to the duke of Lorrain. A new treaty was attempted by the duke of York; but the affairs of Ireland were become desperate, and the duke of Lorrain declined his interference. From the dismal situation of the catholics at that time, it must be concluded, that a better or more justifiable project could not have been thought of. "They* were then reduced to slavery and beggary, by the English rebels; many thousands of them murdered, and the rest deprived of their estates. So that the question will turn upon this, whether the catholics of Ireland, in this wretched situation, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle, as the rump-parliament! Many protestants, both dissenters and conformists, who have been conversant, in the history of those times, have freely confessed, that, considering the miserable condition the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least, to the recovery of England and Scotland,

* Swift's Works.

from those betrayers, and sellers, and murderers of his royal father."

Ireton lived not to share in the plunder of this unfortunate country, but was carried off by the plague, which raged so dreadfully, as in one summer to carry off 17,000 persons in the city of Dublin alone. His death yielded no respite. Ludlow, his successor, prosecuted the war with savage barbarity. He relates, "that being on his march, an advanced party found two of the rebels; one of whom, says he, was killed by the guard before I came up; the other was saved, and being brought before me, I asked him, if he had a mind to be hanged? And he only answered, if you please. So insensibly stupid, adds he, were many of these poor creatures." Also, that he found some people retired within a hollow rock "which was so thick that he thought it impossible to dig it down upon them, and therefore resolved to reduce them by smoak. After some of his men had spent most part of the day in endeavouring to smother those within by fire placed at the mouth of the cave, they withdrew the fire; and the next morning supposing the Irish to be made incapable of resistance by the smoak, some of them crawled into the rock; but one of the Irish, with a pistol, shot the first of his men, by which he found the smoak had not taken the designed effect; because though a great smoak went into the cavity of the rock, yet it came out again at other crevices; upon which he ordered those places to be closely stopped, and another smoak to be made; and the fire was

continued till about midnight; then taken away, that the place might be cool enough for his men to enter the next morning; at which time they went in armed with back, breast, and head-piece, found the man, who had fired the pistol, dead; and put about fifteen to the sword; but brought about four or five out alive, with priests' robes, a crucifix, chalice, and other furniture of that kind (but no arms.) Those, within, preserved themselves by laying their heads close to a water-fall, that ran through the rock. We found two rooms in the place, one of which was large enough to turn a pike."* The fate of the unfortunate persons brought out, 'tis not difficult to ascertain.

Galway, the only town now in opposition to the regicides, was invested by Coote, in May, 1652, and almost immediately surrendered. The detached parties of the confederates, in succession, then endeavoured to obtain the best terms possible. Col. Fitzpatrick, O'Dwyer, Clanrickard, Muskerri, &c. capitulated; and forty thousand of the survivors were transported, "to fill all the armies of Europe with complaints of his (Cromwell's) cruelty, and admiration of their valour."† In vain lord Muskerri endeavoured to obtain the free exercise of their religion. "We refused," says Ludlow, "to oblige ourselves to any thing in that particular; declaring only that it was neither the principle nor the practise of the authority which we served, to impose our way of

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

† Dalrymp. Mem. of Gt. Brit. vol. i. part ii. p. 267.

worship upon any by violent means." There is something so notoriously false, and consequently so very impudent in this assertion, that one wonders it could be made use of by a man of Ludlow's rank; and much more that he should publish it in his memoirs. But a spirit of enthusiasm, of which no body was ever more fully possessed than this violent republican, covers all imperfections, and sanctifies or annihilates the grossest crimes. Was not one of the chief ends of the rebellion which they engaged in, after the king had given up his prerogative, and the liberties of the people were secured, to overthrow the church of England, and set up Presbyterianism in its room? Did they not suppress the liturgy in England and Ireland by force, turn out the clergy, establish their directory, and oblige every one to take the covenant in order to impose their own way of worship? In flat contradiction to him therefore it must be said, that both the principles and the practice of the authority which he served were to impose their way of worship by violent means."*

Commissioners were now sent by the English regicides, to arrange the civil business. At their invitation, locust-swarms, of all sorts, and sexes, flocked from England, to inhabit a country, now depopulated, by pestilence, famine and the sword of these merciless ravagers. Ireland was surveyed. The best land rated at four shillings an acre, and some so low as a penny. The soldiers had

* Warner. Civil Wars in Ire.

their portions by lot. The adventurers had whole baronies given to them in gross. No men had so great shares as they who had been instruments to murder the king. What lands they deemed unprofitable were given gratis; which amounted to 605,670 acres.* Thus, except part of Connaught, was the whole kingdom divided between the soldiers and adventurers for money. "It cannot be imagined, in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, that whole great kingdom was taken from the just owners and proprietors, and divided among those who had no other right to it, but that they had power to keep it. In less than two years after lord Clanricard left Ireland, this new government seemed to be perfectly established; insomuch that there were many buildings erected for ornament, as well as use; orderly and regular plantations of trees, fences and enclosures raised throughout the kingdom; purchases made by one from the other, at very valuable rates; and jointures settled upon marriages; and all the conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom at peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles."†

The act of the 27th of Elizabeth, by proclamation from these regicide commissioners, was made of force in Ireland, and ordered to be most strictly put in execution. By it, "every Romish priest was deemed guilty of rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged until he was half dead; then

* Carte's Ormond.

† Life of Clarend. vol. ii. p. 177-8.

to have his head cut off, and his body cut in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt; and his head fixed upon a pole in some public place." The punishment of those who entertained a priest, was, by the same act, confiscation of their goods and chattels, and the ignominious death of the gallows. This edict was renewed the same year, with the additional cruelty of making even the private exercise of the Roman catholic religion, a capital crime. Many shocking examples of the strict execution of these barbarous edicts were daily seen, insomuch, that "neither the Israelites were more cruelly persecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the christians by Nero, or any of the other pagan tyrants, than were the Roman catholics of Ireland, at that fatal juncture, by these savage commissioners."*

"The same price (five pounds sterling) was set by these commissioners on the head of a Romish priest, as on that of a wolf; the number of which latter was then very considerable in Ireland; and although the profession and character of a Romish priest could not, one would think, be so clearly ascertained, as the species of a wolf, by the mere inspection of their heads thus severed from their bodies, yet the bare asseveration of the beheaders was, in both cases, equally credited and rewarded by these commissioners. So inveterate was their malice and hatred to that order of men!"†

* Morrison. Thren. p. 14.

† Currie. Rev. Civil Wars in Ire.

A new tribunal, high courts of justice, was erected in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of the so called rebels and malignants. The first of these sat in Kilkenny. From the iniquitous and bloody sentences frequently pronounced in these courts, they were commonly called Cromwell's slaughter-houses; "for no articles were pleadable in them: and against a charge of things said to be done twelve years before, little or no defence could be made; and that the cry was made of blood, aggravated with expressions of so much horror, and the no less daunting aspect of the court, quite confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter."*

"Cromwell and his council, finding the utter extirpation of the nation, which they had intended, to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts, after so many thousands destroyed by the sword, fire, famine, and the plague; and after so many thousands transported into foreign parts, found out the following expedient of transplantation, which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest, by a long and large river, and which, by the plague and many massacres, remained almost desolate. Into this place and circuit of land, they required all the Irish to retire by a certain day, under the

* Hist. of Independency.

penalty of death; and all who after that time, should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed, by any body who saw or met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation who were enclosed, in such proportions as might with great industry preserve their lives; and to those persons from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned greater proportions within this precinct. And that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned them; and so they should for ever bar themselves, and their heirs, from laying claim to their old inheritance.

“ In this deplorable condition, and under this consternation, they found themselves obliged to accept, or submit to, the hardest conditions of their conquerors; and so signed such conveyances and releases as were prepared for them, that they might enjoy those lands which belonged to other men. And by this means, the plantation of Connaught, as they called it, was finished, and all the Irish nation was enclosed within that circuit; the rest of Ireland being left to the English. Some few estates were left to the old lords and just proprietors, who being all protestants (for no Roman catholics were admitted) had either

never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies, by the benefit of some articles.”*

“The gentlemen were thus transplanted, without cattle to stock that land, without seed to sow, or plough to manure it; without servants, without shelter, without house or cabin to dwell in, or defend them from the wolves, or from robbers, or from heat or cold, or other injuries of the air. And the miserable Irish so transplanted, must not, even in those small tracts allotted for them, within the narrow precincts of some parks in three or four counties of Connaught, and Thomond, pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling houses, or take any lands within two miles of the Shannon, four of the sea, and four of Galway, the only city within their precinct: they must not enter this town, or any other corporate or garrisoned place, without particular orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat.”†

On the 26th of September, 1653, the English parliament passed an act, by which their distribution of Ireland was pretended to be confirmed, and which declared, that the rebellion in Ireland was at an end.

It was during this calamitous period, that poverty had recourse to various rude means of husbandry and œconomy, very different from the modes practised in more fortunate and civilized periods. Then it was, that horses were made to draw the plough by the tail. That it was not

* Clarend. Life, vol. ii. p. 116, 117.

† Walsh's Reply to a person of Quality, p. 145.

prior to this, is clear from the name of a plow, in the native tongue, and of its tackling, Seise-reach, vulg. Seistreach; meaning, six horses to the plow. 'Threshing corn with fiery flail.' The scarcity of timber, by the burning of forests for hunting the unfortunate natives therefrom, obliged great numbers, at a distance from bogs, to use the dung of animals for fuel, and for soap too; and the general distress brought slid cars in use, instead of wheels. These rude implements have been recorded, by the very enemies who compelled their victims to have recourse to these poor means, as so many proofs of their original barbarity. The vestiges of Irish learning were not yet quite extinguished, by these accumulating disasters. O'Flaherty, Lynch, Colgan, Ward, Keating, and some others, left several testimonials of the national taste for learning; and while the nation groaned under the cruel bondage of their merciless enemies, the exiles, in foreign service, supported the antient reputation of their nation for valour.

Declared protector of the commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, by a form called the Instrument of government, summoned a parliament, to which thirty members were to be returned from Ireland. The commissioners wrote to him, "that the condition of Ireland is so waste, and desolate, and uninhabited, and the parts that are inhabited so unsettled, that they could not present to him, as he desires, any way or course at that time for election of members in that nation to serve in the ensuing parliament." To this answer an order

was returned, that the members should be sent. Fleetwood used his power, as all ministers have ever done, to get a majority elected on the side of the court.*

The commissioners were now dismissed, and Fleetwood appointed deputy for three years. With this appointment came instructions "to improve the interest of the commonwealth of England in the dominion of Ireland, for the advancement of religion in that country, and suppressing idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness: to give encouragement, and provide competent maintenance to all such persons as are of pious life, and as they shall find qualified with gifts for preaching the gospel, by way of stipend out of the public revenue: to execute all laws in force against papists, and popish recusants: to consider of all due ways for the advancement of learning, and training up youth in piety and literature, and settling a maintenance for proper persons to be employed in it, as far as the present affairs of Ireland will admit: to execute all the acts and ordinances of parliament now in force in this commonwealth against delinquent, malignant pluralists, and scandalous ministers in Ireland: to take care that justice be administered according to the laws and constitutions of England: to see that no popish or other malignant persons be employed in the administration of the laws, or execution of justice, nor practise as counsellors, attornies, sollicitors, or schoolmasters: to put in

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

execution all the acts of parliament now in force in this commonwealth for sequestring all forfeited estates of popish malignants, archbishops, deans, and chapters: to set all these lands and benefices, for any time not exceeding seven years, on such term as they shall judge proper: to settle the customs and excise: to manage the treasury for the best advantage of the state: to take care of the public stores: to sit and vote at councils of war for the equal distribution and regulation of quarters for the standing forces: to lessen by all proper methods the public charge of the commonwealth: to transmit an estimate of the revenue to his highness and council forthwith, and once after every year, with a representation of what will conduce to the improvement of it: to use the best means for the recovery of any part that hath been concealed and for an improvement of the whole: to cause an exact survey of the crown and church lands, and of the forests and other forfeited lands undisposed of: to dispense with the orders of the late parliament and council of state for the transportation of the Irish into Connaught, if it should be for the public service: all temporal offices to be disposed of by the deputy, except those reserved to his highness's disposal."

To strengthen himself in England, Cromwell ordered 2000 foot and 300 horse from Ireland. The privates, unwilling to leave their plantations, mutinied, and in Fleetwood's presence refused to be embarked; alledging, "that they had listed themselves to fight against the rebels here, and

in consequence of that obligation were ready to obey all commands that should be given: but they knew not against whom they should be ordered to fight in England, possibly against some of their best friends." A court martial was immediately called. The ringleader shot; a company cashiered. The rest embarked.

His second son, Henry, Cromwell now sent over. He was received in Dublin, in 1655, with great pomp. Had he arrived earlier, or been suffered to follow his generous disposition, the Irish, at that period would have had less grievous causes of complaint than were given them. To his equity and influence only it was owing, that the people of Ireland were not more oppressed by the protector's council, than they had been already. The assessments which they paid were above a fourth part as much as all England and Wales; which he told Oliver in one of his letters, was ten times more than in due proportion they ought to be, and that they paid incomparably more other charges, owing to the devastation made in the civil war, than any other of the three nations.* Of his integrity and disinterestedness, he gave many signal proofs, during his administration; but none so signal, or indeed so unprecedented, as that which appeared at the conclusion of it. "For upon his recall from Ireland, although he had held the government of that kingdom four years, he was not master of money enough, after all, to carry him back to England;

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

and was, therefore, under the necessity to crave some from thence for that purpose.”*

The Quakers, about this time, made their first appearance in Ireland. The deputy and council ordered the mayor of Dublin, the governors of Cork and Kinsale, and all justices of the peace, ‘to apprehend all quakers lately come from England into that nation, to examine their names and places of abode in England, on what occasions they were come to Ireland, by whom invited over, whether they belong to or are sent by any church or gathered people in England, what testimonials or recommendations they brought from any godly people or known church in England, and to cause them to be kept in custody till their answers were returned to the council.’ The like order was sent to the governor of Waterford, and the justices of the peace in that neighbourhood, with this addition, that ‘they should ship them off for Bristol, or such places as should be most convenient for their respective places of abode.’ In a few days after, there was an order of council to the mayor of Dublin, ‘that all the quakers in custody should be shipped off with the first conveniency for Chester, with a direction to the mayor of that city to send them to their respective places of abode, and to exhort them to live orderly, and to make honest provision for themselves and families.’ But to say the truth, the quakers were a much more orderly inoffensive people in their principles of government and religion, than the

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

wild and fiery zealots who treated them with this severity.*

On the death of Oliver, in August, 1658, his eldest son, Richard, succeeded. Congratulatory addresses, from all parts, poured in upon him; but, in 1659, compelled by the army to dissolve the parliament, though he continued to bear the title of protector, he was no otherwise regarded than as a private person.

The new English interest now declared for Charles; to whom Coote sent an express, to Holland, tendering his obedience. Dublin, Galway, Athlone, Limerick, Youghall, Clonmel, Carlow, Drogheda, were seized, the governors imprisoned, by Coote and his adherents. Charles was on the eve of embarking for Ireland, when an express from Monck invited him to England.

As soon as the king was proclaimed, the adventurers and soldiers, now in possession of the forfeited lands, sent commissioners to London, with loyal addresses to the king, a present in money, and gifts in hand or promise, for his attendants, and those who possessed influence. These represented to the English parliament, already predisposed to believe the worst of the Irish, that they were rising out into a new rebellion. Accordingly, shortly after the king's arrival in London, at the representation of both houses, he published a proclamation against the Irish, on the 3d of June, 1660, to repress these supposed disturbances. It stated that, by the advice of the

* Warner. Hist. Irish Reb.

lords and commons, he ' held it his duty to God, and the whole protestant interest, to command, publish and declare, that all Irish rebels, other than such as by articles had liberty to reside in his dominions, and had not forfeited the benefit thereof, that should resort to England, or Ireland, should be forthwith apprehended, and proceeded against as rebels and traitors; and that the adventurers, soldiers and others, who were on the 1st of January last past, in possession of any of the manors, castles, houses, or lands of any of the said Irish rebels, should not be disturbed in their possessions, till either legally evicted by due course of law, or till his majesty, by the advice of parliament, had taken further order therein."

They had by this time got Cromwellian lords justices, lord Broghill, now earl of Orrery, and Sir Charles Coote, now earl of Mountrath. They had also got a Cromwellian house of commons, all ready to divide the spoil of the nation among themselves; and that no Roman catholic should be present, even at their debates about the distribution of the forfeitures, they voted, that no man was fit to sit in that house, who had not taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

The reports of plots and conspiracies, an old engine of Machiavelian policy, were played off against the sufferers, but without judgment or success. They were too ridiculous to gain credit. Meetings of papists at mass-houses! One man had a rusty sword, and another had a horse to ride, for business or pleasure! But chancellor Eustace took effectual means of detecting the

fraud. "He directed the judges, in their circuits, to cause the matter to be enquired into by the grand juries of the several counties, through which they passed. The finding of these juries was alike every where; there being a great calm in all places; no preparations for rising, nor so much as a rumour of any new troubles. Nothing could be more frivolous and void of proof, than the paper which the commons drew up on this occasion, and presented to the lords justices; who yet thought fit to send it, inclosed in their letters, to secretary Nicholas, signifying at the same time their opinion, that it would be destructive to the English interest, to admit the Irish to trade and settle in corporate towns; or to allow the Roman catholic lawyers to practise in their profession; both which, however, had been positively allowed by his majesty's letters."*

The whole body of Irish catholics was justly alarmed at the false calumnies circulated against them; and desirous of subscribing a protestation of their loyalty. Whereupon Walsh, an Irish franciscan, became active in procuring subscriptions to a Remonstrance of Loyalty; a paper, which made considerable noise at that day, and produced a schism among the catholics: the very effect intended by the duke of Ormond, who was the chief promoter of it. The catholics were the more anxious, at this time, to refute all calumnies, and display their innocence; as, by being

* Carte's Ormond.

excluded from the act of amnesty, a favour extended to the murderers of Charles I., they were left entirely to depend on the king's mercy for any hope of restitution. The king, indeed, more than once acknowledged his obligations to the suffering catholic loyalists, and his duty to fulfil the terms of the treaty concluded with them, an. 1648. In a letter from Breda, in 1650, he desired the marquis of Ormond to assure them, 'that he would perform all grants and concessions which he had either made or promised them by that peace; and which, as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him, he should study rather to enlarge, than diminish or infringe in the least degree.'

"In his speech to both houses of parliament, July 1660, when a general act of oblivion was intended to be passed, his majesty knowing that means had been used to exclude the Irish from the benefit of that act, told them, "that he hoped the Irish alone would not be left without the benefit of his mercy; that they had shewn much affection to him abroad; and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." And in his declaration the November following (which was intended to be the ground-work of the act of settlement), he again acknowledged this obligation, and said, "he must always remember the great affection a considerable part of the Irish nation expressed to him during the time of his being beyond the seas; when, with all chearfulness and obedience, they received and submitted

to his orders, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves; which demeanor of theirs, cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection, justice and favour."

" But the commissioners from Ireland, fearing that if the Irish were included in the general pardon, they would be of course restored to their estates (of which, by the bounty of the late usurpers, the commissioners and their adherents, were then actually in possession), petitioned both houses, that they might be excluded by an express clause, to be inserted in the act. And upon a motion being made in the house of peers, that this petition should be rejected, and the Irish included in the general indemnity, the duke of Ormond opposed it, alledging, that " his majesty had reserved the cognizance of that matter to himself;" though it was notorious, that his majesty in his speech to parliament, but a few days before had acquainted them, " that he expected (in relation to his engagement with that people) they would have a care of his honour, and of the promise he had made them." Excluded however they were, to the astonishment of all honest men; who now perceived, what powerful instruments their enemies made use of, to accomplish their wicked purposes."*

A poor apology Ormond made, for his ungracious, dishonest opposition to the motion, made in the English house of peers, for including the Irish in the act of general amnesty; that " if he

* Currie's Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

did not oppose it, others undoubtedly would, who would not fail to exaggerate their faults, and exasperate the parliament, instead of reconciling." If the English were generally ignorant of the affairs of the Irish, and subject to prepossessions against them, through the misrepresentations of their enemies, he could plead no such ignorance; and was the fittest person to disabuse the English parliament of prejudices instilled into them by false tales of malevolence. He had a great share in driving the confederates to arm in their own defence, by executing the bloody mandates of the justices; also, as lord lieutenant, he was principally instrumental in extending and prolonging the war, and preventing that peace, which the king and confederates so ardently wished for, and which would, in all probability, have saved both. He also effected the ruin of the catholics, by urging and dividing them on the question of peace, when it was too late to serve king Charles or them.

The revengeful temper of a proud ambitious tyrant, might have a fatal influence on the fortunes of a great proportion of the confederates, who, at any time, opposed or disobeyed his will; as, when he told the Irish parliament, that Ireton hung at Limerick, some, who deserved to be hanged almost as well as himself. These were, the bishops, the mayor, major-general Purcell, and thirteen more of the principal officers and gentlemen, who had the lead in the garrison and city; but the preponderating motive of his flagrant breach of faith, dishonourable equally to him

and to Charles II., was avarice. Like the English adventurers, he, from the beginning, speculated on the forfeited lands of the Irish; and why not? His forefathers came, as adventurers, on the same speculation; and thereby, in course of time, realized princely fortunes. The impending troubles of Charles's reign he saw favourable for renewing the speculation. His education put him on a footing with the innovating adventurers; which interest he cultivated, by displaying his enmity to old popery, and injuring its followers, by every engine of force or fraud that he could grasp; and by recommending himself to the rising faction, by a strict compliance with their secret orders, and a friendly correspondence with their chief partizans. Therefore, when he played their own unjust, dishonourable game against the English colonists, as the proverb says, he only bit the biters.

Such were the motives that guided Ormond's conduct, from his entrance on public life, until the iniquitous settlement of the kingdom after the restoration, chiefly conducted by his advice, and under his direction. "Two grants were made to the marquis of Ormond by the king, soon after the breaking out of the war in 1641; one was the vesting in him all the securities and mortgages upon his estate, formerly made, and belonging to such persons as were, or had been, in the insurrection. The other, was that of the lands under him, and forfeited to him for breach of conditions. This grant was confirmed by a clause in the first act of settlement, and the estates

thus granted contained a prodigious quantity of land, which had been granted to gentlemen upon fee-farm, or quit-rents, and military tenures; by which they were obliged to follow their lord, the head of that family, upon any occasion of hosting, into the field; and upon failure thereof the lands were forfeited to their lord.”*

“ From his grace’s early application for these grants, it is evident enough what use he intended to make of them; as also what were the true motives of his backwardness to conclude the cessation in 1643; and of his frequent disobedience to his majesty’s urgent commands to hasten the peace of 1646; and of his carrying on, at the same time, a private correspondence and treaty with the Scotch covenanters in Ulster, in opposition to that peace; and of his hindering the Irish to be included in the general act of indemnity, after the restoration, or to be indulged with the necessary enlargement of time, for proving their innocence in the court of claims. From all this, I say, it is manifest that his grace foresaw, that a different conduct in any of these conjunctures, would have precluded him from some part of that vast emolument, which he expected from these grants, and which he knew, was in the end to be proportioned to the extent, duration, and heinousness of the insurrection.

* It is affirmed that he got as many gentlemen’s estates, upon the pretence of a grant of enjoying all lands that he could prove (by witness) to have paid him any chiefry, as were worth at least £150,000.

“ And thus we find his noble friend, the earl of Anglesey, acknowledging in print, in 1681, “ that it was then apparent, that his grace and his family, by the forfeiture and punishment of the Irish, were the greatest gainers of the kingdom, and had added to their inheritance vast scopes of land, and a revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate was* before the rebellion; and that most of his increase was out of their estates who adhered to the peaces of 1646 and 1648, or served under his majesty’s ensigns abroad.” From whence his lordship justly concluded, “ that his grace could not have been very sincere, in making either of these peaces with the Irish; but that, whatever moved him thereto, whether compassion, natural affection, or any thing else, he was in judgment and conscience against them; and so,” adds he, “ he has since appeared, and hath advantage by their laying aside.”†

“ It is, therefore, no wonder that his grace’s noble brother-in-law, lord Muskerry, when on

* “ A knowing contemporary writer asserts, “ that the annual rents of Ormond’s estate before the war, were but seven thousand pounds sterling (his ancient estate being then encumbered with annuities and leases, which otherwise was worth forty thousand pounds sterling per annum), and at present (1674) it is close upon eighty thousand. Now the first part of his new great revenues, is the king’s grant of all those lands of his own estate which were leased or mortgaged; the rest were grants of other men’s estates, and other gifts of his majesty.” His gifts and grants are thought to amount to £630,000.—Unkind Deserter, p. 162-2. See *Queeries*. ib. Append. p. 168.

† “ My lord duke of Ormond,” says the earl of Essex,

his death-bed, declared to himself, "that the heaviest fear that possessed his soul, then going into eternity, was for his having confided so much in his grace, who had deceived them all, and ruined his poor country and countrymen."*

The bribes of the usurping adventurers and soldiers to the king and his favourites, from the forfeited lands, even to the duke of York, who had a large portion, had the effect of turning the scale against the just rights of the Irish claimants, notwithstanding the king's promises. In a letter from Breda, an. 1650, to the marquis of Ormond, telling him to "assure his loyal catholic subjects, that, on account of the affection and duty shewn by them, he was determined to enlarge, rather than diminish the favours and concessions granted in the treaties with them." And in his speech to parliament, alluding to the bill of amnesty, he said, "That he hoped the Irish alone would not be excluded from his mercy; that they had shewn much affection to him abroad; and that he expected the parliament would have a care of his honour, and of what he had promised them." And in his declaration, the 30th of November following. "He must always remember the great affection a considerable part of the Irish nation expressed to him, during the time of his being

lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1674-5, "has received above £300,000 in this kingdom, besides all his great places and employments; and I am sure the losses in his private estate have not been equal to those I have suffered (in the preceding civil war), and yet he is so happy as no exception is taken to it."—State Lett. p. 213-14.

* Currie's Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

beyond sea; when, with all cheerfulness and obedience, they received and submitted to his orders, though attended with inconvenience enough to themselves; which demeanor of theirs cannot but be thought very worthy of our protection, justice and favour." One would conclude from these words, that king Charles was mindful of his honour, promises and treaties; and that he meant honestly to adhere to them; but it appears from the sequel, that, following the advice of lord Clarendon, to reward his enemies, who might be troublesome; and neglect his friends, who would not therefore injure him; that, in extolling the merits of his loyal friends, he was only enhancing to his enemies, whom he courted, the value of the sacrifice he was offering unto them; as the heathen priests of old decked the victim with ribbons and garlands of flowers, as they led it to the slaughter. For, in the next session of parliament, Ormond, in his name and his authority, which he dare not use without permission, opposed the motion in the house of peers for including them in the general amnesty; alleging that the king had reserved their case for himself.

It was easy to prevail on Charles to come into the measures of the Cromwellians. Corrupted in his morals in France, perhaps from a malignant pleasure that politic jovial people took, to debauch the heir apparent of a rival kingdom, one day likely to ascend the throne, he eagerly grasped the seducing charms of pleasure and power, in the honey-moon of his new situation; utterly

regardless of the consequences to the present or future generations; so as he could enjoy, during his own life, luxurious ease, with the pomp and power of royalty. Unwarlike, indolent, immersed in pleasures, he dreaded to offend the formidable rebel party; and to that love of pleasure, indolence, and the fear of rousing the enemies of his family, he sacrificed his honour, his faith, his duty as a king to his subjects, and the faith of treaties. "His declaration before-mentioned, for the settlement of Ireland, (which comprehended every foot of land in the kingdom) ordained, that above five hundred Irish gentlemen therein named, who had faithfully served him abroad, should be restored to their estates; but not until land of equal value was found, to reprove the Cromwellian adventurers and soldiers, who then had possession of them." His mind was soon altered after that declaration; which perfidy, Clarendon, father-in-law of his brother, York, vainly endeavours to palliate, by imputing it to the false assurance, given him by lord Orrery, that, after all the adventurers and soldiers, and he might have added favourites, were satisfied, land enough would remain in Ireland, to provide liberally for the Irish. There were numbers as well acquainted with the state of the kingdom as lord Orrery, and less interested to deceive him, than this vulture, who could tell contrary. Had he been a man of honour, truth or justice, he would not have been so prodigal, in selling and bestowing the soil of Ireland, before he made provision for those gallant Irishmen, who, unfor-

fortunately for themselves, served so bad a master; those especially, who, in foreign service, contributed from their pay to supply his necessities; those mistaken loyalists, who moved after him, as the tail follows a part; and surrendered themselves to his will, to be disposed of, as a commodity, to either France or Spain, as either bid highest. The contention of these two great powers, for possession of the brigade, attests their gallantry; their conduct proclaimed, in the eyes of all Europe, their absolute devotion to his interest, to his will. This is a phenomenon of loyalty, for which there is scarce a parallel in antient or modern history. Base contemptible wretch! These magnanimous, these generous heroes, these protectors and fosterers of your exile, without whose heroic aid you might beg your bread, while France and Spain publicly disavowed you, owning the victorious enemies of your house a state, with whom they maintained relations of peace and amity; these are the benefactors, whom you sacrifice to the greatest of malefactors, whose desert was the extreme punishment, and to whom pardon and amnesty was a very high favour. No. It was not enough to amnesty the most atrocious robbers, incendiaries, ravishers, murderers, yea, murderers of your own father; they must, moreover, be rewarded for the perpetration of horrors, to punish which no penal law is sufficiently severe, with the inheritance of your singular, your heroic benefactors! Monster of ingratitude, consequently of impiety, to what shall I liken thee? To man? No. The

worst tyrants on record, from Nimrod to Barbarossa, or Oliver Cromwell, however cruel and unjust to the rest of the world, favoured their own partizans. To the brute? No. All the classes and species of animated nature, from the greatest to the smallest, adhere to their party and kind in the general system. They assemble for society, for protection, for assault, or defence. *Sævis inter se convenit ursæ*. Savage bears maintain a common cause.

Is it any wonder that divine providence hurled such a race from the throne? But there is in Ireland's story, a wonderful phenomenon, unaccounted for by any law of the moral world, except by that gospel precept, "if one strike thee on the cheek, turn to him thy other cheek also;" and "if one take thy coat, give him thy waistcoat also; love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good for evil: the attachment of the Irish to the Stuarts, after experiencing so much of their injustice, ingratitude, and tyranny. Some nations seem born to hate the good, and cherish the bad; such as the Jews, who put to death all their prophets, their promised messiah, and as many of his disciples as they could lay hands on; while they followed profligate impostors with enthusiasm, who led them to the slaughter like sheep. And, like the Irish confederates, who ordered the venerable archbishop of Fermo, who came to toil for their relief, out of the kingdom, threatening him with prosecution at the court of Rome; and denounced the only general, to whose abilities and patriotism

only Ireland could look for salvation at that very critical period, a traitor and enemy to his country; while they clung to Ormond, who was for years planning their destruction, and never ceased, until he brought on them the most fearful desolation, that ever visited a nation, by plague, war, and famine; when they were, to use the expression of an English writer, pounded as it were in a mortar, and scourged in such manner as no other nation ever was, except the Jews, and hardly they.

Now the cause of the unhappy Irish comes before the devil, and the court in hell; a junta of Cromwellians and their sure associates. "The king found, that if he deferred settling the government of Ireland, till a perfect adjustment of all particular interests could be made, it would be very long; he saw that there must be some examination taken there, before he could make his determination upon those particulars, which purely depended upon his own judgment; and so he passed that which is called the first act of settlement; and was persuaded to commit the execution thereof to commissioners, recommended to him by those who were most conversant in the affairs of that kingdom, though none, or very few of them, were known to his majesty."

"These commissioners constituted what was commonly called the court of claims in Ireland, "but were very ill qualified for such a trust. They were for the most part engaged, by their interests, in the party of the adventurers and soldiers; very many of them were in possession

of those lands which others sued for before them; and they themselves bought broken tiltes, and pretences of other men, for inconsiderable sums of money, which they supported and made good by their own authority. Thus the judges themselves were both parties and witnesses, in all causes that were brought before them."

"Such scandalous practices could not be suffered to continue long. These commissioners were removed; and seven gentlemen, of very clear reputations, appointed in their room; some of them lawyers in very much esteem; and others, persons of very good extractions, excellent understandings, and above all suspicion for their integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base temptation."

"But although the commissioners of the court of claims were thus happily changed, the rigorous conditions of the innocency or nocency of the claimants, that had been first resolved upon, were still continued. According to these conditions, to prove a person innocent, it was not enough to shew, that he had never taken arms in the late insurrection, or entered into any treaty or association with those who had; no: for if such a person chanced but to dwell, however inoffensively, in any of the places occupied by the insurgents, he was to be judged nocent.

"But of all the marks of nocency established on this occasion, that of having taken the engagement to Cromwell, was the most extraordinary; for that engagement was primarily contrived, during the usurpation, by those very persons,

who, after the king's return, had acquired authority and influence enough to have the modelling and imposing of these rigid conditions. From whence resulted this very shocking injustice and absurdity, peculiar, certainly, to the policy of these times, that the original framers and promoters of that engagement, who had themselves voluntarily taken and signed it, and had compelled others to take it, were not only held innocent, but rewarded with great honours, and employments of the highest authority in the state; while those who abhorred it, when it was forced upon them, and never took it but at the last extremity, and to avoid a violent and shameful death, were condemned as nocent, not only to the loss of their estates, but also to the mortification of seeing them bestowed upon the very authors and imposers of that engagement.

“ The time limited for holding the court of claims was a twelvemonth; but it sat only “ from February to August following; during which space, the claims of near a thousand innocents were heard, whereof half were declared innocent, notwithstanding the many difficulties they had to encounter, as well from the rigorous conditions before-mentioned, as from a swarm of corrupt witnesses that were daily employed against them. For the suborning of witnesses at these trials was so frequent and bare-faced, that their perjuries were sometimes proved in open court, by the testimony of honourable persons, who happened accidentally to be present. Sir William Petty boasted, when he had evicted the duke of Ormond

out of some lands before this court, that he had gotten witnesses, that would have sworn through a three-inch board."

"The court of claims being now at an end, that which was called the explanatory bill, put an absolute period to all future hopes of these unheard claimants. By that bill it was enacted, "that no person or persons, who by the qualifications in the former act of settlement, had not been adjudged innocent, should at any time after be reputed innocent, so as to claim any lands or tenements, thereby vested; or be admitted to have any benefit or allowance of adjudication of innocence; or any benefit of articles whatsoever." This bill (which the Irish call the black act) was brought over to Ireland, signed and sealed, by the duke of Ormond himself."*

"Thus every one remaining of those numerous

* "By this act, Ormond is said to have got the city of Kilkenny, and six other corporate towns, together with their lands and liberties, valued by himself and his friends of the council but at £60,000 tho' they are well worth £120,000." By the same act, £300,000 were to be raised on his majesty's subjects of Ireland, £100,000 of which was for his grace. Quere 17th, "Whether the duke of Ormond's gifts and grants amount not to £630,000, and whether this sum would not have satisfied all the English interest of Ireland, and have settled the protestants and well-meriting natives of that kingdom in peace; whereas now his majesty, and all Christendom is troubled with their clamours against the breach of public faith." "The duke of Ormond's estate was much incumbered, and his rents before the rebellion, exceeding not £7000 per annum, and during the war he got more by his government of Ireland, and giving up Dublin, than he could if he were in possession of his estate."—Unkind Deserter, p. 165. 168. 169.

claimants, whose causes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and subornation in causes that were tried before the court of claims; but their great and striking grievance was, that more than three thousand persons were condemned without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial.”*

As some have accused this history of partiality to the poor natives of this highly gifted and much injured land, it is pleasant to have an able voucher to produce, above suspicion of unreasonable partiality, as being an Englishman, and authentic, as a well informed cotemporary with the facts he relates. This valuable document* was put into my hands, Jan. 15, 1811, by the printer of this history, and completely justifies my hostility to the spurious histories published against this country.

“ To comply with your lordship’s command, I here send you a short but just account, of the deplorable state of the Irish nation, and of the apparent injustice which the present government makes it groan under. This I am afraid, as I formerly hinted to your lordship, has for some years past irritated, and does still continue the avenging hand of heaven over us: and since we have, contrary to all humanity and equity, treated the Irish in a most unheard-of manner; it is to

* Leland.

+ A Letter from an English Gentleman to a Member of Parliament, shewing the Hardships, Cruelties and severe Usage with which the Irish Nation has been treated, &c.

be further feared, that unless we have a speedy recourse to the Divine Majesty, so outrageously provoked against us, and endeavour, by a most humble and timely repentance, to put a stop to our violences, his justice will make our punishment still more exemplary; for though it be but too well known, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland have suffered a thousand persecutions under the late usurped government, their fate in that being common not only with some English and Scotch noblemen, and others of unshaken loyalty, but even the king himself, and all the royal family, made their sufferings the more tolerable to them, no body complaining of his private misfortune, when all were plunged in so general a calamity; *ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, nemo recusat*. But now, that they alone should continue under oppression since his majesty's happy restoration, and that the tears of those unfortunate people should hinder us from truly saying, that the joy spread over the rest of the subjects of our English monarchy, is not universal; and that their present hardships should far out-do the cruelty they were treated with under the tyranny of Cromwell, is what can sooner be bewailed than expressed.

Yet I can't but observe, my lord, how few of us have any sense of their miseries, and that the Irish have to bear up not only against the malice of their implacable enemies; but even are, as it were, forgotten by those, who, as they were fellow sufferers for the same cause together, were, as one may say, become mutual friends; but who

no sooner believed themselves delivered from what the Irish still labour under, than they became unconcerned to cure those wounds of their neighbours, which they thought themselves in no further danger of.

“ These reasons, my lord, and my inclination to satisfy whatever your lordship requires of me; my zeal to justice; and, in fine, that natural impulse and compassion, which inclines every one to pity his kind, together with the partiality of almost all our English writers, who being for the most part protestants, if not fanatics, and consequently too much interested not to disguise plain matters of fact, or to speak to the advantage of a nation all or most catholics, whose estates, benefices and employments they usurp, have summed up all their art and venom to load the Irish with all the impostures, and with the blackest calumnies wit and malice could invent, that, thereby rendering them odious all the world over, they might themselves appear less criminal before man, and their usurpations less unjust; so that to them may properly be applied what we read in the 28th chapter of the prophet Isaiah, “ We have made lies our refuge, and have sheltered ourselves under falsehood:” without speaking of what the same prophet says a little before, “ and we have made an agreement with hell.” Add, that an unchristian prejudice peculiar to us, and our innate pride, which makes us despise every body but ourselves, incline us rather to believe every thing to the prejudice of the Irish, who yet are no less brave, no less good christians,

nor less faithful subjects to the same prince than we, than judge of them according to that charity which every one ought to have for his neighbour, obliges us to do, and which we would not be well pleased ourselves not to be judged according to the rules of, on the like occasion.

“ These reasons, I say, moving enough, and considerations so just, have prevailed with me to lay before your lordship all the particulars of the present state of Ireland.”

Will any man say, that this English gentleman, in writing his narrative, could be influenced by any unreasonable partiality to the Irish nation? Love of truth and justice; compassion for the greatly injured loyalists of Ireland, are evident features of his composition, and sure proofs of his humanity. As he possessed the best means of information, his authority on the subject is unexceptionable. The cruelties and injustice, practised on the Irish after the restoration, are clearly and briefly detailed.

“ This short abridgment, my lord, is a lively portraiture of the affairs of Ireland from the time of his majesty's happy restoration to this hour, as to matter of fact: let us now, by your lordship's leave, proceed to that of right, and examine a little by what title do these people appropriate to themselves the estates of that unhappy nation, whose sole forfeiting crimes are their religion and loyalty. This may be reduced to four principal heads.

“ The first shall be that of the London merchants, whom we call adventurers. The second

that of the soldiers. The third of the protestant officers of 1649. And the fourth of those who are refused the benefit of innocence. Let us begin with the adventurers.

“ These are the citizens of London, who in the year 1641, were forward to advance money under pretence of reducing the Irish rebels (tho’ their chief aim and primary intention, as time has since visibly discovered, was by the advance and employ of that money to dethrone the king) upon condition nevertheless that they should receive of the rebels’ lands proportionably to the sums by them so advanced, pursuant to an act of our English parliament expressly made to that purpose, and requiring that the said money should be applied to no other use or purpose than reducing the said rebels, until they should be declared by lords and commons to be reduced, &c. It is further enacted by the same act, that as soon as both houses of parliament should, by order, declare the rebels to be entirely subdued, a commission should be issued out under the broad seal of England, to make a strict enquiry throughout the four provinces of Ireland of the forfeited estates, in order to divide them among those citizens, who had thus advanced their money. And that you may have it in the very words of the act itself, take them as followeth. “ And be it further enacted, that when the lords and commons of this realm of England shall, in parliament, by order declare, that the said rebels are subdued, and that this present rebellion in the said kingdom of Ireland is appeased and ended,

that forthwith, after such declaration made and sent to the lord chancellor, or the lord keeper of the great seal of England for the time being, the said lord chancellor, or lord keeper, is hereby authorised and required to issue forth commissions into all the said four provinces of that kingdom of Ireland, for the surveying and setting forth of the said two millions and a half of acres, which commission shall be to such effect, and directed to such persons as the said lords and commons in parliament shall appoint....which said commissioners....shall return all their proceedings therein, fairly ingrossed in parchment, into his majesty's court of chancery of the said kingdom of Ireland, to remain there likewise of record."

"Not one of these things has ever been performed; for in the first place that money was so far from being employed in reducing the rebels in Ireland, that it was all or most laid out in buying arms and other warlike provisions to levy war in England against the king. Like employ! like title!

"Secondly, the rebels have never yet been thus declared entirely subdued, nor has any commission under the broad seal been issued out, no more than those necessary consequences of it, expressly required by the act, observed.

"It is true that some corrupt pretended members of the house of commons, after having separated themselves from their lawful head, the king, or rather his head from his royal shoulders, and next to him, from the noblest and most es-

stantial part of parliament, the lords spiritual and temporal, and who consequently had no right or power to act or determine any thing but what they arrogated to themselves by their bare-faced rebellion and usurpation, declared in the year 1652, without any concurrence of the house of lords, nor indeed of the soundest or major part of the commons, the rebels subdued (though it was notoriously known that those very rebels continued still in arms defending the banished king's right in that kingdom till the year 1653,) and at the same time ordered ten counties for those city merchants, without issuing any commission under the great seal, or examining whether those lands were in strictness forfeited or no.

“ The last adventurers, who, for hazarding their money, advanced it on condition that it should yield them so much again as the first, had a large dividend of these ten counties; because they advanced it to that sacrilegious long parliament which flew in his majesty's face, and attacked him with armed force; and that without the help of that money neither the late king would have so tragically ended his days, nor his present majesty have occasion to undergo so many hardships in his cruel and long exile; and yet such crimes entitle them to, and vest them in the estates of the Irish, who are for no other reason deprived of them, than for having been as true and faithful to the king, in opposing his enemies; as those had been zealous Cromwelians, and fierce persecutors of the royal family.

“ The late king, sensible of the nullity of this act, was never heard to mention one word of the adventurers in any time of his treaties with the confederate Irish; which so sincere a lover of justice as king Charles I. was, would never have been silent in, had he thought himself under any obligation by that act to make good to them those estates which he well knew they had no right to.

“ But let us suppose that the act 17 Caroli, made in favour of the first adventurers be good in law; can the new adventurers who are to have as much again as the first, expect it should support them? Nay, how can even the first adventurers themselves, whose money was applied to quite other uses than the relieving the protestants in Ireland, and reducing the rebels, pretend to any benefit of it, or consequently any right to those estates, or insist on any agreement made with them about them? No, not only that these cannot; but even those whom we look upon as true adventurers, and are but few in number, and whose money was really laid out to carry on the war in Ireland, cannot legally keep the estates of the Irish, till first both houses of parliament have declared the rebels entirely subdued, till they have issued out a commission under the great seal to distinguish and declare the nocent from the innocent; and, in short, till all those formalities expressly required by the act are performed, and a just division or allotment be made of the real forfeited estates and of no other.

“ The first minister of state, formerly a lawyer

by profession, can neither be ignorant of, nor deny this, be his regard for truth never so little; nor indeed doth he scruple to make his royal master own it, in his declaration for the settlement of Ireland, in these words: " And therefore in the first place, in order to a settlement of that interest claimed by the adventurers, although the present estates and possessions they enjoy, if they were examined by the strict letter of the law, would prove very defective and invalid, as being no ways pursuant to those acts of parliament, upon which they pretend to be founded. Yet we being always more ready to consult with our natural inclination to mercy, than with the positive reason of law: we do hereby declare, that all the lands, tenements and hereditaments, of which all or any of the adventurers were possessed the 7th day of May 1659, having been allotted or set out to them (by the rebel-pretended parliament or assembly aforesaid) or enjoyed by them as adventurers in satisfaction of, and for their adventures, shall be confirmed and made good to them, their heirs and assigns for ever."

" Could any thing be said more to shew the groundlessness of the adventurers title derived from the act 17 Car. 2. and could the chief minister of justice pronounce a more unjust sentence than to say, although these criminal adventurers have no right to the estates in question, yet its my pleasure and the king's mercy to adjudge 'em for them, against positive reason of law and justice. These lands are neither more nor less than ten counties: the pretenders to them are, the old

Irish Proprietors and the London Adventurers.
The first have in their favour a lawful peaceable possession of many hundreds of years, without interruption or discontinuance; their titles, their deeds, their charters, and their contracts, shew it. They are turned out of them, for having inviolably adhered, and adhering still to this hour, to their lawful sovereign; whom these adventurers helped to dethrone, and bring to the block, by furnishing those great sums of money, for which they are now so liberally rewarded, at the expence of the loyal Irish.

“ The last adventurers can set up no other title, as by the very few words of the act itself appears, than to have been warranted by an usurped government to advance vast sums of money towards supporting the rebellion, overthrowing the monarchy, and building their own darling commonwealth upon its royal ruins; yet these parricides are, by the settlement of Ireland, recompensed with the antient inheritance of those who only forfeited for a steady adherence to their duty. Good God! What justice?

“ The second article relates to the Cromwelian soldiers, whose interest in that country and the upholding of it, has been no small obstacle to the restoring of the Irish, though the 17 Car. 1. says not one word of them, and that they can pretend no other colour to detain the estates they usurp, than what their swords, always employed both against his late majesty and the present king, have got them. No matter; a service so glorious, and so deserving a monumentum ære

perennius, must be requited with the spoils of the unfortunate Irish, not in one city or county alone, but in twelve large counties of the kingdom.

“ I don’t believe that there is a man breathing, who dare countenance, much less, defend, so odious a title; for the most avowed patrons of these soldiers will never pretend to maintain it lawful, no nor even admit it in plea in any court of judicature, yet they were often heard to say, that it was at least convenient to keep them in their possessions, though unjustly acquired. I fancy we will meet but with very few other politicians, especially among those who follow the gospel of Christ, that will approve of such convenience: it would much more become the dignity and probity of a chancellor to say, let justice be done, happen what will, fiat justitia, aut ruat cœlum, than we must do what is convenient, though contrary to equity.

“ It’s an admiral convenience indeed ! to drive old proprietors, ever faithful to the king, fighting his battles at home to preserve his right, and prodigal of their blood in all other parts of the world abroad, his service required it, to drive them, I say, from their ancient estates, in order to give and secure them, for ever, to fanatical soldiers, devoted servants to Oliver Cromwell, and sworn enemies to the crown.

“ The first minister of state, the soul of these deliberations and councils, to prove and uphold any expedient so unjust, used to draw the strength of his arguments from the too great power of the

Cromwellians in Ireland, in this manner. ‘The English troops are very numerous in Ireland, they are well armed, and are masters of all the cities and strong holds in the kingdom; so that it would be dangerous to provoke them; and even the necessity of our present affairs obliges us to protect them in their acquisitions; for in this case, we are not so strictly to consider equity and right, as to accommodate ourselves to the times.’

“This bugbear of an argument used to be repeated at the council-board, as a *ne plus ultra*; but perhaps this mighty statesman, with all his profound policy, had not time enough to reflect, that the same argument, and the same reasons, might as well have served to confirm all the Cromwellians in England in their usurpations of the royal authority, of the church and crown lands, and of the estates of several of the nobility and gentry, which by their rebellion and parricide they made themselves masters of; and yet were they not turned out at a time they had arms in their hands, had possession of all the places of strength in the nation, (and were much more numerous, and far better provided with all manner of necessaries, and therefore more formidable, than those in Ireland,) without noise, disturbance or danger.

“I have travelled, my lord, all over the kingdom of Ireland, and I can affirm to your lordship, that the ancient inhabitants are ten to one of the new, and these far more considerable: but the vast sums of money given, have gained the

corrupt soul of this minister, and gold has broke through the sanctuary of justice, to make room for iniquity, and give way to oppress innocence in a crueller manner than any, the most barbarous tyrant, ever invented. But let us grant those troops to be as many, and as powerful, as our narrow-soul'd, cowardly minister would fain represent them, are they near as many or as powerful (as I have already said) as those we saw of their stamp in England at the time of the king's restoration; and yet have not these been disbanded in less than three months time, without trouble or pain? whereas those in Ireland are needlessly kept in pay now above seven years, by reason whereof his majesty receives no revenue out of so large and fertile a kingdom; but on the contrary, is obliged yearly to transmit thither out of England great remittances for the subsistence of so useless an army.

“ For my part, I can't comprehend how the king could so securely, and with so little difficulty, dismiss Cromwell's troops in England, and cannot with the same ease, and with as little danger, disarm those in Ireland, where their strength is less, their charge, all their things considered, more burthensome, and themselves of no use.

“ If it be answered, that for want of money, they would be all cashiered all at once; could it not be done by degrees, and by regiments, in seven or eight years time?

“ I think I have sufficiently made it appear, that those Cromwellian tyrants have no other

colour of right but what is grounded upon the bare pleasure of the king, surprized by the artifice of his prime minister, who keeps up these troops for some sordid, if not criminal end of his own.

“ Let this favourite, who fills his master's soul with a fear more than servile, in order to make him tolerate injustice, take care that his malice or ignorance be not one day detected, and the consequences soon attend him, by being measured unto as he measures to others. *Rex est, qui posuit.*

The third article, obstructing the Irish even to desperation, is the interest of the officers of 1649, before mentioned, who served either under the king or for the parliament all the time before that year, the arrears of whose pay, by themselves well calculated, amounts to eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the payment of which sum (whereof the tenth part could never be due to them) the best and richest part of the kingdom, which every body knows to be worth millions, is assigned to them, without examining the extravagance of their accounts, and without considering that the most part of these very officers had been actually engaged in the rebellion of the year 1649, and the precedent years; as among others, the earls of Orrery and Montrath, the lords Kingstown and Colooney, Sir John Cole, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St. George and many others; or at least in a short time after, deserted the king's standard to join the usurper; which piece of service Cromwell rewarded very liberally.

“ These officers are invested not only with the lands and lordships of four large counties, to wit, the counties of Wicklow, Longford, Leitrim and Donegal, but with all the walled towns and cities, and the lands thereunto belonging, throughout all Ireland; and all within a mile of the river Shannon, and of the sea-side, commonly called Mile-line, in the province of Connaught and county of Clare; and the benefit accruing out of the redemption of all mortgages, statute-staples, and judgments, not already given or allotted to adventurers or soldiers, with other great advantages therein expressed, all belonging to the Irish, whose right and inheritance is not only thus disposed of (as any one taking pains to read the act may see) but their very deeds and titles declared void and forfeited.

“ And least all this might not satisfy that insatiable crew, the last act gives them £100,000 sterling on a year's revenue of the adventurers, soldiers, and such of the Irish as were restored to their estates: whilst the Irish Roman catholic officers, (who all along steadfastly adhered to the king, faithfully served him at all times, and on all occasions, when all or most of these protestant officers deserted him in Ireland, in order to serve under Cromwell, where their greatest inclination lead them,) because they bear the odious name of papists, were thought unworthy any favour or reward (otherwise due to their signal services) they, who generously and unanimously stood by their prince, not out of constraint, nor in view of aggrandizing themselves, adhering

to their fortunes, or other worldly end whatsoever; but excited by a principle of true religion, and motive of honour and glory, to discharge the duty of allegiance they owed to their lawful sovereign: a thing they did for five years together with armed force at their own charges, and at the expence of many thousand lives of brave and gallant men, who rather than abandon the justice of the cause, or not seal their loyalty with their blood, were all sacrificed without spot or stain.

“ And is it less surprising that these few protestant officers, who scarce served two years in Ireland, should be rewarded with £180,000; and that our loyal English officers and soldiers (who infinitely surpass them in number, served the king three times longer, were never tainted with treason, desertion or parricide, and who never made self-interest the ground of their loyalty) had among them all, without distinction of religion or country, but £70,000 sterling; and even that to be distributed but among the poorest of them, who had neither estates nor employments in the commonwealth to keep them from starving.

“ And why, I beseech you, shall the commanders of four or five garrisons in Ireland (who pillaged and plundered those very garrisons, &c. to ten times the value of what could be justly due to them, and then betrayed them to Cromwell) be made proprietors of four large counties, and of all the great towns and cities in a kingdom, with an assignation of £100,000 sterling in money, &c. while all the loyalists in England

(who not only had one single little parish given among them all, but not so much as one foot of land in any town or city of the kingdom) are overlooked, as if they deserved nothing?

“ Is it that prince Rupert, the duke of Newcastle, the marquis of Montross, the earls of Bristol, Barkley, Rochester, Gerrard, and those other prime nobility and gentry of England and Scotland, deserved less the arrears of what was due to them, and what they had expended in his majesty’s service, than these protestant worthies of 1649? Do we make no other difference betwixt the former and the latter? What great convenience (for justice there is none) to provide so largely for these, and take no care of them? For it can’t be alleged, that his majesty was obliged, either by the act 17 Car. 1., or by his declaration from Breda, or by any treaty whatsoever, to reward in so ample a manner the mercenary service of those protestant officers who served for and against him in Ireland, &c. and at the same time neglect and abandon to their wants and miseries, an infinite number of other poor officers and soldiers, as well English as of other nations, who have hardly wherewithal to cover their nakedness, or lodgings to retire to.

“ No, but of those officers there are, who have either some real or seeming merit which pleads for ’em; and therefore the better to accomplish the entire ruin of the Irish, to strengthen those of the faction who have no merit, and cover the iniquity of the design, its necessary to join them together, and grant them their commands with-

out controul, though never so extravagant, since none but the Irish are like to lose by it, according to the rules of this final settlement.

“ And to shew the specious fairness of the wicked contrivers of this settlement, and their pretended detestation of the betrayers of the before-mentioned garrisons into the hands or to the forces of the usurper, they in very soft and tender terms exclude 'em from enjoying (to use their own words in the said act) any lands for their arrears before the year 1649, unless that, within two years after the date of the act, they make it appear to the lord lieutenant or chief governor of Ireland, and six of the privy council, that they made some repair for their former faults (their own expression in the said act) by their timely and seasonable appearance for the king's restoration in the year 1660, where to be sure they came off as cheap as it was intended, since the chief governor and council were all of a piece, and of the same mold and nomination with the head managers of this whole affair; and that whatever slender repairs these blessed reformers pretend to have made, they passed for more than sufficient to atone for crimes, which, though in themselves the blackest, and in the eyes of God and the impartial part of mankind, the most execrably heinous, were reckoned among the party either meritorious actions, or such small slips as were hardly worth mentioning; for, as in John Calvin's new-broached theology, 'let the elect commit what sins they will, they are still just, and babes of grace, because they'll never be imputed

to them as faults;’ so, though the elect fanatics of our chancellor have been guilty of the highest treason, and of a rebellion of the deepest dye that ever was hatched, yet they must pass for his majesty’s most faithful and most obedient protestant subjects, till another fair opportunity offers.

“ Thus, this chief minister of state, violating all the rules of equity and justice, by a distribution of rewards in so disproportionable a manner, and upholding his so doing with patched-up reasons, hardly able to hold water, alledging, that the protestant interest in Ireland cannot be secured but by ruining the Irish; and concludes, that the Irish must be wholly excluded from any share of the estates, which the commonwealth had not yet disposed of; therefore, that the protestant interest may for the future stand inviolable, all reasonings of state must keep to, and be governed by that maxim, notwithstanding all its repugnancy to common sense, and natural equity.

“ But as this mighty minister makes use of this argument, as his last resource, it will not be amiss to examine a little this touch-stone of scandal, and set such a phantom, author of so many monstrous impieties, in a truer light. Therefore in the first place.

“ As to what concerns the security of the protestant interest, its certain the king ought to maintain it, as far as the glory of God will allow it, the laws of nations, and the different constitution of every country require it.

“ But will any man (be he never so zealous for his religion,) say, that whilst the king was

master of Dunkirk in Flanders, he was obliged to exterminate the old inhabitants, to send over a new colony of English in their room? The way to plant, spread, and establish true religion used to be by preaching, good works, and pious examples; not by tyranny, or by violent means: nor is the breaking in unjustly upon our neighbours estates, and taking them from them with a high hand, (because they are not of our belief) the most inviting or christian means to convert them.

“ The wrongs and injustices done to the Irish by the protestants in the settlement of that kingdom, will not tend to their edification, nay it will give them such an abhorrence, and be an eternal obstacle to their embracing a religion, whereof they see the very chief heads themselves so wicked; for all the world knows that the confiscation of estates was more aimed at, and more particularly in view, than the conversion of souls: which I can prove from the instance of those, who, to preserve their estates, offered to quit the religion of their ancestors wherein they had been bred, to become protestants, but in vain.

“ Indeed if we consider things with regard to the new English interest, viz. the London merchant-adventurers, Cromwell’s soldiers, &c. it is certain, that to do the Irish justice, and that, can never stand together; for the title of these sort of English will not hold, but by destroying that of the Irish; just as the commonwealth sunk at the restoration of the monarchy, and the usurped power of Cromwell and his successor vanished, on the happy return of the royal authority.

“ But if, by the English interest we understand, as undoubtedly we ought, that of the crown and of the true nobility of that nation, I see no reason why it may not be as well secured for 500 years to come, or more, as it has been hitherto, with honour and advantage to the crown, since Henry II.’s time, without ruining or extirpating its old inhabitants. Why may not the English government be as well preserved in Ireland without an entire extermination of the natives, as that of the Spaniards in Naples and in Flanders? that of the French in Alsace, in Roussillon, and other conquered countries? that of the Swedes in Bremen, and in Pomerania? that of the Danes in Norway? that of the house of Austria in Hungary? that of the Venetians in Dalmatia, Morea, &c. and that of the Turks in Greece, and many other Christian provinces, whence they never drove the inhabitants, or took away their estates, though they often took up arms against them?

“ Heretofore the rights and conquests of Christian princes used to be preserved by building of forts and citadels, by punishments and rewards, by erecting magazines and keeping of armies to awe their disaffected subjects; and not by so inhuman means as the total extinction of the people they governed even by conquest. On the contrary, we have but too many examples in history, how several princes after having ranged their revolted subjects to their duty, and had graciously pardoned them, have also restored them to their honours and estates; nay, some

have gone so far as to discharge them from the allegiance they owed them, when either the public tranquillity and safety required it, or that they could not be appeased otherwise, as the king of Spain did to the Hollanders in the year 1609, and no doubt but a prince may lawfully do all this, and give up his own right, where the state of his affairs, either to avoid a greater evil, or to procure a greater advantage, necessarily requires it.

“ But suppose the securing of this new English interest, to be so precious and sacred a thing; allow it warrantable to exterminate all the ancient inhabitants of Ireland out of that corner of the earth, which the bountiful hand of almighty God providentially allotted for their patrimony out of the spacious globe of the universe; what pretence or colour will our mighty little politician, this subtle, crafty statesman, have to root out so many families, originally English, who by their valour, and at the price of their honourable blood, always acting by royal authority and commission, acquired to the imperial crown of England all its pretensions on that kingdom since the year 1169?

“ Now if this canibal-new English-interest gives no better quarters to those illustrious ancient families of its nation, settled in Ireland, what can strangers, or the first inhabitants of that kingdom, expect at their hands? Nay, ought not even the successors and descendants of these very soldiers and adventurers, apprehend at this rate, least in the next age a fresh swarm of English may come to supplant and destroy them,

under pretence of further and better securing the English interest in that kingdom? And may not we reasonably believe, that in an age or two after, these last will become a sacrifice to some other new undertakers; since we see that those who went to settle in Ireland in the beginning of the reign of king James I. are spared no more than those, who, under Henry II. subdued that nation, and afterwards made it their country? so if we pursue this method, we shall never secure the English interest in Ireland.

“ The fourth and last obstacle hindering the restoration of the Irish, ariseth from those whom the king gave great estates to, at other people's expence in that kingdom: the title of these having no other foundation than his majesty's bare good will and pleasure, in making such gifts to them, at the instigation of the chancellor, &c. is plain enough of itself; for it can't be said, that his majesty was by any treaty or promise, under obligation to gratify his courtiers and favourites, with other non-forfeiting person's estates.

“ What convenience, I'd fain know, was there to give the duke of York, the king's brother, and heir presumptive to three kingdoms, the estates of so many unfortunate Irish gentlemen, who followed him every where through all the degrees of his misfortunes, and thereby expose his royal highness and his posterity, to the tears, groans and woful complaints of so many widows, orphans and others, who, by this state-turn of Clarendon, are reduced to extream misery, and whose daily cries and feeling sufferings call for

justice to the omnipotent and all-seeing God, who never suffers such doings to escape unpunished, even in this world.

“ But that your lordship may the better understand the title of the crown to those estates, and consequently, that of those, to whom it made such large donations of them; you must observe, that one Miles Corbet, and other regicides, having got vast estates in Ireland, on the sole merit of rebellion, and having joyfully pronounced the horrid and sacrilegious sentence of death against the late king, their lawful sovereign; but having been deservedly hanged for the same, immediately after the restoration of his present majesty, and forfeiting the estates of the loyal Irish, whereof these king-murderers were actually seized and possessed at and before their natural or civil deaths, by virtue of Cromwell’s grants thereof to them, in recompence of their parricide, and whereof that tyrant dispossessed the Irish for no other cause than their unshaken adherence to the crown’s interest, against him and those very parricides; these estates, I say, were given to the duke of York; as you may see by the following proviso in the act of settlement, and confirmed by the act of explanation, in these words, viz.

“ Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall extend to vest in his majesty, his heirs, or successors, any the honours, castles, messuages, mannors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, whereof Oliver Cromwell deceased, Henry Ireton

deceased, John Jones deceased, Daniel Axtel deceased, Gregory Clement deceased, Isaac Ewer deceased, John Bradshaw deceased, Thomas Hamond deceased, Sir Hardress Waller, John Hewson, Miles Corbet, Thomas Wagon, Edmond Ludlow, Edward Dendy, John Lesle, William late lord Mounson, Cornelius Holland, Henry Smith, Owen Rowe, Edmond Harvey, Nicholas Love, Edward Whaley, Thomas Pride, deceased, William Say, Valentine Walton, John Berkstead, Sir Michael Livesey, John Okey, Wm. Gouffe, Thomas Challinor, William Cawley, John Dixwell, Andrew Broughton, Thomas Harrison, Adrian Scroop, John Carew, Thomas Scot, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Isaac Pennington, Henry Martin, Gilbert Millinton, Robert Tichburn, Robert Lilborn, John Downs, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, George Fleetwood, Simon Main, James Temple, Peter Temple, Thomas Wait, Sir John Danvers, John Blackston, Sir Wm. Constable, Richard Dean, Francis Allyn, deceased, Peregrine Pelham, John Aldred alias Alured, Humphrey Edwards, John Wynn, Anthony Stapely, Thomas Horton, John Frey, James Challiner, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrinton, John Phelps, or any of them, were at any time heretofore seized or possessed in their own right, or any other in trust for them, or to their use, or which at any time heretofore were given and granted, allotted, assigned or distributed, deposed, or conveyed to them or any of them, or any other in trust for them or any of them, or to any person or persons claiming by,

from, or under them, or any of them, in satisfaction of any adventures, or arrears due unto them or any of them; or for any other recompence or reward whatsoever, but the same and every of them shall be, and are hereby vested and settled in and upon his royal highness James, duke of York and Albany, earl of Ulster, &c. to have and to hold to his said highness, his heirs and assigns, &c.”

“ Let all the world judge of the validity of such a title: I am mistaken if any court of justice in the universe will admit it pleadable, even in favour of a second or third descent, unless where the parties themselves (as in this case) are judges; since *nemo potest plus juris in alium transferre, quam ipse habet*....

“ I pass by those many other courtiers of less note, who, tasting his majesty's favours, wanted not their shares in these spoils through the artifice of the prime minister, who resolved by these means to rise and strengthen enemies to a nation he designed the destruction of; and that by engaging so unexceptionable a person as his royal highness, &c. to partake of the plunder, the interest might be the better supported, his own violation of justice, and his friends usurpations might appear less horrid or barefaced, to all such as were no sufferers by it, and therefore would not enquire farther into the matter, stuck at nothing to attain his end.

“ These are the odious ways and methods, by which the unpitied, though deserving Irish, are precluded from the very hopes of ever being

restored to their inheritance. And can any benefit be expected from what the adventurers and soldiers are required to refund, in favour of the poor Irish, who were actually decreed innocent, when the court swallows all the stock of reprisal, by its daily exorbitant grants thereof?....

“ It will, I fancy, be a paradox to posterity, that the Irish, after having often taken arms, should again be restored by the favour of kings, originally English; and must now be exterminated for ever by a prince, lineally descended from Fergusius, one of the princes of the blood-royal of their own country; and by a prince too under much greater obligation to them, than any that ever swayed the sceptre of the English monarchy; and yet in this very prince’s reign, notwithstanding all his high endowments, and his innate royal intention to do justice, we see so many thousand innocent victims sacrificed unheard, by the artifice of others; while a general act of indemnity is granted to all criminals, even some of the murderers of his royal father not excepted. These are matters of fact, that, in our days cannot be denied: but will hardly gain credit in future ages; since no history, before our time, can shew any thing like it; and that I believe from the beginning of the creation to the world’s end, no Christian country governed by any that professes christianity, will be able to produce such another example.

“ The cruelest and most bloody tyrants that ever lived, those monsters of nature, who were cut out for the ruin and destruction of mankind,

never used their old friends so ill, as to throw them quite out of all, to place their newly-reconciled enemies in their room.

“ Now will any man believe, who has not seen it with his eyes, that in the reign of so good and gracious a prince, who at the same time that he protects the nobility and gentry of England in their splendour and greatness, the people in their rights and liberties, the weak from the oppression of the strong, and all from the furious insults of the mob, and commands an impartial administration of justice to be made throughout so vast and flourishing a kingdom, without distinction of persons: his ministers turn all upside-down in Ireland, plunder the gentry, condemn the guiltless, stop the mouths and smother the complaints of orphans and widows who cry to heaven for relief, and make them perish with cold and hunger: while they ratify the unjustifiable extortions of usurpers, violate public faith, suppress virtue, countenance vice, make loyalty pass for treason, and give large rewards to the most notorious rebels and traitors that ever betrayed and murdered their king.

“ And has not this very minister been often heard to say, with a disdainful, passionate air, the Irish deserve to be ruined, and quite rooted; and at the same time swear bitterly, after this usual manner, that he would utterly destroy them; and that to abolish their very names, he would so far pursue their ruin, as not to spare their breast-sucking children. Good God! what a declaration of malice and hatred? And how unbecoming

one pretending to believe in Christ, and bearing the character of a chancellor? Surely he must either be unacquainted with, or very little regard, that commandment of God, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’.....

“ This proud Hamon, in confederacy with the rest, who no less thirsted after wealth and vast estates, for themselves and their children, made no scruple, in order to gratify their insatiable appetites, and in contempt of all that was sacred and just, to strike at a total extirpation of all that should bear the name of an Irishman; and was at the eve of executing his wicked purpose and fulfilling his unchristian oath, when the just hand of heaven thought fit to mortify his soul, by lowering his mighty power, and measuring unto him as he would have measured unto others.

“ I will not undertake to justify their first rising, though I have seen a Latin treatise, proving the lawfulness of it, from an unavoidable necessity of self-preservation, in defence of their lives, religion, and the entire overthrow of the whole kingdom, long before aimed at; and meditated by the restless undermining English and Scotch presbyterians, who, at the same time, no less longed for, and pushed at the dethroning and murdering of the king, and the total subversion of the whole monarchy, as by too tragical an experience the world has more than seen; for I’ll never excuse any subject living under a lawful government, to take arms on any pretence whatsoever, without express leave, or order from the supreme lawful governor. Yet I’ll maintain

that, in that insurrection, as cruel, and as barbarous as some have taken no small pains to paint it, and others (even many good and well meaning men and women) for want of true information, and disposed besides to believe always the worst of that nation, as greedily believed it: there died six times more catholics than protestants; and that not only from a most strict impartial enquiry made into the matter of fact, and from public records still in being, which verify the same; but because the most part of the protestants lived at that time, within the walled towns, cities, castles and places of strength of the kingdom, which secured them from all insults of the people; and as for those, who lived in the country, and for whom there was most to fear, they either retired into the towns and garrisons in the beginning of the troubles, and there dwelt with the rest, all the time of the war, or fled into England, or Scotland; so that very few were lost, except what were surprised in the first heat.

“ But with the catholics it was quite otherwise: they were exposed on all sides to the fury of their merciless enemies, and massacred for the space of twelve years together; but as they were slaughtered like so many sheep, without pity, the effusion of their blood made no noise, at least in England, where the very name of an Irishman, whether of English or old Irish extraction, is alone a crime, without considering that they are our fellow-christians and subjects, and perhaps no less deserving all our esteem and justice. Whereas the loss of one protestant, who had but

the misfortune to fall, even in the beginning of the confusion, was multiplied to a hundred; and thousand republicans made it their industrious care and business to repeat, like so many echoes, the cruelties and massacres of the Irish against their protestant party there; not so much out of love and compassion to the sufferers, as for more hidden and pernicious ends, viz. to defame and blacken the king, to whom, by a more than diabolical malice, they attributed all the pretended murders committed on the protestants in that kingdom; and by that means, and other such calumnies, animate the people against him; so that by this artifice they murdered him in the hearts and affections of his subjects, by stifling therein all sentiments of respect and duty long before they brought him to the block."

The public have been so long accustomed to spurious history, false representations, and calumnious tales, of this nation, that truth, at its first appearance, looks to them as a suspicious stranger, decked in party colours; insomuch, that a reverend friend of mine, of the ancient creed and race, told me, one day, with a smile, "Taaffe, you are very partial." To liberate myself and the history from so unwarrantable an imputation, I shall adduce two authorities, in exact unison, in their statement of the opposite parties, both above all suspicion of partiality. Thus our celebrated countryman, Dr. Jonathan Swift.

"Those insurrections wherewith the catholics are charged from the beginning of the seventeenth

century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison or betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary: they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth."

"The catholics of Ireland in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king; the schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for life, and overturned the whole antient frame of government, religious and civil, obtained grants of those very estates which the catholics lost in defence of the antient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics; and thus they gained by their rebellion what the catholics lost by their loyalty."*

* Swift's Works.

“ It will be difficult, to persuade those who were not eye-witnesses of the fact, that the royal authority of a christian king, which in one part of his dominions maintained the peer in his dignity, the commoner in his birth-right and liberty; which protected the weak from the oppression of the mighty, and secured the nobility from the insolence of the people; and by which, equal and impartial justice was distributed to all; should at the same time, be made use of, in another part of his dominions, to condemn innocents before they were heard, to confirm unlawful and usurped possessions, to violate the public faith, to punish virtue, and countenance vice, to hold loyalty a crime, and treason worthy of reward; in a word, to exempt so many thousands of faithful and deserving subjects, from a general pardon, which, by a mercy altogether extraordinary, was extended to some of the murderers of his royal father !”*

In their deplorable situation, the catholics of Ireland excited the compassion of Louis XIV., and he wrote in their behalf to Charles, as follows. “ Most high, most excellent, and most potent prince, our dear and well beloved brother and cousin, at the same time that we have been told of your majesty’s great goodness towards your subjects, and the precedent you have given of an extraordinary clemency, in granting them your general amnesty (some few only excepted of those whom the blood of their king, and that of his people, cry loud to heaven for revenge against)

* Sale and settlement of Ireland.

we could not but let your majesty know, that we were extremely surprised to hear, that the catholics of Ireland were excluded from that act of oblivion, and by that means put into the number of the most criminal. This news has so much the more excited our compassion towards them, that we have been informed, that in all the changes which have hitherto happened in your dominions, and in the almost general defection of your subjects, none stood more constant to their lawful sovereign, even in the greatest straits, than the catholics; so that, if they are now branded for their religion, it may be said for their honour, that, in times past, none could be found readier or more chearfully disposed than they, to serve and assist their prince; and that with so much ardour, that their zeal then for the royal family was reckoned a certain mark of their true religion. Its for that reason that we now become their intercessors to you; for otherwise, had they failed in the fidelity they owe you, instead of interceding for them, we would join with you in using them with all imaginable rigour; and it would never come into our thoughts to concern ourselves, as we do, for the catholics of Ireland, though we are obliged to it, by the last treaty of peace made with the marquis of Ormond, and which was granted to them by our mediation. And as we are well assured, that since the conclusion of that peace, they have done nothing which can be called a failure of their duty to you, we find ourselves under so much the greater obligation to conjure you to make good that

treaty to them, in that they religiously observed it on their side in all its parts; and to beseech you not to suffer that either the hatred, which an immoderate zeal swells some bigoted sectarists with, nor the unlucky spoils of these poor people, render criminal or miserable the most faithful of your subjects, to whom their lawful king, as you are, is not the less dear, nor less respected, because of a different belief from theirs. We propose nothing to ourselves in this, nor ask any thing but what we daily practice (as you may know) towards those of our subjects who are of the pretended reformed religion. And as we have commanded the *Sieur marquis de Rouvigny* to explain our sentiments on this subject more amply to you, be pleased to give him a favourable audience; and above all things be persuaded that in this affair we have no less your own true interest in view, than what natural reason and equity requires, and that our sincere friendship for you, is the principal motive of this request. Dated at Paris, the 7th of September, 1660."

The intercession of the most powerful monarch in Christendom had no effect. How could it be expected, since the fear of God, regard for his own reputation, the faith of treaties, the awful responsibility of a king for the discharge of his duty towards his subjects, confessed by himself to have been most loyal, and to have endured heavy calamities for his cause, could not move him? Unfortunate Irish! it was not enough that they were consumed by war, plague and famine, so many years, and slaughtered unmercifully by

the regicide faction; but the very family, for whom they suffered, conspired with their enemies, and shared their spoils. The instigators, the promoters of the whole mischief, the real rebels, the unfeeling murderers and robbers, were rewarded with the estates of brave but unwise Irish loyalists.

While suffering Irish catholics remained passive, groaning under mountains of unequalled misfortunes, the rebels, pampered with their spoils, were not so harmless. The insatiable crew, not yet content with all they got, conspired anew. Upon the restoring of a few innocents, legally adjudged such, "they conceived such resentment against the government, for not having divided the spoil of the whole nation among them, that they entered into two dangerous conspiracies on that account; first, in 1622,* to surprise the castle of Dublin, and afterwards in 1665, for a more desperate purpose. For, at this latter period, there was a general design con-

* "The duke of Ormond, in order to quiet the fears of these rebellious sectaries, in a letter to the speaker of the Irish commons, March 9th, 1662, very pertinently reminds them, "that the support and security of a true protestant English interest, was the earnest desire of his majesty, and the assiduous endeavour of him his servant, would clearly appear, when it should be considered, how the council and parliament were composed; and withal if it be remembered of whom the army consisted; who were in judicature in the king's courts; who were appointed by his majesty for executing the act of settlement, and who were in magistracy in the towns and counties; in which trusts, adds he, is founded the security, interests, and preference of a people."—Com. Jour. vol. ii. f. 299.

certed in England, Ireland and Scotland, to rise at one time, and to set up the long parliament, of which above forty members were engaged. Measures had been taken to gather together the disbanded soldiers of the old Cromwellian army; and Ludlow was to be general-in-chief. 'They were to rise all in one night, and to spare none that would not join in the design; which was to pull down the king, with the house of lords; and, instead of bishops, to set up a sober and painful ministry. Vast sums of money were levied for the carrying on this conspiracy, and they had corrupted the most part of the soldiers that were in freeholds; these freeholds they were to surprise, and to put all that opposed them to the sword.'* In these conspiracies several presbyterian ministers, and seven members of the Irish parliament, were found to be engaged. The prisons of Dublin were crowded with these ministers, and the members of parliament were ignominiously expelled.

Having now established an English protestant interest on the lands of almost all the former proprietors, whether of English or Milesian race; having left the most of them destitute of habitations, of the implements of husbandry, manufactures, and all materials of commerce, except the export of cattle, hides, wool, in a word, provisions, and the crude materials of manufactures; would not one fancy, that this poor resource, of a desolate, impoverished people, would not be grudged to them? Yet it was. A voucher shall

* Orrery's State Letters.

come forward to attest this truth, unimpeachable with partiality for Ireland.

“ Scarcely had the act of explanation passed, in 1666, when the English commons seemed to envy that prosperity of the subjects of Ireland, which the settlement of this kingdom promised; and, notwithstanding all the solicitude expressed for the interests of a new colony of their fellow-subjects, resolved on a measure calculated at once to mortify and distress them.

“ It was found, that the rents of England had of late years decreased to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds annually. The causes of this alarming decrease were, many of them, sufficiently obvious. Persecution had driven numbers of industrious puritans to Holland and the American plantations; the trade with Spain had been diminished and interrupted; a ruinous commerce carried on with France, in which the balance against England amounted to near a million yearly. The war with Holland had produced new obstructions to trade. The plague had lessened the consumption of provisions; and even the gaiety and dissipation of the court had contributed to the public distress, by seducing the nobility to London, and suppressing the old hospitality of the country. But the interested views of some great men, who wished to embarrass the administration of Ormond, and to drive him from the government of Ireland, conspired with that disposition which the English nation hath at some times discovered, of exerting a severity over the inferiour members of their empire, and

taught the commons to ascribe the decrease of rents to another cause, the importation of Irish cattle. The annual value of the cattle sent to England, was far short of the deficiency discovered in the value of lands; and, before the troubles of England, far greater numbers had been imported without any complaints, or any decrease of rents: yet the English commons, in a violent, and most unaccountable rage of oppression, had no leisure to attend to such considerations. So early as the year 1663, they had passed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the first day of July in every year. The inconveniences of this restraint to both countries, were represented in the strongest terms to the king. But in proportion as he seemed convinced of the impropriety of this measure, the commons were the more enflamed. In the parliament held at Oxford, in the year 1665, a bill was brought in for a perpetual prohibition of importing all cattle from Ireland, dead or alive, great or small, fat or lean.

“ In vain did Sir Heneage Finch oppose the bill, by arguments drawn from natural justice; from the rights of Englishmen, to which the subjects of Ireland were entitled; from the misery to which it must reduce the whole kingdom of Ireland; from the mischiefs which must arise from forcing the Irish to trade with other countries. In vain was it urged, that the bill would destroy a trade highly advantageous to England, which, in return for provisions and rude materials,

sent back every species of manufacture; that the industrious inhabitants of England, when deprived of Irish provisions, must augment the price of labour, and thus render their manufactures too dear to be exported; while those of Ireland, finding the value of provisions reduced, would be the less inclined to labour, and in danger of falling into the ancient barbarism of the country; that they could not pay taxes, nor maintain the forces necessary for the security of government: all these, and other powerful arguments, were totally disregarded. Some gentlemen of Ireland appeared in behalf of their country, but were refused a copy of the bill. It passed the commons by a small majority. In the lords it was opposed, particularly by the earl of Castlehaven. Sir William Petty was heard before their committee, and pleaded the cause of a country, in which, by his abilities and diligence, he had acquired a considerable interest. The report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued.

“ In the mean time, Ireland experienced the greatest distress; deprived of its usual trade with England, and disabled from any foreign commerce by the want of shipping, and the war with France and Holland.”*

The malignity of the English towards the Irish, at this period, was so unbounded, that a bounty, sent from their Irish colonists, for the relief of those who suffered by the dreadful fire of London, was ill received and misinterpreted. Nay, it was so deep-rooted, even in the higher circles,

* Leland.

that the experience of the bad effects of the prohibition on the import of Irish cattle, could not soften or allay it. This infernal temper was violently exhibited, in the conduct of both houses of parliament, on introducing, debating, and passing, a still severer prohibitory act against cattle. The very wording of the bill was not a bare act of inhuman oppression, but coupled with national insult.

“ The experience of three years had now proved the effects of restraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. The rents of England had not increased; Ireland was so reduced as to be unable to pay the subsidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale, and their party, had already vowed the destruction of the chancellor, and hated his friend Ormond, whose views and principles were so opposite to their own, and whose influence was a dangerous obstacle to that scheme of power which they meditated. Discontents were to be raised in Ireland; these might afford some pretence for removing their rival from his government; perhaps, some plausible ground for an impeachment. The passions of undiscerning men were easily enflamed. People were in general persuaded, that all their distress arose from the importation of Irish cattle; the northern and western members of the commons in particular, were transported to the utmost violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly resumed.

“ The king had expressed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and passionately declared, that it

never should receive his consent. The commons, on whom he depended for the maintenance of his war, were the more determined to mortify him with a full conviction of their superiour power; by declaring in the preamble of the bill, that the importation of Irish cattle was a NUSANCE, they precluded him from attempting any dispensing power in favour of the Irish subjects. They passed the bill in a rage of obstinacy, without the least attention to argument or reason. In the lords it was amended, particularly by inserting the words "detriment and mischief," in the place of "nulance." When returned to the commons, their violence seemed to be suddenly allayed. Intelligence was received of an insurrection in Scotland; they began to discern some danger in exasperating Ireland; but the insurrection was quelled, and Ireland was again deemed insignificant. They insisted on their preamble; and, in a conference between the committees of both houses, neither seemed disposed to recede. Ashley, with an affected moderation, proposed, that instead of calling the importation a nuisance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor suggested an amendment equally reasonable, and observed, that it might as properly be declared, "adultery."

"Through the whole proceedings on this bill the lords carried on their debates with all the violence of men contending for their lives, with a shameful contempt of the order and dignity of their house. The duke of Buckingham, with all the plebeian meanness of national reflection;

exclaimed, "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." This produced a challenge from lord Ossory, the admired and popular son of the duke of Ormond, which Buckingham declined to accept, chusing rather to complain to the house; and Ossory was sent to the Tower. The young earl was not dismayed. When Ashley inveighed against the Irish subscription, and all concerned in promoting it, Ossory observed, that "such virulence became none but one of Cromwell's counsellors." The partizans on each side caught the flame, and several lords seemed on the point of drawing the sword against each other. The commons apparently less enflamed, but inflexibly determined, refused to alter their preamble. Rather than resign their favourite expression, they resolved to give up the bill, and to introduce it without any amendments as a proviso to the bill of assessments. They even offered to the lords interested in Irish estates, that if they would consent to their preamble, a year's liberty should be given for the importation of cattle. The king was alarmed at this obstinacy, and the danger of losing his supplies. He directed his servants in the house of lords to consent to the word "nuisance;" and thus decided the fate of this bill. In giving it the royal assent, he could not forbear expressing his resentment at the jealousy conceived against him.

"The English nation soon felt the disadvantages of an act, which wantonly put an end to an advantageous commerce. Discerning men saw

the happy consequences which it must, in time, produce to Ireland. For the present, however, the Irish subjects were cast into despair.”*

Ireland, thus reduced to the extremity of distress; struggling with adversity, like the crew of a shipwrecked vessel on a desert island, found some relief from the chiefest planner and author of its ruin. Ormond, having reached the summit of his ambition, being created duke of Ormond, count palatine of Tipperary, with all royalties therein, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, was interested, more than any man, to give value to a soil, of which he occupied such vast scopes. Historical justice requires, that whatever good he did might be related, as well as the injuries he did.

“All commerce was now interrupted, an. 1667; war made it necessary to guard against invasion; subsidies were due, but no money could be found. Ormond thought it both necessary and convenient to accept part of these subsidies in provisions, consulting at once the king’s service and the ease of his distressed subjects. Nor was the king ill-disposed to alleviate the present difficulties of Ireland. With the consent of his council, obtained not without some reluctance, he, by an act of state, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majesty. He permitted the Irish at the same time, to retaliate on the Scots, who, copying from England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen ma-

* Leland.

nufactures, stockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland.

“ The exportation of Irish wool was prohibited by law, except to England by particular licence of the chief governour. Yet, in the order of council for free importation, wool was not excepted. The lords who had contended for the most unreasonable restraints on Ireland, and were declared enemies to Ormond, admitted in their debates, that wool should be included in the exportable articles. Such was their ignorance of the affairs of this kingdom, and such their inattention to the interests of England. Ormond suspected that some snare was laid, and some pretence sought for a future accusation, should he take too great liberties in an affair so delicate. Wool was not mentioned in the proclamation, nor would he consent to grant particular licences for exporting it. The Irish, forced by a necessity, which breaks through all laws and restraints, conveyed their wool by stealth to foreign countries, and have experienced the advantages of this clandestine commerce.

“ But the most effectual measure which the Irish subjects could pursue to elude the violence of an oppressive law, was that of applying themselves to manufactures, and working up their own commodities; and in this they were countenanced and encouraged by the noble spirit of their chief governour.

“ Men of abilities and knowledge in commerce were encouraged to suggest their schemes for

promoting industry, and preventing the necessity of foreign importations. Sir Peter Pett presented a memorial to the duke of Ormond, for erecting a manufacture of woollen cloth, which might at least furnish a sufficient quantity for home consumption. He chiefly recommended the making fine worsted stockings, and Norwich stuffs, which might not only keep money in the country, but be so improved, as to bring considerable sums from abroad. He offered to procure workmen from Norwich: the council of trade, lately established in Ireland, approved of his proposal; the duke of Ormond encouraged it, and erected the manufacture at Clonmel, the capital of his county-palatine of Tipperary. To supply the scarcity of workmen, Grant (a man well known by his observations on the bills of mortality) was employed to procure five hundred Walloon protestant families from Canterbury to remove to Ireland. At the same time, colonel Richard Lawrence, another ingenious projector, was encouraged to promote the business of combing wool, and making frizes. A manufacture of this kind was established at Carrick, a town belonging to the duke.

“ But of all such schemes of national improvement, that of a linen manufacture was most acceptable to Ormond. He possessed himself with the noble ambition of imitating the earl of Strafford in the most honourable part of his conduct, and opening a source of public wealth and prosperity, which the troubles and disorders of Ireland had stopped. An act of parliament was

passed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. Ormond was at the charge of sending skilful persons to the Low Countries, to make observations on the state of this trade, the manner of working, the way of whitening their thread, the regulations of their manufacture, and management of their grounds, and to contract with some of their most experienced artists. He engaged Sir William Temple to send to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, skilled in manufacturing linen; others were procured from Rochelle and the isle of Rè, from Jersey and the neighbouring parts of France. Convenient tenements were prepared for the artificers at Chapel-Izod, near Dublin, where cordage, sail-cloth, ticken, linen, and diaper, were brought to a considerable degree of perfection. Such cares reflect real honour on the governor, who thus laboured to promote the happiness of the nation, and should be recorded with pleasure and gratitude, however we may be captivated by the more glaring objects of history.”*

The torpedo of this indolent reign was sometimes roused by the struggles of a faction to exclude the duke of York from the succession. Their greatest effort was Oates’s plot, planned and conducted by Shaftsbury, of which Titus Oates was the able and infamous instrument. The unprincipled and infamous machinery of false witnesses, perjuries, alarm and public delusion, employed on that occasion, belongs more properly to the history of England. However,

* Leland.

as this country feels more or less the effects of all convulsions there, the plotters endeavoured to extend their operations to Ireland. A little reflection made it appear absurd, that a popish plot should be confined to England, where there was but one papist for fifty protestants; and that nothing about it should be heard from Ireland, where there were as many catholics for one protestant. The plotters, therefore, resolved to procure auxiliaries from Ireland; "men," as Ormond said, "who thought better to live as king's evidence, than by cow-stealing, with bad English, and worse cloaths; who, as they wanted honesty to swear truly, wanted wit to swear probably." The duke of Ormond, in possession of a princely, or rather regal fortune, and having no further interest in the disturbance of his country, used all his credit and influence to counteract the fraud; and was so successful, that only one illustrious victim fell, archbishop Plunket: the account of which, to steer clear of partiality, is taken from Leland.

"Oliver Plunket, the popish archbishop of Armagh, succeeded Reily in this station; and, during the government of lord Essex, lived quietly in Ireland, recommending a peaceable submission to government, and expressing his abhorrence of all political intrigues. He even exerted his spiritual authority to restrain the turbulent temper of Peter Talbot, and to confine him within the duties of his profession. But some of the inferiors of his clergy, men of lewd lives and brutal manners, were provoked by his cen-

tures and correction, and formed the design of accusing him. He was conveyed to London; but, as these evidences had neither honesty to swear the truth, nor sense to devise a consistent tale, their first attempt was defeated. The jury, even in these days of passionate credulity, could not find a bill against Plunket. But the informers gained some accomplices, they framed their accusation a-new, and made another attack. Plunket was accused of obtaining his title and station for the purpose, and on an express compact, of raising seventy thousand men in Ireland by the contributions of the popish clergy, whose whole revenues could not equip a single regiment. This formidable body of insurgents was destined to join twenty thousand men to be furnished by France, and who were to make their descent at the port of Carlingford, a place the most inconvenient, and even impossible for the purpose. The witnesses of Plunket were detained by contrary winds, and other untoward accidents; so that he had little to urge against his accusers, but the improbability of their evidence, and solemn asseverations of his own innocence. The wretched man was condemned, and executed for a plot which he explicitly denied at his death, with the most solemn disavowal of all equivocation; and which, if he had confessed, no man at all acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland (as he pertinently observed) could have given the least credit to his dying confession."

Charles II., in the latter period of his reign, hitherto a votary of pleasure, began to feel the

monitions of conscience, and the return of his earliest religious impressions. His outward profession of the protestant religion, to whose injunctions he little attended, was mere dissimulation, a practice not uncommon with libertines; but he secretly returned to the catholic faith. This revival of his religious sentiments naturally awoke scruples, not only for his personal sins, but also his public transgressions, as sovereign. His ingratitude and injustice to the confederate catholics of Ireland, the most loyal of his subjects, whom he oppressed and despoiled in such manner as if he were the heir and executor of Cromwell's will, struck him with remorse. He was preparing some measures, to alleviate the distress of these suffering loyalists, when death snatched him away. His brother, James, duke of York, more honest and open, but incautious and precipitate, ascended the throne, an. 1684.

During the three preceding reigns, extermination in every shape, by fire, sword, famine, and pestilence, had swept away the people, and desolated the land. The intervals of peace were not free from their calamities; if that can be called a state of peace, whilst Irish catholics were sorely persecuted for their religion, and plundered of their estates by royal authority. Was it not natural for people, in such miserable, desponding plight, to rejoice at the accession of a prince of their own religion; from whose zeal for the catholic faith, and known integrity, not only toleration, but some graces and favours, might be expected, in consideration of their tried loyalty

and long sufferings for his family? How warped are the understandings of those writers, who tax the catholics with insolent demonstrations of joy and triumph on that occasion? Must the catholic be void of common human feelings, which are joy and gladness at the prospect of relief from great distress, or escape from imminent danger? Were the protestants less insolent in their demonstrations of joy at the revolution? But, unfortunate Irish, their joy was of short duration. The star of that house had a malignant and fatal influence on the affairs of Ireland; whether an enemy, as the preceding three, or a friend, as this fourth of that race who wore the diadem. James sincerely wished to repair the wrongs done the Irish by his brother, as far as lay in his power; but, by his precipitate, ill-advised measures, he altered their situation from bad to worse. His measures, considered in the abstract, were just and rational. Yes; but circumstances must be weighed, the temper of the public mind, the state of parties, and foreign relations. Oates's plot, and the many other attempts made to exclude him from the succession, should have convinced him, that a powerful faction of his secret enemies still existed in England; ~~that the~~ spirit of fanaticism and puritanism was not as yet extinct; and that the great majority of his English subjects, utterly abhorring papists and Irishmen, would become ripe for rebellion on any favours granted to them. It was reasonable and worthy of a just prince, to reward the loyalty of his catholic subjects, and hasten to relieve their dis-

treachery. To correct the wicked and profligate encouragement to treason and rebellion, and discouragement to loyalty, decreed by his brother, in repealing the infamous acts of settlement and explanation, would appear the natural interest of monarchy; an acceptable oblation to every crowned head, and pleadable at every bar of justice. But recourse to reason and justice, in dealing with the opposite faction, left in possession and power by his predecessor, was to argue cases of conscience with hungry wolves and ravenous tygers. To restore catholics to the state they were in before the great rebellion of England, to civil franchises and privileges, of which they were deprived by the rebel enemies of church and state, would be the natural retribution to their loyalty. But such measures should have been preceded by adequate preparations for war; as every indulgence to catholics roused the apprehensions of protestants for usurped power and plundered estates; the more suspicious and vigilant, as their title to both was illegal and unconstitutional. "Even the rumours of changes and appointments were sufficient to alarm the English protestants. Traders sold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery, and a total confusion of property."*

It would be hard to determine, whether the indiscretion of the king, or of the Irish, in rousing the alarm and resentment of the vigilant dragons, was most inexcusable. "The Irish,

* Leland.

instead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favour, seemed rather solicitous to augment the terrors of their rivals. They boasted their correspondence with Whitehall, and their intelligence of every purpose of their favourite monarch. They talked with confidence of alterations to be made in the army; they whispered their expectations of some extraordinary changes in ecclesiastical affairs. The archbishoprick of Cashel was vacant, nor could the king be persuaded to fill it up. The popish clergy did not scruple to report that he had written to the pope to nominate a new archbishop. And, although this seems to have been the mere suggestion of their vanity, yet it soon appeared that the revenue of this, and other vacant sees, were reserved for the maintenance of the popish bishops. Orders were issued by the king's command that the catholic clergy should not be molested in the exercise of their functions; and these were soon followed by a notification of the royal pleasure, that their prelates should appear publicly in the habit of their order. The protestant clergy were prohibited from treating of controversial points in the pulpit. In this particular their conduct was strictly watched; and whoever presumed to glance the slightest reflection on popery, was instantly delated to the king, and marked as disaffected and seditious.

“ To encrease that gloom now evidently impressed on every protestant, the earl of Tyrconnel arrived in Ireland with power to command and regulate the army, independent of the lord lieu-

tenant, with particular orders for the admission of Roman catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of sheriffs and justices of the peace, and with a number of new military commissions, whereby the old protestant officers were suspended, and the worst and meanest of the catholic party substituted in their place. His natural violence was enflamed by the extravagant adulations with which the popish party received their patron and protector, and prompted him to the most insolent and contemptuous treatment of the lord lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of settlement, of misconduct in the whole administration of Ireland, of the baseness and disloyalty of particular persons. He proceeded to execute the king's commands with furious impatience: officers and private men were dismissed from the army, without any plausible cause assigned, frequently with abuse and contumely, sometimes with injustice and cruelty. Their places were supplied by Irish catholics; and, in all preferments, those Irish only were taken in, who entertained the highest notions of the authority of the pope. The vulgar, in their astonishing ignorance, when they had taken the oath of fidelity, imagined that they had sworn fidelity to the pope and their religion, and declared that their priests had forbidden them to take any other oath.

“The king's instructions to Tyrconnel implied no more than that all subjects indiscriminately should be admitted to serve his majesty, without regard to their religious principles; but this

lord issued strict orders that none but catholics should be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon was offended, and remonstrated against a conduct which must enflame the jealousies already raised amongst the king's subjects. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanness to deny his own orders. But lord Roscommon, with the spirit of a soldier, asserted to his face, that he and other officers had received these orders from him in terms the most peremptory and explicit.

“ The bolder and more violent of the popish party declared, that in a few months not one protestant would be left in the army; and now that they had gotten arms, they would speedily regain their lands. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants against paying any rent to their English landlords; and, with the same insolence, some popish clergy forbade the people to pay tythes to protestant incumbents. . . . Heads of a bill were framed, with a plausible semblance of relieving the distressed and injured Irish, which unhinged the whole settlement of Ireland, and gave the king power over the greater part of its lands. Rice was commissioned to lay this favourite scheme before the English council, and Nugent obtruded himself as his colleague. They were received coldly by the ministers; but James, without any previous conference with the cabinet, where he apprehended some opposition, introduced their scheme to the privy-council, declaring warmly against the iniquity of the acts of settlement. To those who yet retained a regard

to the interests of their kinsmen and countrymen, it appeared at first view so violent and dangerous, that the agents were with difficulty admitted to be heard. And however plausibly Rice supported his project, the weakness and futility of Nugent rendered it contemptible. They were insulted even in the royal presence, and dismissed with disgrace. The populace were soon informed of their ill-success; they attended them with potatoes elevated on poles, and roared out in scorn, "Room for the Irish ambassadors!" Such are the general accounts of this transaction. Sunderland, in his apology, claims the merit of their disappointment; and declares, that he rejected a bribe of forty thousand pounds offered for his support of this project."*

These proceedings were entirely rash and precipitate. Strong, well disciplined, and well appointed armies, should be at hand to support its execution, even if carried. The insults of the London mob, to the bearers of the Irish petition, are characteristic of their national brutality; delighting to gall and fret the victims of their tyrannic oppression, by reproaching them with the poverty malignantly inflicted on the tenants of a land more fertile than their own. The disappointment of the catholic loyalists, on this occasion, was but measure for measure, though the retaliation came not from the injured; for the confederates of Kilkenny scouted a similar petition from the remains of the illustrious northern families, perfidiously and tyrannically di-

* Leland.

vested of their patrimonies by the grandfather of James II.

I like to remind every reader of these visible demonstrations of retributive justice, and sovereign intelligence, directing the destiny of nations and families; and verifying the gospel precept, "the measure which you measure unto others, the same shall be measured unto you." The fall of the house of Stuart is another striking instance of this.

While James was incautiously and improvidently endeavouring to redress the wrongs of his catholic Irish subjects, he was not aware of the plots, concerted between the prince of Orange and his protestant subjects, to dethrone him. Wonderful indeed it must seem, at the present day, that a king of England could be unacquainted with the naval armaments, and warlike preparations, carried on in a country so contiguous, and connected by commercial intercourse, political and family relations, as Holland, and all Europe knew the design of which he remained ignorant. Beset by the spies and tools of his son-in-law, he was totally kept in the dark, with regard to the plans and operations of his enemies. Warned by Louis XIV. and by Tyrconnel, viceroy of Ireland, of the impending invasion from Holland; lulled into a fatal security, by the false protestations of his nephew and son-in-law, Orange; and the treacherous assurances of Sunderland, and other traitorous ministers, he disregarded every warning, until overtaken by the storm, when he was not prepared to avert it. Never was

a monarch so unfortunate, in all his friends, connexions and servants. Invaded by his nephew and son-in-law, William; deceived and betrayed by his children, his brother-in-law, his ministers and favourites. Dismayed at this unexpected invasion, of one of his nearest kindred; the defection of those, in whom he might naturally repose confidence, he fled into France, with his family.

It is worthy of observation, that the only part of this kingdom, which revolted against the house of Stuart, were the English and Scotch planters, whom that unfortunate and dishonest family enriched with the spoils of the loyal Irish.

Anonymous letters and plots, have been serviceable engines to the designs of this party; and accordingly, on this occasion, "a letter was addressed by an unknown person to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warning him of a general massacre intended by the Irish. The style was mean and vulgar; nor was the information on that account less plausible: it was confident and circumstantial, and pointed out Sunday the ninth day of December, as the precise time when this bloody design was to be executed, without distinction of sex, age, or condition. The like intelligence was conveyed to some other gentlemen of the northern province. And whether these letters were the contrivance of artifice, or the effect of credulity, their influence was wonderful. Men habitually possessed with horror of Irish barbarity, who in the very scene of all the sufferings of their fathers, had listened from their infancy to hideous narratives

of the insurrection in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, who were now exposed to the insolence and violence of the Irish, and ready to catch the alarm at the least appearance of commotion, could not hesitate a moment to give credit to these informations. They were confirmed by some suspicious circumstances. Popish priests had announced to their congregations what they called "a secret intention," and enjoined them to stand ready armed to obey their orders. It was remembered, that a friar at Derry had preached with unusual energy on the subject of Saul's destroying the Amalekites, and the iniquity of sparing those whom divine vengeance had devoted to destruction. Lord Mount Alexander's letter was instantly sent to Dublin; copies multiplied; the intelligence was conveyed through all orders of men. In a moment the capital became a scene of uproar and confusion; the guards of the lord deputy stood astonished; the castle bridge was drawn up, while a tumultuous crowd of men, women, and children, ran precipitately to the shore, imploring to be conveyed away from the daggers of the Irish. In vain did Tyrconnel dispatch two lords to assure them of security and protection; their remonstrances were drowned in clamour, shrieking, and wailing. An unusual number of vessels lay in the harbour; the people crowded them in an extacy of terror and impatience, leaving their less successful friends stupified with expectation of the fatal blow.

"The dreadful intelligence was soon con-

veyed to every part of Ireland. In some places it was received on the very day assigned for the massacre. The people started suddenly from their devotions, fled astonished, propagated the panic, and thus swelled the crowds of fugitives; some gained the coast, and were transported to England, others sought shelter in walled towns and protestant settlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Irish plunderers. In the northern counties, where the protestants were most numerous, they collected the arms still left among them, resolving to defend themselves, and already meditating the design of rising against the present government.

“Of all the northern cities, Derry, or Londonderry, (as it was called) afforded principal shelter to the fugitive protestants. Seated on the west side of the lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county called by the same name with the capital: it was surrounded by a firm wall, strengthened by bastions, but was by no means sufficient to sustain the siege of a regular army. On the first alarm of an invasion of England by the prince of Orange, Tyrconnel had recalled the garrison of this city to Dublin. It consisted of a regiment well disciplined and appointed; it was under the command of lord Mountjoy, son of primate Boyle; and being for the most part composed of protestants, was acceptable to the inhabitants. Tyrconnel soon perceived the error of leaving this city to the government of the townsmen, and detached the earl of Antrim’s regiment, consisting entirely

of papists, Irish, and Highlanders, to take their quarters in Derry. A body of twelve hundred men, tall and terrible in their aspect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, at the very moment when the inhabitants received the informations of an intended massacre, and were deliberating on this important intelligence. The proprietor of this village was terrified at the disorder and turbulence of a body, which, in this time of suspicion, seemed rather the instruments of slaughter and barbarity, than the regular forces of government. He instantly dispatched the most alarming accounts to Derry of the number, appearance, and destination of his guests, conjuring the citizens to shut their gates against the barbarous crew. His letter found them already alarmed by the general reports of danger. They were collected in their streets, conferring earnestly, some resolute, some wavering, some wishing to exclude the popish forces without appearing to take part in the attempt. Tomkins and Norman, two aldermen, consulted the bishop: the bishop, cautious from years, and, by his principles, an enemy to resistance, preached peace and submission. Some graver citizens concurred with him; others affected to concur. The troops approached; two of their officers were already in the town to provide quarters; an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the Ferry-gate. In this critical moment, nine young men of the populace, with an enthusiastic ardour, drew their swords;

snatched up the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge, locked the Ferry-gate, were instantly joined by numbers of their own rank, secured the other gates, assembled in the great square, deaf to all timid councils and remonstrances, seized the magazine, and were soon countenanced and applauded by men of better condition. The body of inhabitants caught the same spirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly encreased by a conflux from the neighbouring districts; the magazine afforded them some few arms, and a small quantity of ammunition. Philips of Limavaddy, the man who first encouraged them to this enterprize, was chosen their governour. They threatened to fire on the king's soldiers, and conjured their neighbours to concur with them in defence of their lives, their properties, and religion.

“ To the society of London they transmitted an account of their dangers and proceedings; and Cairnes the most considerable of their party, was commissioned to solicit succours from the prince of Orange. At the same time, their magistrates and graver citizens, anxious for the event of an enterprize commenced under every disadvantage, addressed themselves to lord Mountjoy, and, by his mediation, to Tyrconnel. They set forth their utter inability to restrain the populace, terrified by the rumours of a massacre, and the outrages of the new-raised regiment; ascribing their insurrection to providence, who had stirred them up for their own safety and the public peace, against the wild attempts

of the northern Irish. They declared their resolution to confine themselves entirely to self-defence, without violating their allegiance; at the same time, they represented the vast number of northern protestants who had been driven to take arms from the same fears, and for the same purposes.

“ Tyrconnel, too late, perceived his error in withdrawing his garrison from Derry, and endeavoured to correct it. Lord Mountjoy, and Lundy his lieutenant-colonel, were instantly remanded to Ulster with six companies, and ordered to reduce this city, Mountjoy, a protestant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants; his popish forces they detested. They disclaimed all mutinous and seditious purposes, but still expressed their firm purpose to defend themselves. After various conferences, Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly stipulated, that a free pardon should be granted within fifteen days; that, in the mean time, two companies only should be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted should be formed one half of protestants at least; that until the pardon were received the citizens should keep the guards; and that all should be left at liberty who desired to remove. Tyrconnel had now the mortification of finding the people of Derry assuming the power of purging and modelling his forces, and dismissing and disarming his popish soldiers. Mountjoy assumed the command of their city, and was obeyed as a friend and associate. By his advice the arms were re-

paired, money cheerfully subscribed, ammunition purchased in Scotland, and Cairnes the agent earnestly solicited to procure supplies.

“ The northern protestants beheld the spirit of the men of Derry with a generous emulation. Enniskillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, situated on an island in the narrow part of Lake Erne, and inhabited by a few resolute protestants, refused admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel’s popish army. In Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, parties arose under the direction of Mount-Alexander, Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and other leaders. Their associations were published in the several counties, declaring, that they had united for self-defence and the protestant religion; that they resolved to act in subordination to the government of England, and to promote a free parliament. County councils were nominated, and a general council, to meet at Hillsborough, which appointed officers, and directed the operations of the associated body.”*

To obtain supplies from France, Tyrconnel sent ambassadors, Mountjoy, whose influence he dreaded, and Rice, on whom he relied. On their arrival Mountjoy was committed to the Bastile, while Rice laboured to effect the object of his mission, which the folly of James counteracted. Louvois, prime minister to Louis XIV. proffered ample supplies of men, money and arms, to this unfortunate monarch, with the request, that, commanded by his son, he might have the honor

* Leland.

of preserving one crown for his majesty. This James weakly refused. The friendship of Louvois now changed into an implacable enmity, that he gratified at the destruction of the best interests of his master; the fatal effects of which James amply experienced.

“ The earl of Tyrconnel, lord lieutenant of Ireland, having rejected all the advantageous offers made him by the prince of Orange, and by his firmness retained all the kingdom in obedience, except the northern part, which had declared for the revolution, James resolved to go and join him, and take with him some French general officers. M. de Rosen, lieutenant-general, was given to him, to command the army under Tyrconnel; M. de Momont, major-general, to serve as lieutenant-general; and M. M. de Pussignan and Lery, brigadiers, to be major-generals; Boisselau, a captain in the guards, was sent to be adjutant-general; and L'Estrade, Guidon in the life-guards, to be quarter-master-general of cavalry. In the month of February, he set out for Brest, where his most christian majesty had equipped a squadron of thirty men of war, commanded by M. de Gabaret. When these monarchs took leave of each other, Louis told king James; that the best thing he could wish him was, never to see him again. James set sail with the first favourable wind; but was obliged to return into port, his ship having been run foul of and damaged by another man of war, off Camaret. As soon as the vessel was refitted, he set sail again, and arrived at Kinsale on the

17th of March. Tyrconnel went to meet him at Cork, where he was created a duke. He gave an account of the state of affairs, and of the number of troops he had levied. The people made demonstrations of extraordinary joy in all parts, having never seen a king in the kingdom, since Henry II.

On his arrival in Dublin, addresses poured in upon him from all parts. The protestant clergy he assured of protection and redress. The university he promised to defend, and enlarge its privileges. Five proclamations were issued. The first ordered all protestants, lately left the kingdom, to return, under the severest penalties; and his subjects of every persuason, to unite against the prince of Orange. The second commanded all the catholics, not in the army, to lay up their arms in their places of abode. The third invited the country to carry provisions to his troops. The fourth raised the value of money. The fifth summoned a parliament to meet in Dublin, the 7th of May, 1689.

Gen. Hamilton had previously marched to reduce the north. The duke of Berwick went to his support. Colerain was abandoned on their approach. At Cladiford, on the river Straban, the northerns to the number of ten thousand, attempted to prevent their progress. Part of the bridge was broken down, opposite to which some infantry was posted, well intrenched. Only three hundred and fifty foot, and six hundred horse of the Irish army had come up. The rest were left near Straban. The infantry advanced to the bro-

ken bridge, and by their fire forced them to abandon their intrenchment. At this moment the cavalry swam across, and the infantry, by means of planks, crossed the bridge, took possession of the intrenchment, and fired upon the main body drawn up on a rising ground. Panic struck at this bold action, the northerns took to flight, leaving 400 dead on the field.

The reduction of Derry now became an object of the first importance. To effect it, the presence of James was deemed necessary. Having joined M. de Rosen, he put himself in motion towards St. John's-town, and came before Derry, without apprizing Hamilton of his design, who had summoned the inhabitants to surrender. They had returned an answer, that they would send a deputation in two days to treat with him, but insisted that the troops should not approach nearer than St. John's-town, which Hamilton promised. Seeing the remainder of the army appear before the city, they imagined that there was an intention to surprise them, and that Hamilton had given his promise only with a view of more easily effecting it; so that when James caused them to be summoned, they gave no answer but the fire of their cannon. This caused the Irish army to draw off to some distance, being unprepared for the siege, which they converted into a blockade. James returned to Dublin, to assemble an army to oppose that of William, then expected, under Schomberg.

The command of the besieging army now devolved upon Momont and Hamilton; de Rosen

having accompanied James to Dublin. The besieged prepared for a vigorous defence. Walker, an ecclesiastic, chosen governor, fought and preached alternately. Eighteen clergymen of the established church, seven non-conformist teachers, shared the dangers of the siege, and harangued their flocks. To streighten the garrison, four hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, under Berwick, Hamilton, Momont and Pusignan, occupied Culmore. Three battalions and nine squadrons were posted at St. Johnstown, and four battalions two miles from Derry, on the same side, under the command of brigadier Ramsay. Brigadier Wauchope was on the other side of the river, opposite Derry, with two battalions, some cavalry, and some small field pieces. To occupy Pennibom, a mile from the city, colonel Hamilton and two hundred foot were detached on the 21st of April 1689. The besieged, observing this detachment, sallied out. Fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse advanced. Hamilton took post behind the hedges, and in the houses of Pennibom, and sent for assistance. The cavalry were foraging. Two troops, forty men each, were collected; arrived at the moment the assailants were formed for the attack; instantly charged their cavalry, broke, and pursued it nearly into the town; on which the foot retreated without molestation. Having to sustain the fire of the infantry in their charge, the loss was severe. Momont, major Taaffe, and six or seven, were killed; but not one escaped without himself or his horse being wounded.

The force at Pennibom was now augmented to 500 foot: but on the 25th, about nine in the morning, the besieged made a vigorous sally, with from seven to eight thousand men. The post was nearly forced, when Ramsay's forces arrived, at seven in the evening, attacked the assailants in the rear, and compelled them to return precipitately into the town. The duke of Berwick, and Pointy, a French brigadier, were wounded; and general Pusignan mortally.

Besieging artillery being now expected from Dublin, the Irish army endeavoured to take possession of the most commanding situations for their batteries. With this view Ramsay attacked a windmill, which stood on an eminence within half cannon shot of the city; behind it was a bottom on which he meant to encamp. The post was defended with great bravery; at length the whole town sallying out, he was defeated with considerable loss. Ramsay and 200 of his men were killed, many wounded, and several officers of distinction made prisoners. Apprised of the importance of this post, the mill was covered with an intrenchment, which Wauchope, Ramsay's successor, vainly endeavoured to force, at an increased loss of several officers, and at least a hundred men.

After these trials of the obstinacy, number and bravery of the besieged, the Irish army encamped opposite the front of the place, at long musket shot distance, behind a rising ground. A few days after six pieces of heavy artillery arrived; there were thirty in the town, which was defended

by about ten thousand men. The besieging force amounted to from five to six thousand.* About the same time de Rosen, some French engineers and matrosses arrived, to commence the attacks. The besieged continued to defend themselves obstinately, though disease and famine thinned their numbers. A convoy for their relief appeared, but feared to approach the town. After repeated summonses de Rosen threatened, to drive all of their faction under the walls, unless they surrendered. Still the garrison held out. The threat was enforced. They were refused admittance. After three days, by the orders of James, they were permitted to return. On the 30th of July, seven weeks after their first appearance, the English convoy, under Kirk, advanced up the river; the first vessel broke the stockade, that had been made near Culmore fort, and entered the town. De Rosen, seeing the garrison relieved, immediately raised the siege, and returned to Dublin, leaving a strong garrison in Charlemount.

The Irish army was now almost reduced to nothing. At Lisnakea, 5000 men, under Macarthy, were destroyed by the Enniskilleners. Gal-moy, who had advanced to restrain their incursions, was also defeated. Berwick alone was successful. Two hundred of their infantry were put to the sword, and their cavalry driven to the intrenchments of Enniskillen.

On the 13th of August Schomberg arrived. Ninety sail conveyed his well appointed army into the bay of Carrickfergus. The duke of Ber-

* Berwick's Memoirs.

wick, with 1000 foot, and 600 horse, marched to Newry, to retard his progress as much as possible, to gain time to form a new army. The siege of Carrickfergus served the same purpose. Had he marched straight forward without amusing himself, he would have got to Dublin before James could have been in a condition to oppose him.* After four days open trenches the garrison surrendered, on condition of marching out with flying colours, arms, lighted matches, and their own baggage; and to be conducted by a squadron of horse to the nearest garrison of James's. But such was the virulent enmity of the Ulster Scots, and Schomberg's troops, to these soldiers, that, no sooner was the garrison in their power, than, without regard to faith, they fell furiously upon them, deprived them of their arms, plundered the most helpless, and were restrained from murder only by the vigorous interposition of Schomberg.†

Berwick appeared determined to maintain himself at Newry; works were ordered to be raised; Schomberg slowly advanced, encamped at the distance of two miles, and at the head of fourteen squadrons came to reconnoitre. The country was full of little eminences; Berwick placed vedets upon all of them, took his post upon a hill in the center, with two troops only, and ordered the trumpets to sound a flourish. The countenance he assumed confirmed Schomberg in the opinion, that he must have a consi-

* Berwick's Memoirs.

† Leland.

derable force. He then delivered out ammunition to his infantry, intending to force the post next morning with his whole army, but Berwick retreated in the night to Dundalk, and two days after to Drogheda.

The exertions of the duke of Tyrconnel had now collected an army of twenty-two thousand men, but very indifferently armed. His resolution was to advance. Accordingly the army marched to Affyn-bridge, three miles from Dundalk, where Schomberg was encamped with his whole army, consisting of twenty thousand men. A few days after the Irish army drew up in a plain, within sight of the enemy, offering battle; but Schomberg continued in his post, and they in their camp, till the end of October, when both armies went into winter quarters. Schomberg abandoned Dundalk, where he had lost half of his troops with disorders, occasioned by the unwholsomness of the air, which the Irish occupied, and established a considerable quarter there.

M. de Rosen returned to France, to his great satisfaction, as well as that of all the officers of the Irish army, who could not endure him. He was a Livonian, and had commenced service in France, in the regiment of the old general Rosen. M. d'Avaux, the French ambassador, was also recalled. His haughty and disrespectful manner had disgusted James. The duke of Lausun with seven French battalions, was sent in his place. But this small reinforcement was by no means sufficient; especially as lord Mount Cashel and five regiments of Irish foot, were sent to France

in exchange.* However such an exchange might have been warranted by theory or authority, James had the mortification to find his new allies refractory and disobedient. They knew and acknowledged no superior but Lausun; and this general attended not to the interest of the king, but that of his troops: he considered himself as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.†

The army of Schomberg gradually assumed a formidable appearance. Clothes, arms, ammunition and provisions arrived daily in Belfast. Some regiments had arrived from England and Scotland, and he now received an accession of seven thousand Danes, commanded by prince Wirtemberg. To extend his quarters, brigadier Wolsely was detached to seize upon Belturbet. To watch his motions, Berwick, with fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse, arrived at Cavan. Notwithstanding his precautions, the enemy were in sight of his advanced posts, when the alarm was given. He immediately led his troops to a height on the right of the town, where he drew them up at a little distance, in front of a mud fort, in which he had a garrison. The design of the assailants was to get possession of this height, and attack the fort. But ignorant of his arrival, and discovering more troops than the mere garrison could amount to, they formed in order of battle, three thousand foot and three hundred horse. The duke of Berwick advanced, drove them from hedge to hedge to the brink of the

* Berwick's Memoirs.

† Leland,

hill, which they began to descend in disorder, when brigadier Nugent, and many officers of his regiment, retiring from the field, wounded, a panic seized the troops, and in a moment, from being conquerors they became conquered. All the foot fled into the fort, without it being possible to rally them on the outside. The cavalry, unmolested, retreated twelve miles. The English continued half an hour on the field of battle, and then retreated to Belturbet. In this action they lost between two and three hundred men, the Irish five hundred.

The only frigate that remained in the service of James, was now captured in his sight, by Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in the bay of Dublin.

The fort of Charlemont was also lost. Blockaded early in spring, provisions began to fail, when colonel Mac Mahon with four or five hundred men, some ammunition and provision, entered the town on the 2nd of May 1690. The slender supply introduced by this additional force, soon failed. The distress of the besieged increased. Their additional numbers only served to hasten on the famine; they therefore attempted to return, but were repeatedly driven back with slaughter. The governor, exasperated at their ill success, compelled them to lodge on the counterscarp and dry ditch within the palisadoes. On the 13th of May, famine compelled Teig O'Regan, the governor, to surrender. The defenders obtained honourable terms. "The day following, the garrison marched out, to the number of eight hundred effective men, besides many women and

children. Schomberg enquired the reason, why so many useless mouths were kept in the garrison, to consume the provisions. He was answered, that "the Irish were naturally hospitable, and that they all fared alike; nor would the soldiers stay in the garrison, without their wives and mistresses." To which he replied, "that there was more love than policy in it." As indeed there was, for they had no provisions left, except a little dirty meal, and part of a quarter of musty beef; so that as they marched out, several of the soldiers were devouring pieces of dried hides with hair on. Duke Schomberg ordered every Irish soldier a loaf out of the stores of Armagh, and the officers were all civilly entertained. Seventeen pieces of cannon, mostly brass, one mortar, eighty-three barrels of powder, bombs, grenades, &c. were found in the fort."*

On the 14th of June, 1690, James's sons-in-law, William and George of Denmark, accompanied by the young duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough and Manchester, and many other persons of distinction, were received at Carrickfergus, by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, Kirk, and other officers of distinction. His forces were ordered to take the field. 'He came not to Ireland to let grass grow under his feet,' was his answer to the cautious counsels of his officers. At Loughbrickland his army mustered, at the lowest estimate, thirty-six thousand men, English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Brandenburgers, all well appointed in every

* Harris's Life of king William.

respect. Having adjusted the plan of the campaign, William marched from thence to Newry, while the fleet coasted slowly in view to supply them with every necessary.*

James left Dublin the 16th of June, with 6000 French infantry, and joined that part of his army which was advanced as far as Castletown Bellew, near Dundalk, under the command of M. Gerardin, one of his lieutenant-generals. He encamped there, having the town on his right, a small river in his front, which discharges itself into the sea at Dundalk, and facing the high grounds. The French and the greatest part of his troops repaired to this camp.

While William halted at Newry three or four days, waiting for his artillery, and deliberating whether he should march straight to Dundalk, or take the road by Armagh, which is a little about, one of his reconnoitering parties was observed every night to insult a guard of cavalry, posted at the pass of Halfway bridge, between Dundalk and Newry. A detachment of horse and foot was placed in ambuscade, under colonel Dempsey and lieutenant-colonel Fitzgerald to cut it off, and succeeded. The party, consisting of two hundred foot, and sixty dragoons, fell into the ambuscade at day break, and was almost entirely cut off or taken with very little loss on the side of the Irish, except colonel Dempsey, who died of his wounds. As the army of William advanced, that of James retreated. To Ardee, on the 23rd, to Dumlane the 27th, and on the 28th

* Harris's Life of king William.

passed the Boyne, and encamped opposite the bridge, with the right towards Drogheda, and the left extending up the river. This appeared to James a tolerable good post, and the best in the country; he therefore resolved to continue there, and wait his enemy's approach, though his army did not amount to more than twenty thousand men, and that of William was between forty and fifty thousand.*

At the first dawn of morning, on the last day of June, the army of William appeared, advancing towards the river, where it was fordable almost in every part. His infantry was opposite to Old-bridge, their left towards Drogheda; his wing of cavalry was drawn up on an eminence so near the river, that James ordered some pieces of cannon to be brought up, which obliged them to retire behind the hill. It was upon this occasion that William had his shoulder grazed by one of the two first bullets. At noon his artillery arrived, and cannonaded the Irish camp, with little effect, till the close of day.

While James foreseeing that the river would be crossed at Slane, and that the passage at Old-bridge would be attempted to be forced, had posted Sir Neal O'Neal's regiment of dragoons at Slane, and ordered his baggage to be in readiness to march, William ordered that the river should be passed in three different places; by his right wing, commanded by count Schomberg, son of the duke, and general Douglas, on the west, at some fords near the bridge of Slane; by

* King James's Memoirs.

the center commanded by duke Schomberg, in front of the Irish camp; and by the left wing, led by himself, at a ford between the army and the town of Drogheda. At midnight William rode through his camp with torches, inspected every post, and issued his final orders.

The first of July, before day, the general beat in his camp. At sunrise count Schomberg with the cavalry, and general Douglas with the infantry, which composed the right wing, marched towards Slane. James immediately ordered his left to oppose them, and sent the baggage to Dublin. For near an hour Sir Neal O'Neal's dragoons disputed the passage, till the cannon of this division had arrived, when they retreated in good order, with the loss of fifty men: their colonel was shot in the thigh, and one or two officers besides were wounded. Douglas advanced, formed, mixing horse and foot, squadron with battalion; on the arrival of more infantry they changed their position, drawing the horse to the right. Having thus considerably outflanked their opponents, M. de Lausun marched his left abreast of them to observe their motions. James at the same time came up to the right of his army, to order all the troops to follow M. de Lausun; certain that the main body would follow their right wing. At Old-bridge he found the duke of Tyrconnel, with the horse and dragoons of the right wing, and the two first brigades of the line, drawn up. These were not moved. The rest of the foot filed off after M. de Lausun. At the head of the corps de reserve, composed of

Purcel's and Brown's regiments of foot, James marched, till they joined the rear of the infantry that was following M. de Lausun. He then ordered Sir Charles Carny, who commanded the reserve, to place himself on the right of the first line of foot before him, in order to form a sort of wing: he passed after this along the line, and found M. de Lausun, and the right of the English army, in form of battle, opposite to each other, at half musket shot distance.*

Meanwhile the passage at Old-bridge was forced. The Dutch first entered the river on the right, opposite Old-bridge. The French huguenots, Enniskilleners, Brandenburgiers and English, at several passes to the left. The regiment posted in the village was dislodged. The Dutch advanced. Seven battalions of Irish infantry, of the first line, which were drawn up behind an eminence, now moved forward boldly, under a severe fire, close up to them; but observing the cavalry passing the river, they gave way, notwithstanding all the efforts of Dorrington and the other officers to stop them; in which Arundel, Ashton, Dungan, Fitzgerald, and two or three more captains lost their lives. The marquis d'Harquincourt was also killed there, with several others of his brigade: Parker, lieutenant-colonel of the guards, and major Arthur, were wounded, the latter died the same day. The duke of Tyrconnel attempted to rally them, but in vain. The right wing, however, of horse and dragoons advanced, and charged all the troops

* King James's Memoirs.

that passed the river, as well foot as horse; but lord Dungan being killed, the dragoons could never be brought again to the charge: Clares's did not do much better. The horse still did their duty with great bravery; and if they were not able to break the infantry, it was more owing to the unfavourableness of the ground, than to a want of vigour; for after having been repulsed by the infantry, they returned several times to the charge against the horse, and broke them every time.* Tyrconnel and Parker's regiments suffered most on this occasion. Powel and Vaudrey, both lieutenants in the guards, and the greater part of the exempts and brigadiers of both corps, were killed; as were likewise the earl of Carlingford, M. d'Amande, and several other volunteers, that served with them. Nugent and Casanova were wounded in Tyrconnels, major O'Meara, and Sir Charles Tooke were killed, and Bada wounded. In Parker's, the colonel was wounded, lieutenant-colonel Green, major Doddington, and several other officers, killed; and in both squadrons of this regiment, there remained but thirty men unhurt. Sunderland was wounded; but his regiment did not suffer much. At length, this wing was so overpowered by numbers, and suffered so much, that it could no longer maintain its ground. Lieutenant-general Hamilton was wounded and taken prisoner in the last charge. The duke of Berwick, after having a horse killed under him, was beat down, trampled upon, and with great diffi-

* King James's Memoirs.

culty saved. The victors also lost several persons of distinction; among whom was marshal Schomberg, la Caillemote, and two more colonels. Walker, a dissenting minister, remarkable in the defence of Derry; and the lieutenant-colonel of Schomberg's regiment; which regiment, as well as the life-guards of William, was severely handled.

While James hesitated, an aid-de-camp reported the defeat of his right. He determined on attacking the force that had crossed at Slane, before the troops were acquainted with the disaster. M. de la Hogue was ordered to lead on the French infantry, the dragoons were dismounted, and Lausun on the point of advancing, when Sarsfield and Maxwell reported, that it was impossible for the horse to charge, there being between them and the enemy two double ditches with very high banks, and a rivulet running along the valley which separated the two armies. At the same instant, the English dragoons mounted, and their line began to file off by their right. The whole army of William had crossed. Thus situated, James commenced his retreat by the left, for the brook of Duleek. The duke of Berwick came up with his cavalry just as the last had passed the defile. William's cavalry came up at the same time; and compelled him to pass at full speed, in great disorder. The Irish army rallied on the other side, halted, and formed in order of battle. William formed opposite, but did not advance. After some time, the retreat was continued to Dublin unmolested, in such

order, as to gain the commendation of their enemies. The loss of the Irish in this battle did not exceed one thousand men; Hamilton's and Berwick's troops only being engaged.* That of William was inconsiderable, did not exceed five hundred.

Attended by Sarsfield's regiment, James arrived in Dublin; assembled the magistrates, declared his inability to protect them; then hastened to Waterford, and embarked for France. Most of his army marched through Dublin, for Limerick, rejoicing at the flight of their king, which relieved them from the embarrassment of a leader, who had no sincere concern for their interests; every colonel was ordered to conduct his own regiment by whatever route he thought proper. The French under the command of brigadier M. de Surlaube composed the rear; all the rest of the French had taken the road to Cork and Kinsale, in order to embark. The duke of Tyrconnel and M. de Lausun also repaired to Limerick.

William continued to advance slowly, and encamped at Finglas on the fourth. "His first measures after his arrival in Dublin, were highly impolitic, if not unjust. He promised, by a declaration, to pardon and protect such of the lower sort as should, in a little time, surrender their arms; but he excepted the gentry, whom he resolved to abandon to all the rigours of war and conquest. He issued a commission for seizing all their estates and effects, though no court

* Berwick's Memoirs.

of judicature was open to proceed according to law. The eagerness of his followers for forfeitures suspended every idea of justice. The commissioners executed their power with the utmost rigour. They even ruined a country which they endeavoured to appropriate to themselves. Public misery, persecution, and confusion, prevailed every where. The king himself was either not sincere in his offers of money to the vulgar, or he possessed no authority to restrain the license of his army. His declaration was disregarded, his protections slighted. Revenge, wantonness, and avarice induced men to break through every form of decency, and every tie of faith. Despair animated the Irish to a renewal of hostilities, as submission produced nothing but oppression, injustice and ruin.”*

William now divided his army. Solicitous to gain a secure station for his transports, he hastened his march. Wexford had declared for him; Clonmell was abandoned; Waterford was summoned. The garrison demanded the enjoyment of their estates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. The last article only was admitted; they accepted it, and surrendered. The governor of Duncannon demanded time to consult Tyrconnel; but refused, boldly declared he would take it. The approach of the army and of Sir Cloudesley Shovel with sixteen frigates, compelled him to accept the same conditions as Waterford. On the appearance of the French fleet on the English coast,

* Macpherson's Hist. of England.

William made preparations for his departure; but his fears were dissipated. After destroying the inconsiderable village of Tinmouth, they returned to port, and he continued the prosecution of the Irish war.

In the mean time Douglas continued his destructive route to Athlone, with ten regiments of foot, and five regiments of horse. "He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, or the formal orders of their general. As he advanced, the Irish peasantry appeared successively in considerable bodies to claim the benefit of king William's declaration; and were successively ensnared by assurances of protection, and exposed to all the violences of the soldiers. An army, abhorred and execrated, at length appeared before Athlone. To the summons sent by Douglas, the governour, Grace, a brave old officer, returned a passionate defiance; "These are my terms," said he, "firing a pistol at the messenger." His garrison consisted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, with a larger body encamped at a small distance to support them, all violently exasperated against the besiegers, and encouraged by false rumours of the death of William, of insurrections and of invasions in England. That part of Athlone, which lay on the eastern side of the Shannon, and was called the English town, Grace deemed indefensible; he had, therefore, set fire to it, and broken the fair stone bridge built by Sir Henry Sidney,

in the reign of Elizabeth, resolving to maintain the Irish district on the west. About two hundred yards above it, he raised some breast-works, cast up redoubts, and other works near the end of the bridge, and mounted two batteries, besides those of the castle, which stood on an eminence and commanded the river.

“ Douglas thus found the enemy stronger and better disposed than he expected. His works were carried on with sufficient vigour; and he commenced his operations by playing on the castle from a battery of six guns, but without any considerable effect. He found his train utterly insufficient for the enterprize he had undertaken; he lost his best gunner by a shot from the town; in a few days his men grew faint and sickly from scanty provisions, his horses weak from want of forage: it was rumoured that Sarsefield had actually marched with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege, and to cut off the retreat of the English forces. The spirits of the garrison were on fire, and their efforts redoubled, while Douglas formed the inglorious resolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmolested; and, in his terror of the enemy, marched by devious and painful routes to join the royal army. The protestant inhabitants of the country near Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Irish protections, were thus exposed to the utmost severities. On the approach of the besiegers they declared in favour of the English; and were, therefore, forced to attend them in their retreat; they abandoned their habitations and their har-

vests, and the miserable pittance of provisions which they carried with them became the prey of a necessitous and merciless army.”*

Douglas now joined William, who was advancing to Limerick, the great seat of the Irish force. The place had no fortification but a wall without ramparts, and some miserable little towers without ditches. A sort of covered way was made all round; and a kind of horn work pallisaded before the great gate; but the town was not attacked on that side. Twenty thousand Irish infantry, of whom however not more than half were armed, formed the garrison; while 3500 Irish cavalry, stationed at five miles distance, on the Connaught side of the Shannon, maintained a free communication with the town. The French troops retired to Galway, on the appearance of the English.†

“ On the ninth day of August William decamped, and began his approaches to the town, through grounds intersected with ditches and hedges lined with Irish infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the inclosures, until they came to a narrow and incumbered pass between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of these, the broadest was occupied by the Irish horse, while their musketeers were drawn up under cover of hedges on the right and left. As the English army advanced in order, two field pieces were so

* Leland.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

planted as to bear upon the enemy's horse; and after some discharges forced them from their ground, while their infantry were attacked, and after some resistance driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous post, were gained without resistance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. Encouraged by this success, William encamped within cannon shot of the walls, without the usual precautions for security, and before his artillery arrived summoned the governour to surrender. Boileau addressed his answer, not to the king, to whom he would not give his royal titles, but to Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary. He expressed his surprize at the summons, and declared his resolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigourous defence of the place entrusted to him by his majesty. But this spirited answer, William was assured, by no means corresponded with the sentiments of his garrison, who were prevented from an immediate submission only by the remonstrances of the governour, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsefield. And, to animate his hopes still farther, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a strong detachment was now posted on each side of the river.

“ The garrison, on their part, prepared for a vigourous defence. They learned from a French deserter the situation of the king's tent, and on this quarter directed all the fury of their artillery; so that William found it necessary to re-

move. Among other articles of intelligence, the deserter informed them of the train expected from Dublin, its route, its motions, the nature, and number of its convoy. The enterprising spirit of Sarsefield was enflamed. He saw the desperate situation of his party, numbers of French troops already retired to Galway, and preparing to embark, those still in the town wavering and desponding, the Irish of themselves unequal to the enemy. Should they receive their cannon and other necessaries attending it, they must soon become masters of Limerick. He, therefore, resolved to make one bold effort to intercept them, the last he could attempt for his countrymen with any prospect of success; should he fail, he resolved to abandon their hopeless cause, and retire to France. With a party of chosen cavalry, he crossed the Shannon at Killalloe, about twelve miles above the English camp, marched by private ways well known to his men, lurked in the mountains, and waited the approach of the artillery and its escort. His motions were not unknown to the besiegers. They were informed that Sarsefield had crossed the Shannon on some secret expedition, of consequence enough to be entrusted to an officer so distinguished; the information was at first received with indifference; but being conveyed to William, he ordered Sir John Lanier to march with five hundred horse, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within seven miles to the rear of the English camp. The officer who commanded the

convoy, apprehending no danger at so small a distance from the army, encamped loosely on a plain, without precaution or discipline. The main body of the convoy was retired to rest, their horses at grass, their baggage and cannon carelessly disposed, when Sarsefield rushed suddenly upon them, in a moment cut their centinels and waggoners to pieces, fell on the convoy, as they started from their sleep and attempted to regain their horses, and slaughtered or dispersed the whole party. He now collected the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition; the cannon he filled with powder, fixing their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. The hideous explosion announced the success of this enterprize to Lanier and his party; who, when the havock was already over, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made a futile attempt to intercept them. Sarsefield was better acquainted with the country, and returned triumphantly to Limerick.*

Two of the cannon had escaped uninjured in the general havock, some others were brought from Waterford. "With these the batteries were furnished, and, after the interruption of a week, the siege was vigorously renewed. The besieged, on their part, encouraged by the late success, animated by their officers, fired with emulation at the brave defence of Derry, and equally inveterate against their assailants, defended themselves like men whose interests were to be decided by one final effort. Without entering into a mi-

* Leland.

nute detail of all the incidents of this siege, let it be sufficient to observe, that from the opening of the trenches on the eighteenth day of August, both the assault and the defence were maintained with vigour; and William, who took an active part in every operation, was frequently exposed to danger; when, on the twenty-seventh, a breach was made twelve yards in length, and the king ordered the counterscarp, and two towers on each side of the breach, to be assaulted. Five hundred grenadiers in the farthest angle of the trenches leaped over, ran towards the counterscarp, were furiously opposed, but, in the midst of a tremendous fire, dislodged the enemy, and pursuing even to the breach, many were actually in the town, while the Irish ran from the walls in confusion. The regiments appointed to second them stopped at the counterscarp, agreeably to their orders. They, whose ardour had hurried them within the walls, thus found themselves unsupported, their ammunition spent, and the enemy, who discovered their distress, rallying and pouring down upon them. They prepared to retreat, but many of them were killed, and almost all wounded. The Irish again marched to the breach, and defended it in a rage of valour. Even their women mingled with the men, encouraged them, advanced before them, defied the besiegers, and assailed them with stones.”* Brigadier Talbot, who was then in the horn-work with five hundred men, ran round the wall on the outside, and charging them in the rear,

* Leland.

drove them out, and entering by the breach, posted himself there. "For three hours a perpetual fire both of great and small arms was maintained on each side. One regiment of Brandenburgers seized a battery, but the powder catching fire, they were almost all blown into the air."* The failure of this assault caused the siege to be raised, when the garrison had not fifty barrels of powder; nor more than double the quantity among their adherents.† Continued rain, in his speech to the English parliament, William alledged, caused him to raise the siege. The duke of Berwick, an eye witness, asserts, that not a single drop of rain fell for above a month before, or for three weeks after.

This concluded William's personal enterprises in Ireland. Leaving his army at Clonmel, under count Solmes and Ginckle, he embarked at Waterford, accompanied by George, prince of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, &c.

Tyrconnel left the general command to the duke of Berwick, and went to France, to represent the ill state of affairs, and that without considerable succours Ireland should be abandoned. M. de Lausun went with him, and carried back the French troops at the same time. The departure of this French general was no injury to the Irish cause. For at the action of the Boyne he made it appear, that if ever he had had any knowledge of the military profession he had by that time totally forgot it. When the enemy passed

* Leland.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

the at Slane, he said they must be attacked; but while he was endeavouring to find a proper spot to act upon, the enemy had time to get into the plain, and form themselves, after which it was impossible to charge them. In short, in Ireland he shewed neither capacity nor resolution; though on other occasions he was said to be a man of great personal bravery.*

Soon after, on the 21st of September, Marlborough, who had embarked at Portsmouth with 5000 men, arrived in Cork road, landed with little opposition, and laid siege to the city. Ginckle reinforced him with nine hundred horse, and four thousand foot. Berwick advanced on the side of Kilmallock, to attempt its succour, but his forces were so inferior, that he was content to observe their operations. A breach was made; the Dutch and English, led by the duke of Grafton, son of Charles II. forded the river at low water, under the fire of the garrison, and posted themselves under the bank of a marsh, which served as a counterscarp to the city wall. Here the duke of Grafton was mortally wounded. The garrison, whose ammunition was exhausted, were compelled to surrender prisoners of war. William and Mary were proclaimed; and all papists ordered, on pain of death, to surrender their arms.

Kinsale was immediately summoned. The governor returned a refusal, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The town, being untenable, was destroyed; Castle-ny-fort, and Charles-fort,

* Berwick's Memoirs.

occupied. After a brave resistance, in which the governor, several officers, and half the garrison were slain, Castle-ny-fort was taken. Ten days after, Charles-fort was forced to surrender, when the besiegers were preparing for a general assault, on condition of the garrison marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Limerick. After this nothing of any consequence passed during the winter.

Not to interrupt the detail of military occurrences, several particulars of intrigues and cabals have been omitted; a short account of which shall here be given.

“ From the time of the king’s (James) arrival at Dublin, several of the Irish conceived an aversion for lord Melford, a Scotchman, who was prime minister, and secretary of state. The duke of Tyrconnel, who saw with displeasure the great credit of this favourite, contributed, underhand, to make the public murmurs break out, and at length caused an address to be presented to the king, in the name of the Irish nation, requesting that Melford might be dismissed. The king, in the present circumstances, thought he could not refuse the request of a nation, which was making such noble exertions in his favour, and to which he, at that time, expected to have the obligation of being re-established on the throne of England. Melford therefore was sent to France, and from thence to Rome, to reside at the pope’s court, as the king’s minister. Sir Richard Nagle, an Irishman, who was attorney-general, was, at the solicitation of Tyrconnel, appointed secretary of

state. He was a very honest man, sensible, and very able in his own profession; but not in the least conversant with affairs of state. Brigadier Luttrell had been one of the principal instigators of this business, and shewed, in the sequel, what he was capable of; for, after the battle of the Boyne, the duke of Tyrconnel being again become viceroy of Ireland, by the departure of the king, Luttrell was perpetually speaking ill of Tyrconnel, and inflaming every body against him. He contrived to incense the principal people of the nation to such a degree, that one day Sarsfield came to me (the duke of Berwick) from them, and after engaging me to secrecy, told me, that being convinced of the treachery of Tyrconnel, they had resolved to put him in arrest; and therefore he was to propose to me from them, that I should take upon me the command of the kingdom. I made him a short answer: that I was astonished they should dare to make such a proposition to me; that acting against the viceroy, in any manner, was high treason; and consequently, if they did not give over their cabals, I should become their enemy, and acquaint the king and Tyrconnel. My speech made an impression upon them, and prevented the execution of their designs. After the departure of Tyrconnel for France, Sarsfield, Simon Luttrell, brother to the brigadier, and brigadier Dorrington, came to me at Limerick, from the general assembly of the nation, to tell me, they had reason to suspect, that Tyrconnel would not represent their wants with sufficient force to the court of France; and

therefore they begged of me to take measures for the doing of it myself. My answer was, that I was astonished they dared to hold such assemblies without my permission; that I forbade them to hold any for the future, and that the next morning I would acquaint them with my intentions respecting the matter they had spoken to me upon. Accordingly I summoned all the principal lords, as well of the clergy as laity, and all the military officers, down to the colonels inclusive, to me. I made them a speech nearly to the same purpose as I had done the night before; but to shew how well I was inclined, I said, that to oblige them, I was willing to send such persons as they should approve of, to France, in order to represent their real condition and necessities. I proposed to them the bishop of Corke, the two Luttrells, and colonel Purcell. My choice was unanimously approved; and a few days after I dispatched my deputies: at the same time I sent brigadier Maxwell, a Scotchman, to explain to the king my reasons for appointing this deputation, and to beg of him not to suffer either brigadier Luttrell or colonel Purcell to return; they were the two most dangerous incendiaries, and I had chosen them on purpose to get them out of the way. When these gentlemen were got on board, they conceived a suspicion that Maxwell might be charged with some instructions relative to them, for which reason they proposed to throw him overboard; but were prevented by the bishop and the elder Luttrell. The first was a prelate of distinguished piety;

the other was of an obliging disposition, and always appeared to me to be a man of honour. Notwithstanding Maxwell's representations, the king permitted these gentlemen to return to Ireland. Tyrconnel consented to it; but he had reason to repent of it after. As they had apprehensions of being imprisoned, they caused it to be insinuated to the king, that the Irish would retaliate upon me for whatever treatment they might receive; and this consideration determined the king to let them come back to Ireland."*

About the middle of January, 1691, Tyrconnel returned with a miserable pittance of eight thousand pounds, and some clothing, wretchedly insufficient. The duke of Berwick went to France. The money was distributed among the soldiers, but could not dispel their doubts of the inclinations of France. They were encouraged with assurances, that arms, clothes, and necessaries, for twenty-five thousand men, were daily expected; that Louis would speedily send his triumphant navy against Cork and Kinsale. Saint Ruth, accompanied by major generals d'Ussone, and the chevalier de Tessé, arrived at Limerick, with commission of chief commander, but none of the vast stores the Irish expected. Sarsfield was justly discontented at this unreasonable partiality to a foreigner; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him.

Early in June Ginckle assembled a well appointed army, supported by a formidable train of

* Berwick's Memoirs.

artillery, commanded by experienced officers, at Mullingar. To depreciate Irish valour, hostile writers state its effective strength, at eighteen thousand men; but, that the total amount must have exceeded eighteen thousand, is evident, from the statements of the same writers. For, Ginckle, on his arrival at Mullingar, found there eight regiments of foot, six of horse, and one of dragoons, all new clothed; in a few days they were joined by lieutenant general Douglas at Rathconrath, about six miles from Mullingar, with nine regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and twelve troops of horse; which were soon after augmented by the troops, under Mackay, that had completely reduced the Scotch highlanders. From Cork three regiments of foot, one of horse, and one of dragoons, arrived; at Ballyburn-pass, they were joined by seven thousand foreigners, under the duke of Wirtemberg and count Nassau. Now twenty regiments of foot, nine regiments of horse, four regiments of dragoons, under Ginckle and Douglas; and seven thousand foreigners under Wirtemberg and Nassau; and the army, under Mackay, that had reduced the highlands, and a formidable train of artillery, sent from Dublin, must, on a moderate estimate, form a force little short of thirty thousand men.

To contend against this formidable force, Saint Ruth could bring into the field, at the highest estimate, but twenty-five thousand men, allowed to be badly clothed, badly paid, and miserably deficient in arms and ammunition. Thus situated,

he prudently adopted defensive warfare, waiting the arrival of reinforcements from France; while Ginckle, clearly seeing the advantages he possessed, commenced vigorous offensive operations. The fort of Ballymore was immediately invested. Partly surrounded by a lough, the land side poorly fortified, and commanded by a hill, with a garrison of one thousand men; Ginckle summoned the governor to surrender. He refused. Compelled to erect batteries, Ginckle again sent a verbal message, that if the fort was not surrendered in two hours, the governor should be hanged, as his serjeant was the day before. The demand was required in writing. A note was sent, in substance the same, that the governor and garrison should have their lives, and be prisoners of war, if the fort surrendered in two hours; if not, that they should be put to the sword. The governor insisted on marching out with the honours of war, but was refused. The batteries opened their fire. Two breaches were made. Armed boats full of men were launched on the lake. The place was defenceless on that side. The garrison surrendered prisoners of war, and were sent to the island of Lambay, near Dublin.

From thence Ginckle marched to Athlone; and having without difficulty possessed himself of the English side of Athlone, determined to attack the place across the bridge. The arch, nearest the Irish town was broken down. Under the fire of his artillery, he carried on a wooden work for the purpose of repairing it. His design

was nearly completed, when a serjeant and ten men rushed forward, attempted to destroy their works, and were all slain. The dangerous attack was repeated by another party, and with success; they cast the beams and planks into the river, though two only survived their success. Ginckle still continued his operations vigorously. The arch was repaired, after an obstinate contest of nine days; several breaches were made in the walls and the castle; his army was drawn up for the assault, when the Irish set fire to his wooden works, and again destroyed the arch he had so diligently laboured to complete. The attack was countermanded; the Irish rejoiced; and St. Ruth seemed confident of the security of Athlone. Ginckle now determined to attack the place across the river. The project was the more dangerous; as there was but one ford, and that near the bridge, which was very deep, stony, and narrow, admitting only six men in front; and Saint Ruth lay encamped, at two miles distance, in a situation to throw in any number of troops that might be wanted. As the fortifications of the town, on the side of his army, were nothing but mud, it had been proposed to St. Ruth, by the Irish officers, to level the curtains, so that the army might enter the place in order of battle, if there should be occasion; but he slighted their advice. Ginckle, having made all necessary preparations for crossing the river, ordered the assault. It was to no purpose that Maxwell, major-general of the day, whose tour of duty it was to command there at that time, gave intelli-

gence to St. Ruth of the preparations he saw going forward, and desired a reinforcement, having no more than two battalions of fresh troops, for the guard there was relieved as in trenches. The answer he received was, that if he was afraid, another general officer should be sent. At length, under cover of a heavy fire from their works and batteries, the enemy threw themselves into the river, led on by Mackay, la Meloniere, Tetteau, the prince of Hesse, Talmash, the duke of Wirtemberg, and other officers; they gained the bank, and stormed the breaches next the river, which were abandoned by the Irish after the first fire. Maxwell kept his ground with a few officers; but most of them being killed by his side, he was taken prisoner; after which the assailants moved quietly along the rampart. St. Ruth, hearing the attack, dispatched major-general John Hamilton, with two brigades of infantry; but it was too late. The rampart was lined with the enemy's troops, the cannon of the town was pointed against him, and he was compelled to return to the camp.

Saint Ruth then quitted his post, and retired to Aghrim. This was another great fault; for, though masters of Athlone, the English could not have penetrated into the open country, on account of a great morass. St. Ruth was naturally very vain; and though Tyrconnel paid him every attention imaginable, and left the whole conduct of the campaign to his management, yet the having superior was a perpetual source of discontent to him. On this account he had recourse to those

turbulent instruments already mentioned, and threw out invectives on all occasions against Tyrconnel, till at last he forced him to quit the army, and retire to Limerick; after which, through vexation and shame for his disappointment at Athlone, he resolved, at all events, to come to a battle. It was not long before he was gratified.

The eagerness of the great English subjects of Ireland for forfeitures, had hitherto prevented Ginckle from offering terms to the Irish, though vested with powers for that purpose by king William. The adding of fifty pounds a year to the English interest was more regarded, than saving England the expence of fifty thousand. On the fifth day of July, in spite of all opposition, he published a proclamation of indemnity. The justices, in deference to the privy counsellors, seemed inclined to disavow it; but its necessity became so evident, that two days after they published another, offering payment for all horses and arms surrendered; to commanders surrendering their posts, and officers bringing their men, full possession of their estates; liberal rewards to those who had no landed property; and to all a free exercise of religion.

These proclamations having failed of their expected effect, the immediate disorganization of the Irish army, Ginckle concentrated his force, leaving the English districts so defenceless, that even in Dublin the lords justices were alarmed. On the 10th of July he marched from Athlone; on the 12th at noon, the English army advanced to the attack at Aghrim.

St. Ruth was well posted, having, at some distance in his front, a morass impassable by cavalry, except on the causeways, where he might with ease have prevented their passage;* but so desirous was he of fighting, that he repeated the dictum of marshal Crequi, the more that passed the more would be beaten. The whole body of the enemy passed over, and ranged themselves in order of battle, without interruption, after which he attacked them. His infantry, in the beginning of the action, had the advantage of that of the enemy, and drove them from their ground; but were soon beaten back in their turn: both his wings of cavalry likewise were routed; and himself, as he was going to bring up his corps de reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons, was killed by a cannon shot; after which the Irish army thought of nothing but flight. It has been asserted, that if he had not been killed, he would have gained the victory; but I appeal to the reader, whether it was possible for him, with six squadrons, to recover an action already lost. All he could have done would have been, to favour the retreat, which was done by the general officers after his death.† The loss of the Irish

* The duke of Berwick's narrative, so far as he was an eye-witness, and general officer in the military operations, must be acknowledged as unexceptionable authority; but the part he wrote from the information of others may be liable to examination. St. Ruth is said to have set good guards on the passes of the morass; and it is a popular tradition, that the treachery of brigadier Luttrell opened the way for the English horse across the narrow pass guarded by him.

† Berwick's Memoirs.

army was very considerable. The unrelenting fury of the victors appears from the number of their prisoners, which amounted only to four hundred and fifty. Seven thousand were slain. The cannon, ammunition, tents, baggage, a great quantity of small arms, and eleven standards, were taken. Night put an end to the pursuit. On the side of the victors, seven hundred fell, one thousand were wounded. The remains of the Irish army retired, part to Galway, part to Limerick.

Galway was immediately invested, and surrendered without firing a gun, on condition of marching out with the honours of war, and being conveyed to Limerick; those who pleased had liberty to continue in the town, or return to their respective habitations. Indemnity and full possession of their estates and liberties to the governor, magistracy, freemen and inhabitants. The exercise of their religion to the Roman catholic clergy and laity; their lawyers to practise; their estated gentlemen to wear arms.

The hopeless situation of the Irish; the favourable terms offered by Ginckle; made Limerick, to which the English advanced, a scene of contention. Some, solicitous to secure their own particular interests, engaged in a private correspondence with the enemy; while others, more generously, declined any composition, which should not include the whole body of Irish catholics. The expectation of reinforcements from France, however, encouraged the majority to a vigorous defence.

The English army was now before the town, to which it had advanced on the twenty-fifth of August. The outposts were all driven in, and the place closely blockaded. Ginckle addressed a declaration to the garrison and inhabitants, offering the full benefit of former proclamations, to all who should surrender in eight days. What these offers could not, famine effected. Want of provisions compelled the garrison, on the twenty-third of September, to agree to a cessation of arms; and, on the third of October, 1691, a capitulation was finally adjusted and signed. It was scarcely concluded when a French fleet of eighteen sail of the line arrived, with 3000 stand of arms, stores and provisions. Lords Lucan and Gallmoy were urged, by several of the Irish officers, to break off the treaty, on the pretext of its not having been ratified by William, for which there was not time; but they refused, saying they were bound in honor to deliver up Limerick and Ireland, according to the articles; which the victors were equally bound to preserve inviolate. A proclamation from the justices, offering to the Irish, terms much more advantageous than they obtained, was printed; but suppressed, on the first intelligence of the disposition of the garrison to treat. Hence it was stiled, *The Secret Proclamation*.

The civil and military articles of Limerick, exactly printed from the letters patent; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their majesties, under the great seal of England.

Gulielmus et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentēs literæ nostræ pervenerint salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione, geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat, ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there on the one part; and several officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our said kingdom, on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner; and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenor of which said articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, between the right honourable Sir Charles Porter, knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq. lords justices of Ireland: and his excellency the baron de Ginckle, lieutenant general, and

commander in chief of the English army, on the one part; and the right honourable Patrick, earl of Lucan, Piercy, viscount Gallmoy, colonel Nicholas Purcel, colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, colonel Garret Dillon, and colonel John Brown; on the other part.

In the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said lieutenant general Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed, that,

I. The Roman catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion.

II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork

and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy, all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to in the reign of king Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands or the hands of any persons whatsoever, in trust for or for the use of them, or any of them: and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practise their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained be

construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance,* made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

III. All merchants or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not bore arms since their majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return hither within the

* I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary. So help me God.

space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the abovementioned oath.

V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last: for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes or provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken during the time of the war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or

made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements or houses: and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all

arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

XII. Lastly, the lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed by parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel and lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the said lord Lucan of his said engagement, past on their public account, for payment of the said protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the said lords justices, and the said baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts, as the said lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the

said lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof we have hereunto set our hands,

Present, Sgravenmore.

Char. Porter.

H. Maccay.

Tho. Coningsby.

T. Talmash.

Bar. De Ginckle.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words, Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the word following, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted, and be part of the said articles. Which words having been casually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered: and that our said justices and general, or one of them, did promise

that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz. "And all such as are under their protection in the said counties," hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining or declaring, that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in such and the same manner, as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place, in the said second article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article, in any wise notwithstanding. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of chancery, in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis et dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis, annoq; regni eorum quarto.

Bridges.

Examinat per nos, S. Keck, Lacon W. Childe,
in Cancel. magistros.

Military articles agreed upon between the baron de Ginckle, lieutenant general and commander in chief of the English army, on the one side, And the lieutenant generals de Ussoon and de Tesse, commanders in chief of the Irish army, on the other; and the general officers hereunto subscribing.

I. That all persons without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household-stuff, plate and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse, dragoons, and foot guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare and Kerry, as also those called rapparees or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond the seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves wherever the ships are that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all persons above-mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tuesday next in Limerick; the

horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go to France, must remain under the command and discipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither; and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

IV. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in this capitulation, as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here,) as for passing freely into France, or any other country to serve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissioners at war, and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers, strangers, and all others whatsoever, that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade and commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves, with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys, and carriages, by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships where they shall be embarked, without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to

those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

VI. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables, or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered: and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid, and all other persons belonging to them, are to observe good order in their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

VII. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which the persons to be transported shall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there shall be occasion, without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail; and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

VIII. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing: and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported shall march with all convenient speed, the

nearest way, in order to embark there: and if there shall be any more men to be transported than can be carried off in the said fifty ships, the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient to their transportation, where they shall remain till the other twenty ships are ready, which are to be in a month; and they may embark on any French ship that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, and soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped to be transported into France; which provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

XI. That the garrisons of Clare-castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such part of those garrisons as design to go beyond seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions, and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not

shipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next transported after the horse, general Ginckle, will order that they be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horse and dragoons, that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing, except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

XIII. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

XIV. The Irish may have liberty to transport nine hundred horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they shall think fit, giving up their horses and arms to such persons as the general shall appoint.

XV. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they

can find it, in the quarters that are assigned for them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose, the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

XVI. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all prisoners of war, that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

XVIII. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That at the signing hereof, the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides, he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France where they shall make.

XX. That all those of the said troops, officers and others, of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other transport-ship, shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the said fleet, there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the abovesaid troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet, or from Monsieur Tameron the intendant.

XXIII. In consideration of the present capitulation, the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island, and the free passage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above-mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison that the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and the island, which they may do, until the troops to be embarked on the first fifty ships shall be gone for France, and no longer; they shall entrench themselves on both sides, to hinder the communication of the said garrisons; and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive; and the parties offending shall be punished on either side,

XXV. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chuse, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be made, in the presence of any person that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

XXVI. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France: and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores, for the support of the said troops, whilst they stay in this kingdom, and are cross-

sing the seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provision shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provisions to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

XXVII. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that, on both sides, they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any sea-commander, or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier or any other person, shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the English and French fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages ———— And the general shall give ————.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on any account. October 19.

BARON DE GINCKLE.

Twenty thousand of the Irish troops availed themselves of these articles, and arrived at Brest, about the beginning of 1692. They were formed by James into nine regiments of infantry, of two battalions each, two of dismounted dragoons, two of horse, and two troops of life guards; they bore his commission, and were paid by the French.

This last Irish war, in favour of the expelled family, terminated in the treaty of Limerick; of which the duke of Berwick writing regrets, that it did not include all the Irish; that many noblemen and gentlemen, prisoners with the English, forfeited their estates by this omission. To be sure, the garrison acted precipitately, in signing a partial treaty, unacquainted, probably, with the arrival of a strong armament to their relief from France, until the treaty was signed. This is one of the many instances, verifying the old Irish adage, an Irishman's wit comes too late. However, the auxiliary forces sent could only protract the war, not decide in favour of James. King William did not follow this feeble

policy. He did not content himself with sending auxiliaries to his friends in Ireland, but espoused the cause as a principal. Had Louis done the same, he would have rendered better service to France and his ally. Had the duke foreseen the breach of that treaty, which was set aside as a mere temporary expedient, he needed not regret the fate of the noble persons omitted therein.

Though the object of this history was rather civil than military transactions; the policy, passion and management of parties, not their conflicts in battles and sieges; it will not be superfluous to point out some of the most glaring and ruinous faults, committed by James and his partizans in Ireland. If he really refused a strong auxiliary force, offered him by Louis XIV. on his embarking for Ireland, he was strangely to expect, that he could recover England with new levies, ill appointed in every respect. Or if he meant, as insinuated in his own and Berwick's memoirs, after drawing William and his army out of England, to return suddenly to France, and procure an invasion of England, to try the temper of his partizans there; the refusal of Louis was a just punishment of his perfidy, in dragging the unfortunate Irish into his war, and refusing to support them by his allies' forces. His management of the war here was not more judicious or fortunate. The facility of destroying Schomberg's army, while perishing by the dysentery in his camp, near Dundalk, was represented to him. His reply was, according to popular tradition, "it would be cruel to throw scalding water on

drowning rats." Such was his sympathy for his English revolted subjects, he gave them time to recover, and receive such powerful reinforcements, headed by king William, as decided the war against him. He is said, by most writers, to have accused the Irish of cowardice, both in Dublin and France. The charge was, with greater justice, retorted. His conduct at the Boyne was not that of a brave monarch, fighting for three kingdoms. Under pretence of a corps de reserve, he kept a choice body of troops out of the action, merely for the security of his person and flight. Were they kept as a reserve, they would have been led by the king, to support any part of his lines pressed too hard. His position over the Boyne was of little or no use to him, as he neglected Hamilton's advice, to guard the pass of Slane with eight regiments. He made no use of the garrison of Drogheda, to annoy the force passing the ford next the town; and he disgusted the Irish, with his exclamations of my brave English; seeming to exult in their success over the ill-armed, ill-disciplined levies, fighting for him. His every measure was of a nature to persuade, that he would be sorry their victory cost them too dear. Accordingly, it was the prevailing opinion of his Irish subjects, that he had a greater leaning towards his English rebel subjects, than towards his loyal Irish catholics. His ill report of the Irish to Louis XIV. induced that monarch to recall five thousand French troops he had sent in exchange for the like number of Irish, without returning the latter. His sending of St. Ruth, as

commander in chief, was at once insulting to the feelings, and ruinous to the cause of the Irish. Sarsfield was the popular general; and it seldom or never happens, in time of war, that a general will gain popularity with the army and the people, without considerable merit. To supersede such a man, shew marked preference to Frenchmen in all promotion, sowed jealousy and disunion among troops that ought to be united. St. Ruth's inexcusable negligence at the siege of Athlone, led to the battle of Aghrim, and the total ruin of the cause. Encamped with a strong army within two miles of Athlone, nothing but his neglect saved the besieging army from destruction in fording the Shannon where they did; an enterprize which a vigilant commander would have proved rash and foolish, and which his carelessness crowned with glory and success. At his battle of Aghrim, which needed not have been fought but for his neglect of Athlone, he committed the unpardonable fault of concealing his order of battle from lord Lucan, his second in command; which, on his sudden death by a cannon ball, disabled that brave general from supporting his dispositions. Popular tradition has generally represented the treachery of colonel Luttrell as instrumental to the loss of this battle. Thus were all the interferences of that family, in Irish affairs, whether well or ill intended, unceasingly injurious to the Irish. This general sent by James, what by his supineness at Athlone, what with his precipitancy afterwards, and his jealousy of Sarsfield, precipitated the fall of

Ireland, and brought a war to issue, which, without his arrival, Sarsfield, more alert and vigilant, could have protracted until the arrival of powerful succours in forces, arms, ammunition, provisions and clothing, preparing in France; which, through his fault, arrived in the Shannon too late; of whose arrival they were informed just the day after signing the treaty. The French commanders, notifying their arrival, pressed the Irish to break off the treaty, as not yet ratified by William; but they refused, not being tinctured with the puny faith of their enemy.

This war, like all other wars of English against Irish, ended with forfeitures! The Irish fought for their lawful king, to whom they had sworn allegiance, and whose rights they thought themselves in conscience bound to defend. The victors fought against their lawful king, to whom they had also sworn allegiance. A summary of these confiscations is given in the speech of lord Clare on the Union. "After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for the recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army; and the slender relics of Irish possession became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688, amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual

value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expences incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers.

“ It is a very curious and important speculation to look back to the forfeitures of Ireland in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures:

In the reign of James I. the whole of the province	Acres,
of Ulster was confiscated, containing.....	2,836,837
Set out by the court of Claims at the Restoration	7,800,000
Forfeitures of 1688.....	1,060,792
	<hr/>
Total	11,697,629

“ So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone’s rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of a century. The situation therefore of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England carried on here,

from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations, and their country have been annexed as a province to the British empire."

As usual, the hostile pen carries on the war of defamation, as soon as the sword of destruction is sheathed. Archbishop King, bound by his station to be the herald of truth, stooped to publish wilful lies, to calumniate the beaten party; dwelling largely on the hardships endured by protestants, under James, and the outrages of the popish army. But Dr. Lesly, a dissenting clergyman, answered him so ably, that it was thought more prudent to suppress, than reply to the work.

The secretary to marshal Schomberg, Dr. Gorge, cannot be accused of partiality to the Irish. His state of parties, and conduct of the belligerents, is contained in the following extract. "The fire, saith the royal prophet, kindled in my breast, and I spoke with my tongue: perhaps some sparks of that fire so enflamed my zeal to the public good of this country, that I have not only spoke with my tongue, but wrote with my pen those truths which I know have redounded more to my particular prejudice, than to the public service. He that follows truth too near, saith a wise man; may lose his teeth; and a wiser than he tells us, that he who professeth some truths, may thereby lose his life; yet in the same period tells us, that he shall be no loser thereby;

the satisfaction and contentment which constantly attends integrity, being much sweeter than the advantage of temporal security. *Liberavi animam meam*, and if this make me vile, I am content to be more vile: I know God hath put enmity between the seed of the woman, and the seed of the serpent; and I as well know, that it is as vain for man's prudence to attempt to unite what God hath divided, as it is sinful to divide what he had united.... You know how often and how early we pressed the necessity of restoring a civil government in this province (Ulster), and how often and openly we declared that the ruin of the country must be the prejudice, and endanger the ruin of the army; and that there could be found no hands so cheap and easy to be got, or any that would be more hearty and faithful than the protestants of this country, who having their particular interests seconded by natural and religious motives must be more zealous in carrying on this war, than any foreign or mercenary soldiers, as is evident by what has been done by the Londonderry and Eniskillen soldiers, who are and were made up of the meanest and lowest people of this and the neighbouring provinces. You cannot forget who offered, and that at their own charge on our first landing here, to block up Charlemont, and to raise regiments to secure the northern garrisons, that the established army might have the more leisure to attend the motions of the public enemy; and I presume you cannot but as well remember, who ridiculed, scorned, and contemned all motions of that kind, and who

affirmed, and that openly, that the protestants of this province, ought rather to be treated as enemies than friends, and that the best of them had either basely complied with king James and his party, or cowardly left and deserted their country; that the goods and stock of the protestant inhabitants, once seized by the enemy, were forfeited, and ought not to be restored, but given as encouragement to the soldiers; that all papists ought to be plundered, and none protected; that the restoration of civil government was a diminution of the power of the general and the army, and that all the protestants, inhabitants of this province, were false to the present government, and ought not to be trusted with places of trust or power; that as their persons were not to be trusted, so their oaths and complaints were neither to be believed nor redressed; that so an easier and a safer approach might be made to invade the little left them by the Irish.

“ That all endeavours of the settlement of a public revenue were designs to oppress the army; that free quartering was the least retaliation that the protestants could give for being restored to their former estates; that religion is but canting, and debauchery the necessary character of soldiers. If to these you add the pressing of horses at pleasure, quartering at pleasure, robbing and plundering at pleasure, denying the people bread or seed of their own corn, though the general by his public proclamation requires both, and some openly and publicly contemning and scorning the said proclamation; whereby multitudes of

families are already reduced to want of bread, and left only to beg, or steal, or starve. These being the practices, and these the principles, and both as well known to you as to me, can it be wondered that the oppressed protestants here should report us worse than the Irish; or can it be wondered that God should pursue us with his dreadful judgments who have so provoked him with our daring sins? Or can we rationally expect God should fight for us, while we thus fight against him? We may as well expect grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles, as success to a protestant cause from such hands. Can we expect Sodom to destroy Babylon, or debauchery to destroy popery? Our enemy fights with the principle of a mistaken conscience against us, we against the conviction of our own principles against them. What I have learned of the enemy's principles and practices since I left you, I shall here inform you, and reduce what I have to say to these two general heads:

I. The frequent discourse of their king.

II. His public declarations and proclamations for the well government of his army.

I. As to his private discourse.

1. He expresseth great zeal and passionate affection to his English subjects, in so much that both French and Irish often say of him, as he did of king David, that he loves his enemies and hates his friends.

2. He is heard often to desire his officers, that in their engagement with the English, they should

be treated as mistaken subjects, and not as obstinate rebels.

3. He is often heard to declare, that since he rightly understood christianity, he ever asserted christian liberty, as well in his past prosperity, as his present adversity.

4. That all persuasions in matters of religion, who have most charity and least of severity, are most agreeable to christianity.

5. He is often heard to complain, that he ever observed an aptitude and propensity in persons of power to persecute such as differ from them.

6. That this natural aptitude to persecute ought to be restrained by wholesome and effectual laws.

7. That this persecuting spirit influencing the greater number of all persuasions, especially persons in power, is the only cause of his majesty's present sufferings.

8. He is passionately kind to all deserters, and cheerfully receives and soon prefers them.

9. He pretending his sufferings to be thus on the account of conscience; seems not to doubt, but God will find some unexpected means, for his restoration in 1690, as he did in 1660.

10. He is heard frequently to declare against the dragooning persecution of France, and the barbarous and inhuman murders committed on the protestants of this kingdom in the year 1641, as passionately, and perhaps as sincerely as the scribes and pharasees did against their forefathers, for persecuting the prophets. To these I think

fit to add the particulars of his majesty's public declarations, which are ordered to be read once every two months in the head of every troop and company in his whole army, and to be fixed up in all the boroughs and market towns in this kingdom.

1. His majesty is pleased earnestly to recommend the performance of public and private duties to God, to all under his command, and particularly recommends to the Roman catholics of his army frequent confessions, and strict observation of Sundays and holy-days.

2. He publicly declares what subsistence he allows to every horse, dragoon, and every private soldier in his army, and what is reserved in the paymaster's hands for the accoutrements and the hospital.

3. He avoids and forbids as unnecessary, the charge of all agents, and commands the majors of every regiment to do that work, and to save the charge.

4. He strictly requires the private soldier out of the said subsistence duly and truly to pay his quarters.

5. In case they shall want their subsistence, they are then required every week to give their respective landlords a note under their hands, which shall be received by the receiver general, as so much money out of any branch of his majesty's revenue.

6. His majesty forbids all straggling of private soldiers from their garrisons without their officers pass; and requires all officers, either

military or civil, to apprehend such soldiers having no pass, and to send them to their colours, to receive punishment according to their demerits.

7. His majesty by the same proclamation, forbids all plundering on any pretence whatsoever, under pain of death without mercy.

8. He requires both officers and soldiers under the pain of his high displeasure to demean and behave themselves civilly and respectfully in their respective quarters; and to assist and not obstruct the civil magistrates in the execution of their respective trusts, especially the officers concerned in and about his majesty's revenue.

9. He forbids all officers and soldiers to quarter themselves on any of his majesty's subjects, without having a billet or ticket under the hand of the constable or other civil officer of the place.

10. He strictly forbids pressing any countryman's horse on any pretence whatsoever without having his majesty, his captain general, his lord lieutenant, or deputy lieutenant's licence for so doing; and then allows them to press the said horse but one day's journey, and to see that the horse be returned as well as when received; and particularly forbids the pressing any horse belonging to any plough.

11. His majesty in the same proclamation, enjoins severe penalties on all forestallers or obstructers of provision going to either camp or market.

Lastly. The respective penalties enjoined in the said proclamation, are severely and impar-

tially executed on the respective offenders. My family tells me that the week before they left Dublin, there were two private soldiers executed before a protestant baker's door, for stealing two loaves not worth a shilling. And a fortnight before, a lieutenant and ensign were publicly executed at a place, where on pretence of the king's service, they pressed a horse going with provisions to Dublin market; two others were condemned and expected daily to be executed for the like offence; these severe examples confirming the penalties of these public declarations, contribute so much to the quiet of the country, that were it not for the country Raparees and Tories, theirs it is thought, would be much quieter than ours. Some of our foreigners are very uneasy to us; had not the prudence of a discreet major prevented it, last Sunday was seven night had been a bloody day between some of the Danish foot and colonel Langton's regiment of horse. The truth is too many of the English, as well as Danes and French, are highly oppressive to the poor country; whereas our enemy have reduced themselves to that order, that they exercise violence on none, but the proprietors of such as they know to be absent, or, as they phrase it, in rebellion against them, whose stock, goods and estates are seized, and set by the civil government, and the proceed applied for and towards the charge of the war. And for their better direction in their seizures, it is reported and believed, that they have copies of the particulars of the protestant's passes given into the committee

of the late house of commons at Westminster.*

If the military conduct of the Irish, in the war of James, is proved worthy of their antient fame for valour and clemency, the legislative acts of James's Irish parliament are evidences, no less clear and honourable, of their justice and patriotism. To speak first of the act of attainder. I see no just grounds wherefore Leland, and other writers, calumniate it as an act of persecution. It happened, that in Ireland protestants alone were in arms, openly rebelling, against their lawful sovereign: so that it was not for their religion, but their rebellion, they were attainted. They might as well say, that if a popish judge and jury found a protestant guilty of murder and robbery, he had suffered the sentence of the law for his religion, and not for his crimes. The repeal of the acts of settlement and explanation, though extremely just in itself, was displeasing to James; who, accordingly, endeavoured privately to counteract it, as a measure offensive to the English.

Bills that passed in the parliament, held in Dublin, 1690, under king James.

1. An act of recognition.

2. An act for annulling and making void all patents of officers for life or during good behaviour.

3. An act declaring that the parliament of

* Extract of a letter from Dr. Gorge, secretary to general Schomberg in Ireland, to colonel James Hamilton, in London, to be communicated to the lady viscountess Ranelagh, the lord Massareen, and others.

England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of errors and appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences in Ireland into England.

4. An act for repealing the acts of settlement and explanation, resolution of the doubts and all grants, patents and certificates, pursuant to them, or any of them.

5. An act for punishing of persons who bring in counterfeit coin of foreign realms, being current in this realm, or counterfeit the same within this realm, or wash, clip, file or lighten the same.

6. An act for taking off all incapacities of the natives of this kingdom.

7. An act for taking away the benefits of the clergy in certain cases of felony in this kingdom for two years.

8. An act to continue two acts made to prevent delays in execution: and to prevent arrests of judgment and superseding executions.

9. An act for repealing a statute, intituled, an act for provisions of ministers in cities and corporate towns. And for making the church of St. Andrew's, in the suburbs of the city of Dublin, presentative for ever.

10. An act of supply for his majesty for the support of his army.

11. An act for repealing the act for keeping and celebrating the 23d of October, as an anniversary in this kingdom.

12. An act for liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts or clauses in any acts of parliament, which are inconsistent with the same.

13. An act concerning tythes, and other ecclesiastical duties.

14. An act for regulating tythes, and other ecclesiastical duties in the province of Ulster.

15. An act concerning appropriate tythes, and other duties payable to ecclesiastical dignitaries.

16. An act for repealing the act for real union and division of parishes, and concerning churches, free schools and exchanges.

17. An act for relief and release of poor distressed prisoners for debts.

18. An act for repealing an act, intituled, an act for confirmation of letters patents, granted to his grace James duke of Ormond.

19. An act for encouragement of strangers and others to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland.

20. An act for prevention of frauds and perjuries.

21. An act prohibiting the importation of English, Scotch, or Welsh coals into this kingdom.

22. An act for ratifying and confirming deeds and settlements, and last wills and testaments of persons out of possession.

23. An act for the speedy recovering servants wages.

24. An act for vesting in his majesty the goods of absentees.

25. An act concerning martial law.

26. An act for punishment of waste committed on lands, restorable to old proprietors.

27. An act to enable his majesty to regulate the duties of foreign commodities.

28. An act for the better settling intestates estates.

29. An act for advance and improvement of trade, and for the encouragement and increase of shipping and navigation.

30. An act for the attainder of divers rebels, and for the preserving the interest of loyal subjects.

31. An act for granting and confirming unto the duke of Tyrconnel, lands and tenements to the value of £15,000 per annum.

32. An act for securing the water-course for the castle and city of Dublin.

33. An act for relieving Dame Anna Yolanda, Sarracourt, alias Duval and her daughter.

34. An act for securing iron-works and land thereunto belonging, on Sir Henry Waddington, knight, at certain rates.

35. An act for the reversal of the attainder of William Ryan, of Bally Ryan, in the county of Tipperary, Esq. and for restoring him to his blood, corrupted by the said attainder.

Act for the advance and improvement of trade, and for encouragement and increase of shipping, and navigation.

“Whereas this kingdom of Ireland, for its good situation, commodious harbours, and great quantity of goods, the growth, product, and manufactory thereof, is, and standeth very fit and convenient for trade and commerce with most nations, kingdoms and plantations; and

several laws, statutes and ordinances, having heretofore been made, and enacted from time to time, prohibiting and disabling the king's subjects of this realm, to export, or carry out of this kingdom, unto any other the king's islands, plantations, or colonies, in Asia, Africa, or America, several of the goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities of this nation; or to import into this kingdom, the goods or merchandizes of the said plantations, colonies and islands, without landing or discharging in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, under great penalties and forfeitures, not only to the decay of the king's revenue, but also to the very great prejudice and disadvantage of all the inhabitants in this kingdom, as well subjects as strangers; and which hath in a high measure contributed to impoverish this kingdom, and discouraged several merchants, traders, and artificers, to come from abroad, and dwell, and trade here: and whereas, the encrease of shipping, and the encouragement of navigation, under the good providence of God, and the careful protection of his sacred majesty, are the best and fittest means and foundations, whereon the wealth, safety and strength of this island and kingdom, may be built and established. Be it therefore enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled; and by the authority of the same, that it shall and may be lawful to and for his majesty's subjects of this realm of Ireland, and to

and for every other person and persons, of what nation soever, residing and inhabiting here, during the time of such residence, freely to trade into, and from all and every his majesty's plantations, colonies and islands, in Asia, Africa and America, and to export from this kingdom, and carry unto all and every the said plantations, colonies, and islands, and there sell, dispose of, and barter all sorts of goods, wares, merchandizes and commodities, as well as of the growth product, or manufactory of this kingdom, as of any other part of Europe, commonly called European goods, and import, and bring into this kingdom of Ireland, all sorts of goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities of the growth, product, or manufactory, of all or any the said islands, colonies and plantations, without being obliged to land or unload in England, Wales, or the town of Berwick upon Tweed, or entering all or any such goods, wares, or merchandizes there; but as herein after is expressed, and without being obliged upon shipping, or taking on board, in the said plantations, colonies, or islands, the said commodities, to enter into any bond, to bring the said goods into England, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and to unload and put the same on shore, any act, statute, ordinance, law, sentence, or judgment, at any time heretofore made, given, or in force, to the contrary notwithstanding: provided always, that the master or owner of all and every such ship and ships, vessel or vessels, so trading, from this kingdom, unto all or any the said islands, colo-

nies, or plantations, his or their agent or factors shall, and do before such ship or ships, vessel or vessels, sail from any part of this kingdom, towards the said islands, colonies, or plantations perfect, and enter into a bond, with one sufficient security, to the use of the king, and to be perfected to the collector, or chief custom-house officer of such port or place, whence such ship or vessel is to sail, in such a reasonable sum, as such collector, or custom-house officer, shall require, regard being had to the value of such cargo, as the said ship or vessel shall export, with condition to bring the goods, wares, and merchandizes, which such ship or vessel shall take in, at all or any the said plantations, colonies or islands, into England, Ireland, Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and to no other place, and there to aborad and put the same on shore, the danger of the seas only excepted: be it likewise enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all goods and merchandizes whatsoever, which shall be carried, conveyed, or exported out of this kingdom of Ireland, to the said islands, colonies and plantations, shall be liable, and pay to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, in the said islands, plantations and colonies, the same or so much customs, excise, or other duties, as the like goods or merchandizes being exported out of England, into all, or any the said plantations, colonies, or islands, and all goods or merchandizes imported into this kingdom, out of all or any the said islands, colonies and plantations, (tobacco and sugar only excepted) shall pay in

this kingdom to the use of the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, the same or like duties, custom and excise, and no more or other, and in such manner, and at such time, and subject to such penalties and forfeitures, for non-entry, undue-entry, or non-payment of duties, as in the like acts of parliament made in this kingdom in the fourteenth or fifteenth years of the reign of the late king Charles II.; the one intituled, "An act for settling the subsidy or poundage, and granting of subsidy or tonnage, and other sums of money unto his royal majesty, his heirs and successors; the same to be paid upon merchandize, imported and exported into, or out of the kingdom of Ireland, according to a book of rates hereunto annexed;" and the other, intituled, "An act for the settling of the excise, or new impost, upon his majesty, his heirs and successors, according to the book of rates therein inserted, and as in the said book of rates, and as in the rules, orders and directions, to the said acts and books of rates annexed, are contained and specified:" and whereas, the duties, and custom, and excise on tobacco, of the king's majesty's plantations, imported into this kingdom, amount to no more, according to the said two late acts of parliament in this kingdom, and books of rates to them annexed, but to two pence per pound, which is too small a duty. Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all tobacco of the growth, or product of all or any his majesty's new plantations or islands, or any plantations belonging to his most christian majesty, imported

into this kingdom, out of all or any the said plantations and islands, shall from and after the 18th day of July, 1689, be charged, and liable to pay unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, the sum of five pence sterling for each pound, custom, and excise, (that is to say) two pence for each pound custom, and three pence for each pound excise, and no more, provided always, that Spanish and Brazill tobacco shall pay the same duty of custom, and excise, as formerly; and that likewise, tobacco of that growth or product of the king's plantation, or any of the foreign plantations belonging to his most christian majesty, imported into this kingdom out of England, or any other part of Europe at any time, from or after the 18th day of July, 1689, shall pay and satisfy unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of two pence sterling, custom, for and out of each, and every pound, and the sum of two-pence halfpenny sterling, excise for and out of each pound and no more. And, that sugars, indigo, logwood, imported into this kingdom out of England, shall pay and satisfy unto the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, viz. white sugar coming from England, ten shillings custom, and ten shillings excise, for every hundred weight, and no more; brown sugar, the sum of two shillings six-pence sterling custom, and the like sum of two shillings six-pence sterling excise for each hundred weight, and no more; the said duties, customs, and excise to be paid in such manner, and under such pains and forfeitures, and with such allowances,

as in the aforesaid two acts and books of rates, orders and directions are expressed and contained. And for the further encouragement and advance of the said plantation trade, and for maintaining a greater, and more firm correspondence and kindness between the subjects of this kingdom, and the planters, and inhabitants of the said plantations and islands; be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that whatsoever goods or commodities of the growth, product, or manufactory of the said islands or plantations, shall be at any time hereafter unloaded, or landed, in any part of this kingdom, and shall pay or secure to be paid, the custom, duties, and excise on the said goods, due and payable, that at any time hereafter, within the space of one whole year, to commence from the day of such landing, it shall, and may be lawful to and for the merchant, owner or proprietor of such goods and commodities, his or their agents or factors, to export and carry out of this kingdom into any other nation, dominion or country, such and so much of the said goods and commodities so landed, as he or they shall think fit; and that upon such exportation the whole excise of such goods, which was before paid, or secured to be paid for the same, and one half of the custom of the said goods before paid or secured to be paid, shall be repaid or allowed to such merchant, owner, proprietor, his or their factors or agents so exporting, and that within twenty days next and immediately ensuing the date and time of such exportation, tobacco only excepted. And for the more

encouragement of building good and serviceable ships, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that any person or persons who shall within the space of ten years to commence the 24th of June 1689, build, or cause to be built within this kingdom of Ireland any ship or vessel above twenty-five ton, and under one hundred ton burthen, shall and may for the first three voyages any such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom, upon the said ships or vessels return from such voyage back into this kingdom, have, receive, or be allowed to his and their own proper use one eighth part of the duties of customs and excise which shall be due or payable to the king, his heirs or successors, for and out of all the goods and commodities so imported in such ship or vessel upon the said three first returns, which such ship or vessel shall make into this kingdom. And likewise, that any person or persons, who shall within the said space of ten years commencing, as aforesaid, build or cause to be built in this kingdom any ship or vessel exceeding in burthen one hundred tons, shall for the first four voyages such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom, and upon the said ship or vessels return from the said voyages back to this kingdom, have and receive to his and their own proper use one eighth part of the duties of custom and excise, which shall be due or payable to the king, his heirs or successors, for or out of the goods and commodities so imported into such ship or vessel upon the four first returns such ship or vessel shall make out of this kingdom.

And to the end that masters of ships, seamen, mariners, shipwrights, carpenters, rope-makers and block-makers may be encouraged and invited to come and dwell in this kingdom, and that thereby navigation may improve and increase, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every masters of ships, and shipwrights, ship carpenters, seamen, marines, rope-makers, and block-makers, who are at present residing within this kingdom, or who shall or do at any time from henceforth come and reside in this kingdom of Ireland, and shall pursue and follow his trade or calling, shall and may for the time and space of ten years after his or their so coming into this kingdom, be freed, exempted and discharged of, and from all sorts of taxes, and cesses, watch, ward, and quartering of soldiers and officers in and throughout this kingdom: and shall likewise have and be allowed his and their freedom gratis in any town, city, sea-port corporation or borough, where he or they shall please to reside, and pursue his or their calling or trade. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in the respective cities and towns of Dublin, Belfast, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Galway there shall be established, erected and settled, before the first day of December, 1689, in each of the said towns and cities, and so continued for ever hereafter, a free school for teaching and instructing the said arts: and that every of the said towns and cities shall out of the public revenue and stock to them belonging, or otherwise, settle and secure a rea-

sonable pension and stipend for such master or masters, to be paid them quarterly during his and their continuance in such employment or employments: provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said duties of custom and excise of tobacco of the growth or product of his majesty's plantation, shall be and continue payable to his majesty, his heirs and successors, during the time, and so long as this kingdom of Ireland shall have a free and open trade to and from the king's said foreign plantations, and no longer; and whensoever the said duties of five pence per pound custom and excise, payable for tobacco imported in this kingdom before the making of this act, shall remain, and be payable for ever thereafter to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and no more or other, and this present duty to cease and determine. Provided likewise, that it shall and may be lawful to and for all and every person and persons so importing tobacco from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to export and carry out of this kingdom into any other nation or kingdom all or any part of the said tobacco imported, and that upon such exportation out of this kingdom, the whole duty of excise of the said tobacco, and three half pence per pound of the custom shall be allowed and repaid the merchant, owner or proprietor, his or their agents or factors so exporting the said tobacco: so that there shall be and remain to his majesty, his heirs and successors, but one half penny per pound custom for the said tobacco so exported.

Disregarding the legislative privileges of the Irish parliament, that of England, enacted, in the second session of the first parliament of William and Mary, that the persons now or of late assembled in Dublin, without any authority derived from their majesties, calling themselves a parliament, were not, nor are a parliament, but an unlawful and rebellious assembly; and all acts and proceedings whatsoever, made or passed in the said pretended parliament, shall be adjudged void, &c.

The second parliament under William, held in Dublin, an. 1695, passed an act, declaring all attainders and other acts made in a late pretended parliament, held under king James at Dublin, about the 7th of May, 1689, to be void; and that all the rolls, journals, &c. relating thereto, should be cancelled and destroyed. Accordingly on the 2nd of October, they were publicly burned. Yet, it being the fairest representation of the people of Ireland ever assembled in parliament; the members, men of landed property; their acts, the most patriotic in the annals of Ireland, their names should stand recorded, and are as follow,

PEERS.

Sir Alexander Fitter, lord	Earl of Granard,
baron of Gosworth, lord	Earl of Limerick,
Chancellor,	Lord Viscount Glanmalira,
Earl of Westmeath,	Viscount Killmallock,
Earl of Barrymore,	Viscount Iveagh,
Earl of Clancarty,	Viscount Mountgarret,
Earl of Tyrone,	Viscount Dillon,
Earl of Longford,	Viscount Rosse,

Viscount Gallway,	Baron of Castleconnell,
Sir Valentine Browne, Vis-	Baron of Brittas,
count Kenmare,	Baron of Dunboyne,
Justin M'Carthy, Viscount	Baron of Cahirr,
Mountcashel,	Baron of Howth,
Lord Bishop of Meath,	Baron of Dunsany,
Bishop of Ossory,	Barony of Upper Ossory,
Bishop of Cork,	Lord Baron of Slane,
Bishop of Limerick,	Chief Justice Nugent, baron
Lord Baron of Atherdee,	of Riverstown,
Baron of Kinsale,	John Bourk, baron of Bophin,
Baron of Enniskillen,	Baron of Trimlestown.
Baron of Strabane,	

COMMONERS.

COUNTY OF ARMAGH.	<i>Borough of Bellturbett.</i>
Francis Strafford, Esq.	Sir Edward Tyrrel, Bart.
Constantine O'Neale, Esq.	Phillip Tuite, of Newcastle,
COUNTY OF ANTRIM.	Esq.
Cormucke O'Neale,	COUNTY OF CLARE.
Randall Mac Donnell.	Daniel O'Bryan, Esq.
<i>Borough of Belfast.</i>	John Mac Namara, of Cral-
Marcus Talbott,	lagh, Esq.
Daniel O'Neale.	<i>Borough of Ennis.</i>
COUNTY OF CATHERLOUGH.	Florence Mac Namarra, of
Dudly Bagnal, Esq.	Dronodd, Esq.
Henry Luttrell, Esq.	Theobald Butler, of Straghna-
<i>Borough of Catherlogh.</i>	gohoone, Esq.
Marcus Bagot, Esq.	COUNTY OF CORK.
John Warren, Esq.	Justin Mac Carthy, Esq.
<i>Borough of Old Leighlin.</i>	Sir Richard Nagle, Knight,
Darby Long, Esq.	(Speaker.)
Daniel Doran.	<i>Borough of Youghall.</i>
COUNTY OF CAVAN.	Thomas Uniack, Alderman,
Philip Reyley, of Aghnecre-	Edward Gough, Alderman.
sey, Esq.	<i>Borough of Kinsale.</i>
John Reyley, of Garriroback,	Andrew Murrough, Esq.
Esq.	Miles de Coursey, Esq.
<i>Borough of Cavan.</i>	<i>Borough of Baltimore.</i>
Phillip Oge O'Reyley, Esq.	Daniel O'Donovan, Esq.
Hugh Reyley, of Lara, Esq.	Jeremy Donovan, Esq.

- Borough of Banden Bridge.* *Borough of Killileagh.*
 Chas. Mac Carthy, of Ballen, Bernard Mac Gennis, of Bal-
 lygorianbeg, Esq.
 Dan. Mac Carthy, Reagh, Esq. Toole O'Neil, of Drumme-
Borough of Cloghnakelty. kelly, Gent.
 Lieut. Colloen Owen Mac
 Carthy, Esq. COUNTY OF DUBLIN.
 Daniel Mac Fin Mac Carthy, Simon Lutterell, of Lutterells-
 Esq. towne, Esq.
Borough of Middletown. Patrick Sarsfield, of Lucan,
 Esq.
 Dermond Long, Esq. *Borough of Swords.*
 John Long, Esq. Francis Barnwall, of Woods-
Borough of Mayallow. carke, in the Co. Meath, Esq.
 John Barrett, of Castlemore, Robert Russell, of Drynham,
 Esq. Esq.
 David Nagle, of Carragowne, *Borough of Newcastle.*
 Esq. Thomas Arthur, of Colgans-
Manor and Borough of Rath towne,
Cormuck. John Talbot, of Bellgard.
 James Barry, Esq. *City of Dublin.*
 Edward Powell, Esq. Sir Michael Creagh, Knight,
Manor of Donerail. Lord Mayor.
 Daniel O'Donovane, Esq. Terence Dermot, sen. Alder-
 John Baggot, jun. of Bagots- man.
 town, Esq. *College of Dublin.*
Borough of Charleville. Sir John Meade, Knight,
 John Baggot, sen. of Bagots- Joseph Coghlan, Esq.
 town, Esq. COUNTY OF GALLWAY.
 John Power, of Killballane. Sir Ulick Bourk, Bart.
City of Cork. Sir Walter Blake, Bart.
 Sir James Cotter, Knight, *Borough of Athenry.*
 John Gallaway, Esq. James Talbot, of Mount Tal-
 COUNTY OF DOWN. bot, Esq.
 Murtoogh Mac Gennis, of Chas. Daly, of Dunsandal, Esq.
 Green Castle, Esq. *Borough of Tuam.*
 Ever Mac Gennis, of Castle James Lally, of Tullenedally,
 William, Esq. Wm. Bourk, of Carrewfraila.
Borough of Newry. COUNTY OF KERRY.
 Rowland White, Esq. Nicholas Brown, Esq.
 Rowland Savage, Esq. Sir Thomas Crossby, Knight.

- Borough of Tralee.* Maurice Hussey, of Kerry, Esq. Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.
 John Brown, of Ardagh, Esq. James Fitzgerald, Esq.
Borough of Dinglesdacouche. *Borough of Knocktopher.*
 Edward Rice Fitz James, of Harvey Morres, Esq.
 Ballinelig, in the Co. of Li. Henry Meagh, Esq.
 merick, *City of Kilkenny.*
 John Hussey, of Calmullin, Esq. John Rooth, Mayor,
Borough of Ardfert. James Bryan, Alderman.
 Callonel Roger Mac Elliot, KING'S COUNTY.
 Cornelius Mac Gillicuddy. Hewer Oxburgh, Esq.
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 John Wogan, Esq. *Borough of Philipstown.*
 George Aylmer, Esq. John Connor, Esq.
Borough of Naas. Hewer Oxburgh, Esq.
 Walter, Lord Dungan, *Borough of Banagher.*
 Charles White, Esq. Terence Coghlan, Esq.
Borough of Athy. Terence Coghlan, Gent.
 William Fitzgerald, Esq. COUNTY OF LEITRIM.
 William Archbold, Esq. Edmond Reynells, Esq.
Borough of Harristowne. Triell Farrell, Esq.
 James Nihell, Esq. *Borough of Jamestown.*
 Edmond Fitzgerald, Esq. Alexander Mac Donnell, Esq.
Borough of Kildare. William Shanley, Esq.
 Francis Leigh, Esq. COUNTY OF LIMERICK.
 Robert Porter, Esq. Sir John Fitzgerald, Bart.
 COUNTY OF KILKENNY. Gerrald Fitzgerald, Knight of
 James Grace, of Courstowne, the Glyn.
 Esq. *Borough of Kilmallock.*
 Robert Walsh, of Clonencassy, Sir William Harley, Bart.
 Esq. John Lacy, Esq.
Borough of Callan. *Borough of Askeaton.*
 Walter Butler, Esq. J. Bourk, of Cahirmayhill, Esq.
 Tady Meagher, Esq. Edward Rice, Esq.
Borough of Thomastown. *City of Limerick.*
 Robert Grace, sen. Esq. Nicholas Arthur, Alderman,
 Robert Grace, jun. Esq. Thomas Harrold, Alderman,
Borough of Gowran. COUNTY OF LONGFORD.
 Colonel Robert Fielding, Roger Farrell, Esq.
 Walter Kelly, Dr. of Physic, Robert Farrell, Esq.

Borough of Lanisborough. Christopher Cusack, of Ratholieran, Esq.

Oliver Fitz Gerrald,
Roger Farrell.

Borough of Kells.

Borough of St. Johnston.

Sir William Ellis, Knight,
Lieut. Col. James Nugent.

Patrick Everard, Esq.

John Delamare, Esq.

Borough of Athboy.

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John Trynder, Esq.

Thomas Bellew, Esq.

Robert Longfield, Esq.

William Talbot, Esq.

MONAGHAN.

Borough of Atherdee.

Bryan Mac Mahon, Esq.

Hugh Gernon, Esq.

Hugh Mac Mahon, Esq.

John Babe, Esq.

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Sir Patrick Trant, Knight,

Robert Dermot, Esq.

Edmond Morres, Esq.

John Dowdgal, Esq.

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Sir Henry Bond, Bart.

Christopher Peppard Fitz Ignatius, Esq.

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Borough of Drogheda.

Pierce Bryan, Esq.

Henry Dowdal, Esq. Recorder,

Thady Fitzpatrick, Esq.

Christopher Peppard Fitz

Borough of Ballynekill.

George, Alderman.

Sir Gregory Byrne, Bart.

Oliver Grace, Esq.

COUNTY OF MAYO.

Borough of Galloway.

Gerrald Moor, Esq.

Oliver Martin, Esq.

Walter Bourke, Esq.

John Kirwan, Esq.

Borough of Castlebar.

COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.

John Bretingham Portrifle,

Charles Kelly, Esq.

Thomas Bourke, Esq.

John Bourke, Esq.

COUNTY OF MEATH.

Borough of Roscommon.

Sir William Talbott, Bart.

John Dillon, Esq.

Sir Patrick Barnwall, Bart.

John Kelly, Esq.

Borough of Ratooth.

Borough of Boyle.

John Hussey, Esq.

Captain John King,

James Fitzgerald, Esq.

Ter. Mac Dermot, Alderman.

Borough of Trym.

COUNTY OF SLIGO.

Captain Nicholas Cusacke,

Henry Crofton, Esq.

Walter Naugle, Esq.

Oliver O'Gara, Esq.

Borough of Navan.

Borough of Sligo.

Christopher Cusack, of Corballis, Esq.

Terrence Mac Donogh, Esq.

James French, Esq.

COUNTY OF TIPPERARY. Edmond Nugent, of Carlaus-
Nicholas Purcel, of Longmore, townne.

Esq.

Borough of Athlone.

James Butler, of Granigebegg. Edmond Malone, of Ballyna-
Borough of Clonmell. bourne, Esq.

Nicholas White, Alderman, Edmond Malone, of Juris-
John Bray, Alderman. perit, Esq.

Borough of Fethard.

Borough of Kebeggan.

Sir John Everard, Bart. Brian Geoghegan, of Donore,
James Tobin, of Fethard, Esq. Esq.

City of Cashell.

Charles Geoghegan, of Lyo-
nane, Esq.

Denis Kearny, Alderman,*

James Hacket, Alderman.

Borough of Fowre.

COUNTY OF TYRONE.

John Nugent, of Donore, Esq.

Colonel Gourdon O'Neile, Christopher Nugent, of Dar-
Lewis Doe, of Dungannon, Esq. dystown.

Borough of Dungannon.

COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

Arthur O'Neile, Esq. Walker Butler, of Monsin,
Peter Donnelly, of Dungannon. Esq.

Borough of Strabane.

Patrick Colclough, of Mac-
bury.

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Borough of Newbury.

Borough of Dungarvan.

Abraham Strange, of Tober-
diffe, Esq.

John Hore, Esq.

Richard Doyle, of Kilorky.

Martin Hore, Esq.

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COUNTY OF WESTMEATH.

The Hon. Colonel William James Devereux, of Cargme-
Nugent, nan, Esq.

The Hon. Colonel Henry Arthur Waddington Portrifi.
Dillon. *Borough of Taghmon.*

*Borough and Manor of Mul- George Hore, of Polehore,
lingar. Esq.*

Gerald Dillon, Esq. Prime Walter Hore, of Harpers-
Serjeant, townne.

<i>Borough of Bannow.</i>	COUNTY OF WICKLOW.
Francis Plowden, Esq.	Richard Butler, Esq.
Dr. Alexius Stafford.	William Talbot, Esq.
<i>Borough of Cloghmine.</i>	<i>Borough of Wicklow.</i>
Edward Sherlock, of the city	Francis Tool, Esq.
- of Dublin, Esq.	Thomas Byrne, Esq.
Nicholas White, of Rosse,	<i>Borough of Blessington.</i>
merchant.	James Eustace, Esq.
<i>Borough of Fethard.</i>	Maurice Eustace, Gent.
The Right Hon. Col. James	<i>Borough of Carisfort.</i>
Porter,	Hugh Byrone, Esq.
Captain Nicholas Strafford.	Pierce Archbold, Esq.

If we compare the patriotic acts of this true Irish parliament, with the penal code, and the restrictions on Irish trade, manufacture and navigation, passed by the revolutionary parliaments of William and Anne, we shall see no motive for the annual commemorations of Glorious memory, but the infatuation of party exulting over the ruin of their country. Indeed a monopoly of the linen manufacture was promised for the surrender of the woollen; but that promise was not thought binding, or observed.

Though the terms obtained by the treaty of Limerick were less favourable, than, to terminate the Irish war, William was disposed to grant; yet the English protestants looked with unbounded resentment upon articles, which rendered, in some measure, independent, a people, whom they abhorred.* The designing men of this party quarrelled with the articles, only because their expectations were disappointed, of raising large fortunes out of the forfeitures, by their interest

* Macphers. Hist. Great Brit.

or their money. They easily drew in a majority of the protestants to engage on the popular side of the question. They thought the Irish entitled to no articles, but what would expose them to the severest events of war; and, therefore, when they understood, that the papists, in the Irish quarters, were to enjoy their estates, and be received as subjects, with some privileges concerning oaths and religion, they censured the lords justices and the general, as if the king and kingdom were betrayed; insisting, that the articles ought not to be observed; and that it was high-treason even to capitulate with the king.

On the other hand, the more moderate protestants thought it for his majesty's honour and interest, both abroad and at home, that the articles should be strictly observed; and the king thought so too, by repeating his instructions for that purpose. His word and honour were engaged, which he would by no means forfeit.

And besides it was thought sound policy, to give the Irish the full benefit of their articles. For the French, soon discovering their error, in neglecting Ireland so much as they had done, when so considerable a part of the natives were in arms to assist them, projected a new invasion every year; and had the Irish been exasperated by a breach of the articles, would have studied means to foment a new rebellion among them.

This party-war was soon declared from the pulpit (the most improper place to blow up the coals of sedition). Doctor Dopping, bishop of Meath, in other respects an excellent prelate, was

so hurried away by popular notions, that the very Sunday after the justices returned from the camp, preaching before them in Christ-church, he argued, " that the peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious; that they kept neither articles nor oaths, longer than was for their interest; and that therefore these articles, which were intended for a security, would prove a snare; and would only enable the rebels to play their pranks over again on the first opportunity."

To obviate this doctrine, Doctor Moreton, bishop of Kildare, the following Sunday, shewed the obligation of keeping the public faith, and withal spoke more favourably of the papists than any other protestant thought they deserved; especially as the first bishop was known to be a very honest man, and to intend, not the direct violation of faith, but to have so strict a hand kept over the papists, as might disable them from rebelling again; and though Doctor Moreton was as well known to have no unwarrantable kindness for that people, nor to intend more than to vindicate the government in making and observing the articles, yet they were both highly censured by the different parties; and the bishop of Meath's behaviour was so much resented by the king, that he was put out of the council, and the bishop of Kildare, for his moderation, substituted in his place.

There doctrine became so much the subject of discourse, that it was necessary to settle people's opinions upon the controverted points; and to that end dean Synge preached in the same church, upon these words, ' keep peace with all men, if

it be possible;' and moderated so judiciously, by asserting, "that the papists were not to be trusted, but the articles were to be performed; that they deserved no favour, yet were intitled to justice, even for the sake of conscience and honor;" that no more was heard of the dispute from the pulpit; but in parliament and council the difference subsisted, until the English act of resumption quieted the disputants, who then saw they lost nothing by the articles.*

The infringement of these articles on the part of government commenced very early after they were signed; and it was afterwards repeated, from time to time, in such a manner, as to prepare the minds of the people to receive with less surprize, the total violation of them by acts "to prevent the further growth of popery," which were then in contemplation.

For although by the first military article, "it was agreed, that all persons of what quality soever that were willing to leave the kingdom, should have free liberty to go into any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) with their families;"* yet, it is confessed that the lords justices, and general Ginckle, endeavoured to render this article of as little force as possible: "for as great numbers of the Irish officers and soldiers had resolved to enter into the service of France, and to carry their families with them, Ginckle would not suffer their wives and children to be shipped off with the men; not doubting but that by detaining the former, he would have

* Harris's Life of king William.

prevented many of the latter from going into that service. This, I say, was confessedly an infringement of that article.

And in less than two months after the capitulation of Limerick was confirmed by their majesties, "the justices of peace, sheriffs, and other magistrates, presuming on their power in the country, did, in an illegal manner, dispossess several of their majesties subjects, not only of their goods and chattels, but of their lands and tenements, to the great disturbance of the peace of the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their majesties government."* It appears from a letter of the lords justices of the 19th of November, 1691, "that their lordships had received complaints from all parts of Ireland, of the ill treatment of the Irish, who had submitted, had their majesties protection, or were included in articles; and that they were so extremely terrified with apprehensions of the continuance of that usage, that some thousands of them, who had quitted the Irish army, and went home with a resolution to go to France, were then come back again, and pressed earnestly to go thither, rather than stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the public faith (add these justices) as well as law and justice, they were robbed of their substance and abused in their persons."

Though the 12th article of the treaty of Limerick engaged that king William should use his utmost endeavours that the treaty should be ratified and confirmed in parliament, yet the first

* Harris's Life of king William.

parliament passed over them in silence. In 1692, the deputy, lord Sidney, summoned a parliament, principally to raise money. In it, the undoubted right of his majesty to the crown of Ireland was declared by an act. Protestant strangers, by another, were encouraged to settle here. By a third, £70,000 was granted by an excise on malt liquors. But accompanying this with a saving of their rights, and having negatived another money bill, 'because it had not originated in the commons,' they were suddenly prorogued, and accused by the deputy, of having undutifully invaded their majesties prerogative. They asked permission to place the subject before their majesties in a just point of view. "Yes," Sydney answered, "you shall have leave to go for England, to beg their majesties pardon for your seditious and riotous assemblies." His conduct was sanctioned by the judges.

At a subsequent meeting of parliament, a bill, upon the principle of the English bill of rights, was introduced into the house of lords. It proposed to enact, that the pretended power of suspending, or executing laws by royal authority is illegal, without consent of parliament. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or of executing laws, by regal authority, as assumed and exercised in the late reign, is illegal. That it is the right of the subject to petition the king, and that all prosecutions and commitments for the same, are illegal. That the levying money, for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without consent of parliament, for longer

time than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal. That protestants, suitable to their condition, may have arms for their defence, as permitted by law. That the election of members of parliament ought to be free. That the freedom of speech in parliament, can only be impeached or questioned in parliament. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unnatural punishments inflicted. That jurors ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and that jurors in trials for high treason, should be freeholders. That all grants and promises of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal. The bill being sent to the commons, they added to it the following amendment. That for redress of all grievances in this kingdom, and for improving, strengthening, and preserving the laws, parliaments ought not to be disused, as they have been in the late reigns. That the free quartering of soldiers on any subject of this kingdom, in time of peace, is arbitrary and illegal.

The bill was transmitted, but, to the very great discredit of government, not returned. As the parliament continued to act on principles offensive to the court, it was prorogued a second time, and then dissolved.

The English in Ireland thought the government favoured the Irish too much, which some imputed to bribery; while others thought it necessary to protect the Irish from the prosecutions of the English, who were much sharpened against them. Sydney was recalled; and the government vested in lord Capel, sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr.

Duncombe, who were not long unanimous in their measures. Lord Capel studied to render himself popular, by espousing the interests of the English, without any nice regard to justice or equity. He was too easily set on by an interested party, to do every thing that might gain applause, and proceeded as far as in his power, even to infringe the articles granted to the Irish upon the surrender of Galway and Limerick, which the king and his ministers were bound to see strictly performed. The other lords justices, Sir Cyril Wyche and Mr. Duncombe, were men of severe tempers, strictly just, and studied to protect the Irish against the attempts made to oppress them; nor did they endeavour to make themselves otherwise popular, than by a wise and just administration. Lord Capel finding his schemes frequently defeated by their vigilance and opposition, repaired by licence to England, and the government, by the king's special command, was placed in the hands of Sir Charles Porter and Sir Cyril Wyche, who conducted the affairs of it with great moderation and justice, to the no small mortification of the prevailing party. The lord Capel's journey was concerted to procure the government solely for himself; for which end he undertook to manage a parliament, and carry all things as the court pleased, if he were made lord deputy, and had power to place and displace such as he should name. These terms being agreed to, he returned to Ireland, and was sworn lord deputy on the twenty-seventh of May, 1695; and having made several removes, he opened a parliament

at Dublin, on the twenty-seventh of August.*

If the Irish now expected the performance of their majesties engagement, to procure them such security as would prevent them from future disturbance, they were miserably disappointed. Instead of fulfilment of engagements, more money, and the establishment of a protestant interest in Ireland, was declared to be the cause of summoning parliament.

For these purposes, £163,325 was granted by additional duties; and the commons resolved, "that the great interest and countenance the Irish had in the court of England during the two last reigns, had been the chief cause of all the miseries and calamities that had since befallen the kingdom." This vote was preparatory to the laws to prevent the growth of popery. The business was actively entered into, and several persecuting statutes enacted.

To render men patient, under a deprivation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give them a knowledge or feeling of those rights was rationally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded.† Accordingly Papists were incapacitated from being schoolmasters, under £20 penalty and three months imprisonment for every offence. Having thus precluded Roman catholic youth from education in their native country, it was thought they might possibly receive it in a foreign land. To prevent this, it was enacted,

* Harris's Life of king William.

† Burke's Letter to lord Kenmare.

that if any subjects of Ireland should, after that session of parliament, go or send any child or person, to be educated in any popish university, college or school, or in any private family; or if such child should, by any popish person, be instructed in the popish religion, or if any subjects of Ireland should send money or other things towards the maintenance of such child or other person already sent or to be sent; every such offender, being thereof convicted, should be for ever disabled to sue or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information, in law or equity; to be guardian, administrator or executor to any person; or to be capable of any legacy or deed of gift, and besides should forfeit all their estates, both real and personal, during their lives. This law was rigorously executed during this and the succeeding reign, and the penalties increased.

By another act, all papists were obliged to deliver up their arms, armour and ammunition, under the penalty, if a peer or peeress, for the first offence, £100; for the second, a premunire. All under that degree; for the first offence, £30 penalty and twelve months imprisonment. Noblemen and gentlemen, comprehended in the articles of Galway and Limerick, were allowed to keep a sword, case of pistols, or gun, for their defence.

Gun-smiths were also prohibited from taking popish apprentices, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every offence: the indentures and bonds of apprenticeship to be void: and every papist exercising the trade of a gunsmith to forfeit twenty pounds.

Horses, mares or geldings, belonging to papists, were made seizable, and given to the protestant informer, upon paying five pounds five shillings for each to the owner. Concealing or assisting to conceal such horses, &c. was punishable with three months imprisonment, and a fine of treble the value of such horses.

By another act, all priests exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the popish clergy, were ordered to depart the kingdom before the first of May 1698, under penalty of imprisonment till transported. But if they returned after transportation, they were to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Concealers of such, were for the first offence to forfeit £20; for the second £40; forfeiture of lands and goods for the third.

To prevent intermarriages of protestants and papists, protestant heiresses, unless they married a known protestant, were deprived of their inheritance, which was vested in the next protestant relation. Protestant ministers, or popish priests, joining such disqualified persons in marriage, to be imprisoned twelve months and fined £20.

It is really shameful to see what mean, malicious and frivolous complaints against papists, were received under the notion of grievances, by this parliament. A petition of one Edward Sprag and others, in behalf of themselves and other protestant porters in and about the city of Dublin, complaining that one Darby Ryan, a papist, employed porters of his own persuasion, was received, and referred to a committee of grievances.

The articles of Limerick at length came under

consideration. An act was passed, which, instead of strengthening, materially weakened the security of the Irish. The first article of the treaty was wholly omitted; and each succeeding article limited, instead of being confirmed. On the introduction of this bill, a petition was presented from Robert Cusack, Gent., Captain Fras. Segrave, and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves and others comprized under the articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the said bill there were several clauses, that would frustrate the petitioners of the benefit of the same; and if passed into a law, would turn to the ruin of some, and the prejudice of all persons intituled to the benefit of the said articles, and praying to be heard by counsel to said matters. But it was unanimously resolved that said petition should be rejected.

The peace of Ryswick having established the revolutionary throne of William; the treaty of partition having changed Louis into his ally, the English had leisure to turn their attention to Ireland. Mr. William Molyneaux, representative in parliament for the university of Dublin, distinguished by his abilities, knowledge, and patriotism, discovered a laudable desire to promote our manufactures. But he perceived, that neither our manufactures or commerce could succeed, so long as our natural and constitutional rights were oppressed by the unjust interference of the British legislature. Determined to vindicate the cause of his country, he turned his thoughts particularly to this subject, and, in 1698, published,

The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated. The good sense, public spirit, and knowledge of the constitution, by which this performance was distinguished, did great credit to the author. The treatment which it met with in England, determined its merit much more honourable than any praise which could be bestowed upon it by the loftiest panegyrick. There, by order of the government, it was burned by the hands of the public executioner. Despots are unwilling that the mysteries of their iniquity should be unveiled. The only feeling excited in the breasts of freemen, by such unmanly and impotent efforts of tyranny, is contempt.

In England, the woollen manufacture had become a staple commodity. With us likewise it was a profitable branch of commerce. Before the time of Charles I. we indraped our wool, and exported what we did not consume to foreign markets. Of this privilege the English, jealous of a competition, deprived us by several acts of parliament, more especially one enacted in the reign of Charles II. which was deeply marked with the most unjust severity. But all this was not sufficient.

In 1698, the English house of commons addressed his majesty king William, "That being very sensible, the wealth and power of England do in a great measure depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as possible, entire to this realm, they thought it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the estab-

lishment and the increase thereof elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. That they could not without trouble observe, that Ireland, which is dependent on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have, and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England, should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom; and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both nations. That the consequence thereof would necessitate his majesty's parliament of England to interpose, to prevent this mischief, unless his majesty, by his authority and great wisdom, should find means to secure the trade of England, by making his subjects of Ireland pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms; wherefore they implored his majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that he would make it his royal care, and enjoin all those he employed in Ireland, to use their utmost diligence to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, (except it be imported hither) and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in Ireland; to which the commons of England should always be ready to give their utmost assistance." To this address his majesty made answer, " That he should do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland."

Accordingly on the 16th of July his majesty wrote to the earl of Galway, one of the lords justices, upon the occasion, recommending to his care to make effectual laws for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, and to discourage, as far as possible, the woollen; and further, that he would prevent the Irish parliament from taking notice of what had passed in the English house of commons.

The lords justices, on the meeting of the Irish parliament, acquainted those lords and gentlemen, that, among the bills, there was one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures, the settlement of which would contribute much to the peopling the country, and be more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture; which, being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose: whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England. The commons dutifully answered, that they would heartily endeavour to establish the linen manufacture, and to render the same useful to England, as well as advantageous to Ireland; and hoped to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade, that the same might not be injurious to England. On the tenth of October, 1698, the commons unanimously agreed, that it was necessary that the woollen trade of Ireland be regulated. This

they done, by imposing a duty of four shillings on every twenty shillings value of broad cloths exported from the 25th of March, 1699; and two shillings on every twenty shillings value of all serges, bays, kersies, perpetuanas, or any other sort of new drapery made of wool, or even mixed with wool, frizes only excepted. This gave a sudden stagnation to that branch of trade, and introduced a general poverty among the manufacturers.*

This was accompanied by an act, which prohibited to papists the profession of the law.

This was the last parliament held in Ireland under William. Its regulation of the woollen manufacture, however, was deemed defective. The English parliament immediately passed an act, prohibiting the export, directly or indirectly, from the kingdom of Ireland, after the 24th of June, 1699, except to England and Wales, of wool, woollfells, shortlings, mortlings, wool flocks, worsted, bay or woollen yarn, cloth, serge, bays, kerseys, says, frizes, drugets, cloth-serges, shal-lons, or any other drapery stuffs, or woollen manufactures whatsoever, made up or mixed with wool or wool flocks, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, ship and tackle, and £500, for every offence. And at the same time appointed four frigates and eight armed sloops to cruise on the coast of Ireland, to enforce this act.

In opposition to the wishes of their sovereign, the English parliament compelled king William to give his assent to the resumption of the grants

* Harris's Life of king William.

of the forfeited estates. The violence done to his feelings on this and other occasions, particularly the unfeeling order for the sending out of England the brave Dutch guards, who had shared all his dangers, made a deep impression on his spirits; to which he was more susceptible, from the uneasiness and disappointments which the violence of party continually exposed him to.

Removed from the busy scene of politics, the latter years of the life of James were calmly spent in devotional duties and the amusement of hunting. Early in 1701, he was violently attacked by an apoplexy; the waters of Bourbon, instead of service, brought on a spitting of blood; his illness increased, and death terminated his sufferings, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, on the 16th of September, 1701, N.S. He was privately interred, according to his desire, in the church of the English Benedictines, in the suburbs of Paris, and his heart sent to the nunnery of Chaillot.

The kings of France and Spain styled his son king of Great-Britain; justifying this act by asserting, that there was no article in the treaty of Ryswick to the contrary. It was, however, considered by king William an act of hostility. The Pretender was attainted. The Grand Alliance formed. Vigorous war against France and Spain was determined upon; when an accident hastened the dissolution of this monarch, whose health had been gradually declining. In one of his excursions for exercise, his horse fell under him, by which his collar-bone was fractured. This proved

fatal. He died on the eighth of March, 1701-2, in the fifty-second year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, shortly after, by a stamp, he gave the royal assent to an act of parliament for abjuring the Pretender.

No writer, either partial or adverse, has, that I could find, hit on the right method of estimating his character. The one, in vain endeavours to suppress or palliate, what the others, perhaps erroneously, impute to natural depravity, or ferocious bigotry. If the first charge was true, how could he be idolized in Holland; where he is justly stated, by an English writer, to reign as king, in the affections of a free people; while in England he was but a stadtholder. If the second was any better founded, how could he be the ally of the pope, the emperor, and other catholic princes; and have so many catholic generals in his service. Enough has not been allowed to the influence of situation, circumstances and parties. William cannot be considered a conqueror, but merely the leader of a revolution, in which he was not the primary mover, but secondary and instrumental. Were he a conqueror, it would be right to conjecture his natural disposition from his public conduct; as a revolutionary, he must also be led. He must yield much, to the dispositions, tempers, passions and political relations of his party, contrary to his judgment and feelings. He must sacrifice principle and honor, the plighted faith of solemn treaties, to revolutionary passions and party interests. The popular ferment and defection, that caused the abdication,

might be allayed by time. Natural duty and allegiance might return, if the revolutionary party were not committed in unpardonable excesses, that would make them dread retaliation from the loyalists, and shudder at the thought of a counter revolution. The perfidy and cruelty, experienced by Irish, Scotch and English Jacobites, so called, may, therefore, have proceeded more from the policy, and imperious influence of party, than from the natural disposition of their leader. One would be the more confirmed in this opinion, from an attentive survey of Irish history since the English invasion. The unexampled invariability of evil it exhibits, can scarcely be attributed to the individual characters of kings, during so long a succession of kings, and changes of dynasties, constitution and religion. For example, during half the time, the Roman empire, in changes of masters, experienced great diversity of character. 'Tis true, that vast portion of mankind were sometimes afflicted and disgraced by such monsters as Nero, Tiberius, Caligula; but, in recompense, they were consoled, adorned and protected, by the virtues and abilities of the Antonines, Marcus Aurelius, Nerva, Trajan, Titus, and a few others. As for Ireland, the chain of her sufferings was unbroken, uninterrupted by any treatment emanating from principles of humanity or sound policy. Their shocking calamities, on enquiry, will find their real source, in the national antipathy and hatred of the English people. This made it the policy of so long a catalogue of their rulers, to deal perfidiously and inhumanly with

the Irish. It was a ready mode of allaying public discontent, of screening public delinquency or inability. For all crimes of statesmen and factions, Ireland must be the scape-goat, chased and cursed with the whole load of their sins, into the wilderness of desolation, war and famine. "All the penal laws of that unparalleled code of oppression, which were made after the revolution, were manifestly the effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not afraid to provoke."*

This revolution, and its leader, made very different impressions in England and Ireland. William was thwarted, and often grossly offended, in the former country; who gained the dominion of the sea, and universal commerce, by the event. In the latter, stript by the revolution of manufactures and commerce, he was worshipped, by a party frantic with intolerance, false zeal, and party malevolence. Strange, that any being, pretending to rationality, should solemnize annually, with every demonstration of joy, the downfall and impoverishment of their country. 'Tis a striking proof, that logicians defined man wrong, when they called him a rational animal.

William was succeeded by Anne, princess of Denmark, daughter of James II. The sufferings of the catholics, under this last Stuart that wore the crown of England, were not diminished by their peaceable submission to all the inflictions

* Burke's Letter to Sir H. Langrishe.

of tyranny and perfidy. On the contrary, their quiet, humble demeanor seems to have provoked, rather than abated the rancour of their enemies. The duke of Ormond, in 1703, acquainted the parliament, that her majesty expected a revenue equal to the expences of government, and provision for paying the debt of the nation; that his views were the same as theirs, the promoting of her majesty's service, and the welfare of his native country. This welfare he and they endeavoured to promote, by the utter ruin of the majority of the inhabitants. It was a persecution as wanton as violent, over a fallen, oppressed people, without the least plea of state necessity, or public insecurity. It was the wanton abuse of triumphant, irresistible power, to crush and destroy, without shame, fear or remorse. The commons, in a body, presented to the duke of Ormond a bill to prevent the further growth of popery; pressing him to intercede so effectually, that it might be returned under the great seal of England. He promised, and punctually performed, that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner; and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of popery.

That many of the members of this parliament were ashamed of the violent persecution carried on by public authority, appears from the numerous resignations of seats to avoid being concerned therein. These resignations became so frequent, that the commons resolved, "that the excusing of members, at their own request, from the service of the house, and thereupon issuing

out new writs to elect other members to serve in their places, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the subversion of the constitution of parliament." But the resignations continuing, it was afterwards unanimously resolved, "that it might be the standing order of the house, that no new writs for electing members of parliament, in the place of members excusing themselves from the service of the house, do issue, at the desire of such members, notwithstanding any former precedents to the contrary."

The bill was returned with a clause inserted in England, which gave great offence to the whole body of dissenters in Ireland; many of whom, then in the house of commons, were persons of considerable power and influence. For this reason it was expected, that it would have been totally laid aside; and the rather, because the dissenters had lately received no small disgust by a resolution of a committee in October 1703, "that the pension of one thousand two hundred pounds per annum, granted to the presbyterian ministers in Ulster, was an unnecessary branch of the establishment."

The dissenters, in their petition to the commons on occasion of the abovementioned clause, complained, "that to their great surprize and disappointment, they found a clause inserted in the act to prevent the further growth of popery, which had not its rise in that honourable house; whereby they were disabled from executing any public trust, for the service of her majesty, the protestant religion, or their country; unless,

contrary to their consciences, they should receive the Lord's supper, according to the rites and usages of the established church."

This clause has been since called the sacramental test, then first imposed on the dissenters of Ireland; whose zeal against popery was so credulously blind at that juncture, that upon a promise given them of having it repealed on the first opportunity, they readily concurred in passing, together with the clauses against popery, that mortifying one against themselves. But their friends in parliament afterwards wanting either the power or the inclination to make good their promise, that clause was not only left unrepealed, but also put in frequent and strict execution, during all queen Anne's reign. In October 1707, these commons entered into such severe resolutions against dissenters, as plainly shewed how little confidence their brethren ought to have placed in the promise they made them in 1703. For first, they resolved, that, by an act to prevent the further growth of popery, the burgesses of Belfast were obliged to subscribe the declaration, and receive the sacrament according to the usage of the church of Ireland. And secondly, upon the non-compliance of some of these burgesses, that the burgessship of the said burgesses of Belfast, who had not subscribed the declaration, and received the sacrament, pursuant to the said act, was, by such neglect, become vacant. In short, notwithstanding the most strenuous and repeated efforts made by the dissenters, to have that disqualifying clause repealed,

although its execution had been either artfully evaded, or benignly connived at, since the accession of the present royal family to the throne of these kingdoms, it remained in full force against them until 1782, when it was repealed without any opposition.*

Upon the return of the bill to prevent the further growth of popery from England, Nicholas lord Kingsland, colonel John Brown, colonel Burke, colonel Robert Nugent, major Allen, captain Arthur French, with other Roman catholiss of Ireland, and persons comprized in the articles of Limerick and Galway, petitioned to be heard by counsel against it; which was granted.

Accordingly Sir Theobald Butler, counsellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice, (the two first in their gowns as counsel for the petitioners in general, and the last without a gown, only as a petitioner in his private capacity,) together with many others, upon Tuesday the 22d of February, 1703, appeared at the bar of the said house of commons, where Sir Theobald Butler first moved and acquainted the house, that, by the permission of that house, he was come thither in behalf of himself, and the rest of the Roman catholics of Ireland comprised in the Articles of Limerick and Galway, to offer some reasons, which he and the rest of the petitioners judged very material against passing the bill, intituled An act to prevent the further growth of popery; that by leave of the house he had taken a copy of the said bill, and, with submission, looked upon it to tend to

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

the destroying of the said articles, granted upon the most valuable considerations of surrendering the said garrisons, at a time when they had the sword in their hands; and for any thing that then appeared to the contrary, might have been in a condition to hold out much longer, and when it was in their power to demand, and make for themselves such terms, as might be for their then future liberty, safety and security: and that too, when the allowing such terms were highly advantageous to the government to which they submitted; as well for uniting the people, that were then divided, quieting and settling the distractions and disorders of this then miserable kingdom, as for the other advantages the government would thereby reap in its own affairs, both at home and abroad; when its enemies were so powerful both by sea and land, as to give doubt or interruption to its peace and settlement.

That by such their power, those of Limerick did for themselves, and others therein comprized, obtain, and make such articles, as by which, all the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and in the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo and Mayo, had full and free pardon of and for all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprision of treasons, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes whatever, which at any time from the beginning of king James the Second, to the 3d of October 1691, had been acted, committed, or done by them, or any of them; and by which they and their heirs were to be forthwith put in possession of, and for ever possess and enjoy all

and every of their freeholds and inheritance; and all their rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities which they and every of them held and enjoyed, and by the laws in force were entitled unto, in the reign of king Charles II., or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in that reign, &c. And thereupon read so much of the second article of Limerick, as tended to that purpose.

That in the reign of king Charles the Second, the petitioners, and all that were entitled to the benefit of those articles, were in such full and free possession of their estates; and had the same power to sell, or otherwise to dispose, or convey them, or any other thing they enjoyed; and were as rightfully intitled to all the privileges, immunities and other advantages whatever, according to the laws then in force, as any other subjects whatsoever, and which, therefore, without the highest injustice, could not be taken from them, unless they had forfeited them themselves.

That if they had made any such forfeiture, it was either before or after the making the said articles: if before, they had a full and free pardon for that by the said articles, &c. and therefore are not accountable by any law now in force for the same; and for that reason not now to be charged with it, and since they cannot be charged with any general forfeiture of those articles since, they at that same time remained as absolutely intitled to all the privileges, advantages and benefits of the laws both already made, and here-

after to be made, as any other of her majesty's subjects whatsoever.

That among all societies there were some ill people, but that by the 10th article of Limerick the whole community is not to be charged with, nor forfeit by, the crimes of particular persons.

That there were already wholesome laws in force sufficient, and if not, such as were wanting might be made, to punish every offender according to the nature of their crime: and in the name of God let the guilty suffer for their own faults; but the innocent ought not to suffer for the guilty, nor the whole for any particular. That surely they would not (now they had tamely got the sword out of their hands) rob them of what was then in their power to have kept; for that would be unjust, and not according to that golden rule, to do as they would be done by, was the case reversed, and the contrary side their own.

That the said articles were first granted them by the general of the English army, upon the most important consideration of getting the city of Limerick into his hands (when it was in a condition to have held out till it might have been relieved by the succours then coming to it from France) and for preventing the further effusion of blood, and the other ill consequences which (by reason of the then divisions and disorders) the nation then laboured under; and for reducing those in arms against the English government to its obedience.

That the said articles were signed and perfected by the said general, and the then lords justices

of this kingdom; and afterwards ratified by their late majesties, for themselves, their heirs and successors; and have been since confirmed by an act of parliament in this kingdom, viz. stat. 9 Gul. 3. ses. 4. c. 27. (which he there produced and pleaded,) and said could not be avoided without breaking the said articles, and the public faith thereby plighted to all those comprised under the said articles, in the most solemn and engaging manner 'tis possible for any people to lay themselves under; and than which nothing could be more sacred and binding. That therefore to violate, or break those articles, would on the contrary be the greatest injustice possible for any one people of the whole world to inflict upon another, and which is contrary to both the laws of God and man.

That pursuant to these articles, all those Irish then in arms against the government, did submit thereunto, and surrendered the said city of Limerick, and all other garrisons then remaining in their possession; and did take such oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, &c. as by the said articles they were obliged to, and were put into possession of their estates, &c.

That such their submission was upon such terms, as ought now, and at all times to be made good to them: but that if the bill then before the house, intituled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery, should pass into a law, (which God forbid!) it would be not only a violation of those articles, but also a manifest breach of the public faith, of which the English

had always been most tender in many instances, some of which he there quoted; and that, in particular, in the preamble of the act before-mentioned, made for confirmation of these articles, wherein there is a particular regard and respect had to the public faith.

That since the said articles were thus under the most solemn ties, and for such valuable considerations granted the petitioners, by nothing less than the general of the army, the lords justices of the kingdom, the king, queen, and parliament, the public faith of the nation was therein concerned, obliged, bound, and engaged, as fully and firmly as was possible for one people to pledge faith to another; that therefore this parliament could not pass such a bill, as that intitled An act to prevent the further growth of popery, then before the house, into a law, without infringing those articles, and a manifest breach of the public faith; of which he hoped that house would be no less regardful and tender, than their predecessors, who made the act for confirming those articles had been.

That the case of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. was a fearful example of breaking of public faith, which above 100 years after brought nothing less than a three years famine upon the land, and stayed not till the lives of all Saul's family atoned for it.

That even amongst the heathens, and most barbarous of nations, all the world over, the public faith had always been held most sacred and binding, that surely it would find no less a regard in that august assembly.

That if he proved that the passing that act was such a manifest breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, he hoped that honourable house would be very tender how they passed the said bill before them into a law; to the apparent prejudice of the petitioners, and the hazard of bringing upon themselves, and posterity, such evils, reproach and infamy, as the doing the like had brought upon other nations and people.

Now, that the passing such a bill as that then before the house, to prevent the further growth of popery, will be a breach of those articles, and consequently of the public faith, I prove by the following argument.

The argument then is, whatever shall be enacted to the prejudice or destroying of any obligation, covenant or contract, in the most solemn manner, and for the most valuable consideration entered into, is a manifest violation and destruction of every such obligation, covenant and contract: but the passing that bill into a law, will evidently and absolutely destroy the articles of Limerick and Galway, to all intents and purposes; and therefore the passing that bill into a law, will be such a breach of those articles; and consequently of the public faith, plighted for performing those articles; which remained to be proved.

The major is proved: for that whatever destroys or violates any contract or obligation, upon the most valuable considerations most solemnly made and entered into; destroys and violates the

end of every such contract or obligation: but the end and design of those articles was, that all those therein comprized, and every of their heirs, should hold, possess and enjoy, all and every of their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles and interests, privileges and immunities, which they and every of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully entituled to, in the reign of king Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign in this realm: but that the design of this bill was, to take away every such right, title, interest, &c. from every father being a papist, and to make the popish father, who, by the articles and laws aforesaid, had an undoubted right, either to sell or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of his estate, at any time of his life, as he thought fit, only tenant for life: and consequently disabled from selling, or otherwise disposing thereof, after his son or other heir should become protestant; though otherwise never so disobedient, profligate, or extravagant: Ergo, this act tends to the destroying the end for which those articles were made, and consequently the breaking of the public faith, plighted for their performance.

The minor is proved by the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, 16th, and 17th, clauses of the said bill, all which I shall consider and speak to, in the order as they are placed in the bill.

By the first of these clauses, (which is the third of the bill,) I that am the popish father,

without committing any crime against the state, or the laws of the land, (by which only I ought to be governed) or any other fault; but merely for being of the religion of my forefathers, and that which, till of late years, was the ancient religion of these kingdoms, contrary to the express words of the second article of Limerick, and the public faith, plighted as aforesaid for their performance; am deprived of my inheritance, freehold, &c. and of all other advantages which by those articles, and the laws of the land, I am entituled to enjoy, equally with every other of my fellow subjects, whether protestant or popish. And though such my estate be even the purchase of my own hard labour and industry: yet I shall not (though my occasions be never so pressing) have liberty (after my eldest son or other heir becomes a protestant,) to sell, mortgage, or otherwise dispose of, or charge it for payment of my debts; or have leave out of my own estate, to order portions for my other children; or leave a legacy, though never so small, to my poor father or mother, or other poor relations; but during my own life, my estate shall be given to my son or other heir being a protestant, though never so undutiful, profligate, extravagant, or otherwise undeserving; and I that am the purchasing father, shall become tenant for life only, to my own purchase, inheritance and freehold; which I purchased with my own money: and such my son or other heir, by this act, shall be at liberty to sell, or otherwise at pleasure to dispose of my estate, the sweat of my brows, before my face;

and I that am the purchaser, shall not have liberty to raise one farthing upon the estate of my own purchase, either to pay my debts, or portion my daughters, (if any I have) or make provisions for my other male children, though never so deserving and dutiful: but my estate, and the issues and profits of it, shall, before my face, be at the disposal of another, who cannot possibly know, how to distinguish between the dutiful and undutiful, deserving or undeserving. Is not this, gentlemen, (said he) a hard case? I beseech you, gentlemen, to consider, whether you would not think it so, if the scale was changed, and the case your own, as it is like to be ours, if this bill pass into a law.

It is natural for the father to love the child, but we all know (says he), that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as this bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents; and surely such an act as this, will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it.

It is but too common with the son, who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one and twenty, to think the old father too long in the way, between him and it; and how much more will he be subject to it, when by this act, he shall have liberty before he comes to that age, to compel and force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it, or out of his share thereof, to a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances, with which the estate might

have been charged, before the passing this act.

Is not this against the laws of God and man? against the rules of reason and justice; by which all men ought to be governed? Is not this the only way in the world, to make children become undutiful? and to bring the grey-head of the parent to the grave, with grief and tears.

It would be hard from any man, but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nurst in my bosom, and tendred more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to cut my throat, and to take away my bread; is much more grievous than from any other; and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed, to think on't. And yet this will be the case if this bill pass into a law; which I hope this honourable assembly will not think of, when they shall more seriously consider, and have weighed these matters.

For God's sake, gentlemen, will you consider whether this is according to the golden rule, to do as you would be done unto? And if not, surely you will not, nay you cannot, without being liable to be charged with the most manifest injustice imaginable, take from us our birth-rights, and invest them in others before our faces.

By the 4th clause of the bill, the popish father is under the penalty of £500 debarred from being guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of his own child or children: but if the child pretends to be a protestant, though never so young, or incapable of judging of the princi-

ples of any religion, it shall be taken from its own father, and put into the hands or care of a protestant relation, if any there be qualified as this act directs, for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the popish parent; and for want of relations so qualified, into the hands and tuition of such protestant stranger, as the court of chancery shall think fit to appoint; who perhaps may likewise be my enemy, and out of prejudice to me who am the popish father, shall infuse into my child, not only such principles of religion, as are wholly inconsistent with my liking; but also against the duty which by the laws both of God and nature, is due from every child to its parents: and it shall not be in my power to remedy, or question him for it; and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education, how pernicious soever. Nay if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children, being minors, I that am the popish father, shall not have the liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the hands of a stranger; and though I see it confounded before my face, it shall not be in my power to help it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case.

The 5th clause provides, that no protestant or protestants, having any estate real or personal, within this kingdom, shall at any time after the 24th of March 1703, intermarry with any papist, either in or out of this kingdom, under the penalties in an act made in the 9th of king William, intituled, An act to prevent protestants intermarrying with papists.

Surely, gentlemen, this is such a law as was never heard of before, and against the law of right, and the law of nations; and therefore a law which is not in the power of mankind to make, without breaking through the laws which our wise ancestors prudently provided for the security of posterity, and which you cannot infringe, without hazarding the undermining the whole legislature, and encroaching upon the privileges of your neighbouring nations, which it is not reasonable to believe they will allow.

It has indeed been known, that there hath been laws made in England, that have been binding in Ireland: but surely it never was known, that any law made in Ireland could affect England or any other country. But by this act, a person committing matrimony (an ordinance of the Almighty) in England, or any other part beyond the seas, (where it is lawful both by the laws of God and man so to do,) if ever they come to live in Ireland, and have an inheritance or title to any interest to the value of £500, they shall be punished for a fact consonant with the laws of the land where it was committed. But, gentlemen, by your favour, this is what, with submission, is not in your power to do: for no law that either now is, or that hereafter shall be in force in this kingdom, shall be able to take cognizance of any fact committed in another nation: nor can any one nation make laws for any other nation, but what is subordinate to it, as Ireland is to England; but no other nation is subordinate to Ireland; and therefore any laws made in Ireland cannot punish

me for any fact committed in any other nation, but more especially England, to whom Ireland is subordinate: and the reason is, every free nation, such as all our neighbouring nations are, by the great law of nature, and the universal privileges of all nations, have an undoubted right to make, and be ruled and governed by laws of their own making: for that to submit to any other, would be to give away their own birth-right, and native freedom; and become subordinate to their neighbours, as we of this kingdom, since the making of Poyning's act, have been, and are to England. A right which England would never so much as endure to hear of, much less to submit to.

We see how careful our forefathers have been to provide that no man should be punished in one county (even of the same nation) for crimes committed in another county; and surely it would be highly unreasonable, and contrary to the laws of all nations in the whole world, to punish me in this kingdom, for a fact committed in England, or any other nation, which was not against, but consistent with the laws of the nation where it was committed. I am sure there is not any law in any other nation of the world that would do it.

The 6th clause of this bill, is likewise a manifest breach of the second of Limerick articles. For by that article, all persons comprized under those articles, were to enjoy, and have the full benefit of all the rights, titles, privileges and immunities whatsoever, which they enjoyed, or by the laws of the land then in force, were enti-

tuled to enjoy, in the reign of king Charles II. And by the laws then in force, all the papists of Ireland had the same liberty, that any of their fellow subjects had, to purchase any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, leases of lives, or for years, rents, or any other thing of profit whatsoever : but by this clause of this bill, every papist or person professing the popish religion, after the 24th of March 1703, is made incapable of purchasing any manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits out of the same ; or holding any lease of lives, or any other lease whatsoever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years ; wherein a rent, not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, shall be reserved, and made payable, during the whole term : and therefore this clause of this bill, if made into a law, will be a manifest breach of those articles.

The 7th clause is yet of much more general consequence, and not only a like breach of those articles, but also a manifest robbing of all the Roman catholics of the kingdom of their birth-right. For by those articles, all those therein comprized, were pardoned all misdemeanors whatsoever, of which they had in any manner of way been guilty ; and restored to all the rights, liberties, privileges and immunities whatever, which, by the laws of the land, and customs, and constitutions and native birth-right, they, any, and every of them were, equally with every other of their fellow-subjects, entituled unto. And by the laws of nature and nations, as well as by the laws of the land, every native of any country has

an undoubted right and just title to all the privileges and advantages which such their native country affords: and surely no man but will allow, that by such a native right, every one born in any country, hath an undoubted right to the inheritance of his father, or any other, to whom he, or they, may be heir at law: but if this bill pass into a law, every native of this kingdom, that is and shall remain a papist, is, ipso facto, during life, or his or their continuing a papist, deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder or trust, of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of which any protestant now is, or hereafter shall be seized in fee-simple absolute, or fee-tail, which by the death of such protestant, or his wife, ought to descend immediately to his son or sons, or other issue in tail, being such papists, and 18 years of age; or, if under that age, within six months after coming to that age, shall not conform to the church of Ireland, as by law established; and every such devise, gift, remainder or trust, which, according to the laws of the land, and such native right, ought to descend to such papist, shall, during the life of such papist, (unless he forsake his religion,) descend to the nearest relation that is a protestant, and his heirs, being and continuing protestants, as though the said popish heir and all other popish relations were dead; without being accountable for the same: which is nothing less than robbing such popish heir of such his birth-right; for no other reason, but his being and continuing of that religion, which, by the first of Limerick articles,

the Roman catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy, as they did in the reign of king Charles II. and then there was no law in force, that deprived any Roman catholic of this kingdom of any such their native birth-right, or any other thing, which by the laws of the land then in force any other fellow subjects were entituled unto.

The 8th clause of this bill, is to erect in this kingdom a law of gavel-kind: a law in itself so monstrous and strange, that, I dare say, this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world; a law so pernicious and destructive to the well-being of families and societies, that, in an age or two, there will hardly be any remembrance of any of the ancient Roman catholic families known in this kingdom; a law, which, therefore, I may again venture to say, was never before known or heard of in the universe!

There is, indeed, in Kent, a custom, called the Custom of Gavel-kind; but I never heard of any law for it till now: and that custom is far different from what by this bill is intended to be made a law; for there, and by that custom, the father, or other person, dying possessed of any estate of his own acquisition, or not entailed, (let him be of what persuasion he will,) may by will bequeath it at pleasure: or if he dies without will, the estate shall not be divided, if there be any male heir to inherit it; but for want of male heir, then it shall descend in gavel-kind among the daughters, and not otherwise. But by this act, for want of a protestant heir, enrolled as such within three months after the death of such papist, to be

divided, share and share like, among all his sons; for want of sons, among his daughters; for want of such, among the collateral kindred of his father; and in want of such, among those of his mother; and this is to take place of any grant, settlement, &c. other than sale, for valuable consideration of money, really, bona fide, paid. And shall I not call this a strange law? Surely it is a strange law, which, contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how antient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws heretofore in force, in this, or any other kingdom.

The 9th clause of this act, is another manifest breach of the articles of Limerick; for by the 9th of those articles, no oath is to be administered to, nor imposed upon such Roman catholics, as should submit to the government, but the oath of allegiance, appointed by an act of parliament made in England, in the first year of the reign of their late majesties king William and queen Mary, (which is the same with the first of those appointed by the 10th clause of this act:) but by this clause, none shall have the benefit of this act, that shall not conform to the church of Ireland, subscribe the declaration, and take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, appointed by the 9th clause of this act; and therefore this act is a manifest breach of those articles, &c. and a force upon all the Roman catholics therein comprized, either to abjure their religion, or part with their birth-rights; which, by those articles, they were, and are, as fully, and as rightfully

entituled unto, as any other subjects whatever.

The 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th clauses of this bill, relate to offices and employments, which the papists of Ireland cannot hope for the enjoyment of, otherwise than by grace and favour extraordinary; and therefore, do not so much affect them, as it does the protestant dissenters, who (if this bill pass into a law) are equally with the papists deprived of bearing any office, civil or military, under the government, to which by right of birth, and the laws of the land, they are as indisputably entituled, as any other their protestant brethren: and if what the Irish did in the late disorders of this kingdom, made them rebels, (which the presence of a king, they had before been obliged to own, and swear obedience to, gave them a reasonable colour of concluding it did not,) yet surely the dissenters did not do any any thing to make them so; or to deserve worse at the hands of the government, than other protestants; but, on the contrary, it is more than probable, that if they (I mean the dissenters) had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and London-derry, the settlement of the government, both in England and Scotland, might not have proved so easy as it thereby did; for if that army had got to Scotland, (as there was nothing at that time to have hindered them, but the bravery of those people, who were mostly dissenters, and chargeable with no other crimes since; unless their close adhering to, and early appearing for the then government, and the many faithful services they did their country, were

crimes,) I say, if they had got to Scotland, when they had boats, barks, and all things else ready for their transportation, and a great many friends there in arms, waiting only their coming to join them; it is easy to think, what the consequence would have been to both these kingdoms; and these dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing the kingdom, than any other protestants: and to pass a bill now, to deprive them of their birth-rights, (for those their good services,) would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving. Whatever the papists may be supposed to have deserved, the dissenters certainly stand as clean in the face of the present government, as any other people whatsoever: and if this is all the return they are like to get, it will be but a slender encouragement, if ever occasion should require, for others to pursue their examples.

By the 15th, 16th, and 17th clauses of this bill, all papists, after the 24th of March 1703, are prohibited from purchasing any houses or tenements, or coming to dwell in Limerick or Galway, or the suburbs of either, and even such as were under the articles, and by virtue thereof have ever since lived there, from staying there; without giving such security as neither those articles, nor any law heretofore in force, do require; except seamen, fishermen, and day-labourers, who pay not above forty shillings a year rent; and from voting for the election of members of par-

liament, unless they take the oath of abjuration; which, to oblige them to, is contrary to the 9th of Limerick articles; which, as aforesaid, says the oath of allegiance, and no other, shall be imposed upon them; and, unless they abjure their religion, takes away their advowsons and right of presentation, contrary to the privilege of right, the laws of nations, and the great charter of Magna Charta; which provides, that no man shall be disseized of his birth-right, without committing some crime against the known laws of the land in which he was born, or inhabits. And if there was no law in force, in the reign of king Charles II. against these things, (as there certainly was not,) and if the Roman catholics of this kingdom have not since forfeited their right to the laws that were then in force, (as for certain they have not) then with humble submission, all the aforesaid clauses and matters contained in this bill, intituled, An act to prevent the further growth of popery, are directly against the plain words, and true intent and meaning of the said articles, and a violation of the public faith, and the laws made for their performance; and what, I therefore hope, this honourable house will consider accordingly.

The same, and other arguments, against the passing of this bill, were suffered to be pleaded at the bar of the house of lords; but were equally disregarded by both houses. The petitioners were told, that if they were to be deprived of the benefit of the articles of Limerick, it would be their own faults, since by conforming to the established

religion, they would be entitled to these and many other benefits; that therefore they ought not to blame any but themselves; that the passing of that bill into a law was needful for the security of the kingdom at that juncture; and, in short, that there was nothing in the articles of Limerick that should hinder them to pass it.

The royal assent was given to this act, on the 4th of March, 1704. An act, which, besides being a violation of national faith, was productive of every species of private, as well as public injury; by stripping men of their property, for not parting with their integrity; by fining and imprisoning them, for conscientious dissent from settled forms of worship; or for holding tenets merely spiritual, and totally foreign from any interference with the civil government of the state. So that our courts of justice and equity resembled, in these respects, the Roman tribunal punishing the primitive christians for not disavowing the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and embracing that of human institution.

Soon after this act was passed, the commons entered into such wild and intemperate resolutions concerning the execution of it, and of other penal statutes which it revives and confirms, as shew them to have been as little influenced and directed by the dictates of common sense, as they were by those of common humanity. On the 17th of March, 1704, they resolved unanimously, that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put them in due execution, were betrayers of the liberty of the kingdom. In

June, 1705, they resolved, that the saying or hearing of mass, by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the pretender. And that such judges and magistrates, as wilfully neglected to make diligent enquiry into, and discover such wicked practices, ought to be looked upon as enemies to her majesty's government. And least the judges, if not the inferior magistrates, should be somewhat ashamed of executing this new office of enquiring into, and discovering these wicked practices of saying and hearing mass, on account of that infamy which is commonly annexed to the trade of priest-catchers, discoverers, and informers, these commons had before taken care to resolve unanimously, that the prosecuting and informing against papists, was an honourable service to the government. Such was the good faith, good sense, and avowed honour of those bigotted times !*

This act, flagitious as it was, was not, in the eyes of the framers, sufficient to prevent the growth of popery. To explain and amend it, in 1709, Mr. Sergeant Caulfield introduced another, which received the royal assent on the 30th of August. Thus was formed " a complete system, full of coherence and consistency ; well digested and well composed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance ; and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."†

* Currie. Hist. Rev.

† Burke's Let. to Sir H. L.

By these acts, if the eldest, or any other son, became a protestant, the father, if possessing an estate by descent or purchase, was rendered incapable of disposing of any part of it, even in legacies or portions.

If a child pretended to be a protestant, the guardianship of it was taken from the father, and vested in the next protestant relation.

If children became protestants, the parents were compelled to discover the amount of their property; that the court of chancery might, at pleasure, allot portions and maintenance for the rebellious children.

If the wife became a protestant, during the lifetime of her husband, if he had power to make a settlement, to have such provision as the lord chancellor thought fit to adjudge.

Widows of papists conforming during their husband's lifetime, to have such proportion, not exceeding one third, of the property the husband died possessed of, as the court of chancery should adjudge.

If no protestant heir, the estate to be divided among the children, &c. share and share alike.

The heirs of a protestant possessor, if papists, disinherited, and the estate transferred to the next protestant relation.

Papists rendered incapable of purchasing lands, or rents, or profits from lands, or taking leases for any term not exceeding thirty-one years; if the profit on the farm exceeded one-third of the rent, the possessor ousted, and the property vested in the protestant discoverer.

Papists rendered incapable of annuities.

Deprived of votes at elections.

Incapacitated of serving on grand juries.

Expelled Limerick and Galway.

Limited to two apprentices, except in the linen trade.

Twenty pounds penalty, or twelve months imprisonment, for not acknowledging when and where mass was celebrated; who and what persons were present; when or where a priest or schoolmaster resided.

Popish clergy to be registered; to officiate only in the parish in which they are registered.

Fifty pounds reward for discovering a popish archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or any person exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Twenty pounds reward for a regular or secular clergyman, not registered.

Ten pounds reward for a popish schoolmaster or usher.

These rewards to be levied exclusively on papists.

Advowsons of papists vested in her majesty.

Thirty pounds per annum settled upon priests becoming protestants.

Two plausible reasons have been commonly assigned for the framing and continuing of these laws. First, their tendency to bring the papists of this kingdom to conformity in religion and loyalty with their protestant fellow-subjects; and next, their aptitude to weaken and impoverish such of them as prove refractory in these respects, to such a degree as to render both them, and their

posterity, utterly incapable of giving any future disturbance to this government. But is it not notorious, that hypocrisy, and disaffection to the established religion and government, are the natural and constant effects of such forced conversions? And even supposing that converts thus made might at length become real protestants and loyal subjects, "is evil to be done that good may arise therefrom," in this one instance, when both reason, and religion, prohibit and condemn it in every other? On the other hand, does not the enacting such predatory laws against these people, without their being even accused of any civil crime, and merely to weaken and impoverish them, suggest to the mind something like the policy of an highwayman, in putting those he has robbed to death, lest if they were suffered to survive their losses, they might chance to discover and prosecute him for the robbery?

During all queen Anne's reign, the inferior civil officers, by order of the government, were incessantly hampering the Roman catholics with oaths, imprisonments, and forfeitures, without any other visible cause but that of their religious profession; but the conduct of these people was still found so blameless, that it sometimes made their very persecutors ashamed of their severity. In the year 1708, on the bare rumour of an intended invasion of Scotland by the pretender, no fewer than forty-one Roman catholic noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned in the castle of Dublin. And when they were afterwards set at liberty, because they had acted nothing against

the government, the state was so sensible of the wrong done them by their long and irksome confinement, that it remitted their fees, though they amounted to eight hundred and odd pounds.

What pitiful occasions were then taken, from every trifling circumstance of their religion, to persecute the persons of these unhappy people, appears, among numberless other instances, from the following passage; which, however inconsiderable in itself, has acquired some weight and importance, from the remarkable notice taken of it by the Irish commons. It seems there is a place of pilgrimage with them in the county of Meath, called St. John's well, which had been frequented every summer from time immemorial, by infirm men, women, and children of that persuasion, in hopes of being relieved from their several disorders, by performing certain acts of devotion and penance there. This the Irish commons deemed an object worthy of their most serious consideration, and a matter of the greatest national concern; and accordingly passed a vote, that these sickly devotees were assembled in that place to the great hazard and danger of the public peace, and safety of the kingdom. In consequence of which, fines, imprisonments and whipping, were made the penalties of such dangerous and tumultuous assemblies. A penance much more severe than, probably, these poor people intended to inflict on themselves; and from which they could hardly obtain any other cure of their disorders, but that never-failing one, death; which, in those times of religious rancour, frequently hap-

pened, by the extreme rigour of their punishment.

The scheme of the original framers of this law seems to have been, to drive the Roman catholic natives out of the kingdom, (which effect it certainly produced on great numbers,) and to introduce foreign protestants in their room. Accordingly, in the year 1709, at the request of the lords and others of the council, eight hundred and twenty-one protestant Palatine families were brought over to Ireland, and the sum of 24,850 pounds, 5 shillings and 6 pence, appointed for their maintenance, out of the revenue, on a resolution of the commons, that it would much contribute to the security of the kingdom, if the said Palatines were encouraged and settled therein. But the error of that policy was soon after discovered; for the lords, in their address to the queen, in 1711, thankfully acknowledge, that her majesty's early care had even prevented their own endeavours to free the nation of that load of debt, which the bringing over numbers of useless and indigent Palatines had brought upon them.*

While the English colony, as lord Clare justly styled them, so tyrannically, so wantonly, so unmercifully persecuted the natives, their masters, in England, as arrogantly, deprived them of their legislative and judicial rights. An insinuation of the trustees of the confiscated lands, that the Irish parliament aimed at independence, this degraded body answered by a declaration, that they held Ireland to be dependant on the English crown. If the English imperial crown was thus

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

pointed out by them, as the sole and exclusive object of their dependance, it followed, by direct implication, that the interference of the British parliament was iniquitous and unconstitutional. Borne down by the weighty hand of oppression, they were afraid, openly and in direct terms, to vindicate their privileges.

By a British statute, Ross was appointed the port for export of wool to England.

By a British statute, Ireland was permitted to export linen to the American plantations.

By a British statute, Ireland was prohibited importing linen from Scotland.

By a British statute, claims to forfeited estates in Ireland were limited.

By a British statute, the increase of protestant dissenters, in Ireland, was endeavoured to be restrained.

By a British statute, papists were prevented purchasing any part of the forfeited estates; but permitted to labour thereon, and dwell in a cabin, provided their tenement did not exceed in value the rent of thirty shillings a year.

Do they represent to her majesty, that the constitution of the kingdom had been injured, and the lives, liberties, and estates of the people had been called in question, in a manner unknown to their ancestors; that the current cash of the kingdom was not equal to the extraordinary expence incurred, by the trustees appointed for managing the forfeited estates, who, besides this just cause of complaint, made false representations to her majesty of the protestants of Ireland, to

create jealousies betwixt the two countries, and procure beneficial employments to themselves; that her subjects here felt deeply their loss of trade; that they could not earn their livelihood, or support their own manufactures; that their foreign commerce laboured under such restriction, as to have become, in a great measure, unprofitable, though to the blood and treasure of Ireland, England had been much indebted, with respect to the advantages of trade, which she enjoyed from her American plantations; that the infrequent meeting of parliament was a principal cause of the national misfortunes. Do they state these grievances to her majesty, she contemptuously answers, that the first part of it seems to relate to matters past in parliament; and the other part consisting only of things in general, her majesty can give no particular answer to at present, but will take them into her consideration.

Do the peers request her majesty to take into consideration a union between Great-Britain and Ireland, their offer is scornfully received. The weakness of Ireland was then deemed the strongest link of connexion there: the extirpation of the majority of the inhabitants, the best security of the English colony here.

Do the peers of the colony consider their judgment final: the English lords reverse their sentence, dispossess the earl and countess of Meath of lands adjudged to them. In an ebullition of patriotism, they resolve, that by the ancient known laws, and statutes of this kingdom, her majesty hath an undoubted jurisdiction, and pre-

rogative of judging, in this her high court of parliament, in all appeals and causes within her realm of Ireland. That the determinations of this court are final and conclusive, and cannot be reversed by any court whatsoever. That if any subject within this kingdom, shall hereafter presume to remove any cause, determined in this high court of parliament, to any other court, such person or persons shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this honourable house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom. That if any subject, within this kingdom, shall presume to put in execution any order from any other court, contrary to the final determination of this high court of parliament, such person or persons shall be deemed betrayers of her majesty's prerogative and jurisdiction, and the undoubted ancient rights and privileges of this house, and of the rights and liberties of the subjects of this kingdom. Do they thus affect the proud tone of independent jurisdiction, and in this instance successfully, a few years after, the English parliament made them sensible of their impotence; enacting, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm or reverse any judgment, sentence or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are utterly null and void.

Do they resolve, that in consequence of the great decay of trade, and discouragement of the manufactures of this kingdom, many poor tradesmen are reduced to extreme beggary? Do they, seeing this, attempt to remove the cause, the prohibiting export act of William's English parliament, which so closely followed their regulating prohibitory duty on Irish woollens? No. They resolve, indeed, that it would greatly contribute to the relief of the poor, and to the good of the kingdom, that the inhabitants wear none other than the manufacture of it, in their apparel and the furniture of their houses; and pledge their honors to each other, that they will conform to the said resolution.

“No sooner were the catholics excluded from durable and profitable tenures, than they commenced graziers, and laid aside agriculture: they ceased from draining or enclosing their farms, and building good houses, as occupations unsuited to the new post assigned them in the national economy. They fell to wasting the lands they were virtually forbid to cultivate; the business of pasturage being compatible with such conduct, and requiring also little industry, and still less labour, in the management. This business, moreover, brings quick returns in money; and though its profits be smaller than those arising from agriculture, yet they are more immediate, and much better adapted to the condition of men, who are confined to a fugitive property, which can so readily be transferred from one country to another. This pastoral

occupation also eluded the vigilance of the race of informers; as the difficulty of ascertaining a grazier's profit is considerable; and as the proofs of his enjoying more than a third penny profit, cannot so easily be made clear in our courts of law. The keeping the lands waste also prevented, in a great degree, leases in reversion, which protestants only were qualified to take; and this (by the small temptation to such reversions) gave the present occupant the best title to a future renewal. This sort of self-defence, in keeping the lands uncultivated, had the further ill consequence of expelling that most useful body of people, called yeomanry in England, and which we denominate sculoags, in Ireland. Communities of industrious house-keepers, who, in my own time, herded together in large villages, and cultivated the lands every where, lived comfortably, until, as leases expired, some rich grazier, negotiating privately with a sum of ready money, took these lands over their heads. This is a fact well known. The sculoag race, that great nursery of labourers and manufacturers, has been broke and dispersed, in every quarter; and we have nothing in lieu, but the most miserable wretches on earth, the cottagers; naked slaves, who labour without any nourishing food, and live while they can, without houses or covering, under the lash of merciless and relentless task-masters!"*

* Observations on the affairs of Ireland.

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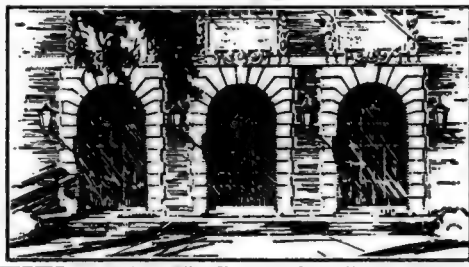
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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH
INVASION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY DENNIS TAAFFE.



VOL. IV.

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AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE ENGLISH INVASION
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE desire of Anne, that her brother should succeed to the crown, was most advantageous to Louis XIV. Peace, as advantageous to France as the queen could obtain, was concluded. Oxford, whose deception to the Jacobites was discovered, was removed; a new ministry appointed; but, four days after his dismissal, their views were frustrated, by the death of Anne, on the 12th of August, 1714. Agreeable to the act of succession, George I. son of Ernest Augustus, elector of Brunswick, and of Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. was proclaimed king of Great-Britain and Ireland. The schemes in favour of the Pretender were discovered. Oxford, who had frustrated the design, was sent to the Tower. Bolingbroke and Ormond escaped to France.

Parliament met at Dublin, in November 1715. His majesty's title to the crown was zealously recognized. The late ministers of the queen were voted enemies to the succession. The justices acquainted them that the kingdom was to be invaded. The commons addressed his majesty,

expressed their abhorrence of the design, and their zeal and affection for his person and government.

Meanwhile the earl of Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland in the reign of queen Anne, and lieutenant-general Hamilton, sailed from London, by direction of the Pretender, and landed in the north of Scotland. He assembled his friends and vassals, and proclaimed the Pretender. A great number of highlanders and principal noblemen having joined him, he marched forward and seized upon the town of Perth, by which means he was master of all that part of Scotland which is beyond the river Tay.

Some officers had, at the same time, attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, which would have made Marr master of all, and would have obliged his enemies to quit the post of Stirling; but this project failed. As soon as king George was informed of the revolt of Marr, he sent the duke of Argyll from London, who, without stopping at Edinburgh, advanced to Stirling with all the troops he could collect, which did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men. George I. at the same time, caused some regiments to march from England into Scotland, and gave orders that several should be brought over thither from Ireland; he also sent to demand of the States general the six thousand men they were bound to give by the treaties made by the late king, in favour of the protestant succession.

Marr, in the mean time, amused himself with forming his army, and settling all his affairs, as

if he was sure of having all the time he wanted. Had he marched forward as soon as he had collected eight or ten thousand men, he certainly would not have met with any opposition, and Argyll would have been obliged to quit Scotland, to retire to Berwick. He might then have been able to put his army in order, to assemble a parliament, and to march to the frontiers, either to defend them against king George's troops, or to advance into England, and join the friends of the Pretender, in case they should form a party there, as there was reason to expect; but his little skill in military affairs made him lose this opportunity, and he gave time to the troops that were marching from all quarters to join the duke of Argyll. A man may have a great deal of understanding, a great deal of personal bravery, and be a very able minister, without having the talents requisite for an enterprize of this nature. It is certain that Marr had them not; and we must not therefore wonder that he did not succeed. After he had drawn the sword, he did not know in what manner to proceed.

Soon after Marr had seized upon Perth, M. Forester, a respectable gentleman in the county of Northumberland, the lords Derwentwater, Widrington and others, took up arms there, and proclaimed the Pretender; but their principal force consisting in cavalry, they asked of Marr a reinforcement of infantry; upon which he detached brigadier M'Intosh, to join them with eighteen hundred highlanders. M'Intosh passed the Firth, near Edinburgh, in spite of

some ships of war, which happened to be there; and instead of marching the nearest way to join Forester he drew near to Edinburgh. The Duke of Argyll hastened thither from Stirling, and M'Intosh retired into an old ruined fort, called Leith, at a mile distance from the town; he would not have been able to maintain his ground there for want of provisions, if the duke of Argyll had not been obliged to return immediately to Stirling, to oppose Marr, who was marching thither. As soon as M'Intosh was relieved from the situation he had foolishly got himself into, he made what haste he could towards the frontiers of England; and was joined in his way by the lords Kenmure, Nithsdale, &c. with five hundred horse from the south of Scotland; but he lost a great number of his highlanders, who went back into their own country. After they had all joined, Forester, instead of marching directly into Scotland, to attack Argyll on one side, while Marr attacked him on the other, which was the only wise step they could take, they advanced into the bishoprick of Durham, having some hopes that the town of Newcastle would declare for them; but general Carpenter having got there before them, and having posted himself with one battalion and some dragoons, they took the road towards Lancashire, where their army was increased by numbers of catholics. They advanced as far as Preston, thinking that the neighbouring counties would also take up arms; but general Wills, whom king George had sent there, having got together some infan-

try, with several regiments of cavalry and dragoons, marched straight to them, and arrived near Preston, before they had the least intelligence of it. They put themselves in a posture of defence, and even repulsed the troops vigorously in their first attacks, so that considering the superiority of Forester, and the few troops Wills had with him, it is probable the latter would have been, if not defeated, at least obliged to retire; but all of a sudden Forester, and most of the chiefs of his party, losing their presence of mind, offered to capitulate. Gen. Wills conducted the matter so well, that they submitted at discretion, being satisfied with the assurances he gave them, of employing his good offices in their favour. Forester had with him about two thousand men, and Wills not more than one thousand at most.

In the mean while Marr, after having amused himself a long time at Perth, began his march to attempt the passage of the river Tay, above Stirling. Argyll being apprised of it, marched up to him, and they met at Auchterardire. Marr's army might consist of nine or ten thousand men, and that of Argyll of three or four thousand.

Argyll, at first, broke the left of Marr's army, but the latter totally routed the rest of the enemy's forces, of whom he made a considerable slaughter; but he did not pursue them, and suffered Argyll, with his right wing, to retire in good order to Stirling.* The next day, instead of availing himself of his advantage, he marched

* Berwick's Memoirs.

back to Perth. From thence he detached the marquises Huntly and Seaforth, with five or six thousand of their vassals, to retake Inverness. But Huntly accepted pardon, and Seaforth retired.

After an interval of two months from the commencement of this rebellion, the Pretender landed at Peterhead, towards the end of December. Instead of an army of 16,000 men, that he expected, he found but 5 or 6000, in the most wretched state. Argyll, notwithstanding the season of the year, advanced; the highlanders retreated; and the Pretender, having witnessed the failure of the attempt, with Marr, and a few others, embarked for France, leaving their wretched followers to shift for themselves.

The Irish parliament offered a reward for the Pretender, and attainted the duke of Ormond; stating to his majesty, that it was with the utmost concern they found that this country gave birth to James Butler, late duke of Ormond; a person who, in despite of his allegiance, and the obligations of repeated oaths, has been one of the chief authors and fomenters of that wicked and unnatural rebellion. They also unanimously voted him guilty of high-treason; his estate to be vested in the crown; and that a reward of ten thousand pounds should be offered for apprehending him, in case he landed in any part of Ireland. So that he, who, in 1704, had been addressed by them with particular marks of love and veneration, on account of his having procured The barrier to the protestant religion, as

the law then passed against the catholics was called, now became the public object of their aversion and contempt. But, indeed, what better could they have expected from a person, who, regardless of public faith, and the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, had procured to be enacted, a penal statute, through which there runs such a vein of ingenious cruelty, that it seems to be dictated rather by some prætor of Dioclesian, than by a British or Irish nobleman? It was a singular circumstance in this duke's fortune, that although in his expedition on the coast of Spain, his soldiers committed many outrages, and profanations of what was held sacred by the inhabitants; yet, after the bill of attainder had passed against him, he fled for protection to that country, where he had connived at the sacrilegious excesses of his army; and afterwards retired to Avignon, a territory belonging to the first prelate of that church, which he had treated with so much cruelty.

Though the acting rebels were almost all Scottish presbyterians, and none of the catholics in Ireland were known to be any way connected with them, yet such was the government's affected fear, or real hatred, of these catholics, that the penalties for the exercise of their religion were now generally inflicted. Their chapels were shut up; their priests dragged from their hiding places; sometimes from the very altars, in the midst of divine service; hurried into loathsome prisons, and from thence banished for ever from their native country. This persecution was

the obvious, and but the natural effect of a resolution of the commons at this juncture; ' that it was the indispensable duty of all magistrates, to put the laws in immediate execution against popish priests; and that such of them as neglected to do so, should be looked upon as enemies of the constitution. And although this rebellion of the presbyterians in Scotland was the sole pretence for this severity; and the very same law which banishes popish priests, prohibits also dissenters to accept of, or act by, a commission in the militia or array; yet so partial were the resolutions of that parliament, that, at the same time that they ordered the former to be rigorously prosecuted, they resolved unanimously, that any person, who should commence a prosecution against any of the latter, who had accepted, or should accept of, a commission in the array or militia, was an enemy to king George and the protestant interest. Thus of the only two main objects of the same law, its execution against one of them was judged highly meritorious; but it was deemed equally culpable even to attempt it against the other; though the law itself makes no difference between them. Such was the justice and consistency of our legislators of that period.*

Irish catholics might now assume a title similar to that assumed by the pope. He styles himself the servant of the servants of God; they were the slaves of the slaves of England. The protestant negro drivers of Irish catholics did not, it seems, perceive, that the penal laws against

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland,

catholics were also penal against Ireland; and that the infamous acts to prevent the growth of popery, were equally operative to prevent the growth of Ireland's prosperity. Indulging their unchristian hatred of the elder branch of christianity, and of its professors; and pleased with the exercise of a petty, subordinate tyranny, they appear to have been generally insensible of the chains they wore, in common with their other countrymen. But, in 1719, the English parliament made their slavery evident.

A cause, relative to an estate betwixt Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesly, was tried before the court of exchequer in Ireland. The latter obtained a decree, which upon appeal was reversed by the lords. From their sentence Annesly appealed to the English peers, by whom the judgment given in his favour by the court of exchequer was confirmed, and an order issued to put him in possession of the disputed estate. Against this illegal determination, Sherlock petitioned the Irish house of lords. The lords proposed to the consideration of the judges, whether, by the laws of the land, an appeal lies from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland, to the king in parliament in Great Britain? The judges answered in the negative. The peers then resolved, that they would support their honour, jurisdiction and privileges, by giving the petitioner, Hester Sherlock, effectual relief, pursuant to a former order. Notwithstanding, some time after a petition was presented to the house, by Alexander Burrowes, sheriff of Kildare, setting forth,

that his predecessor in office had put Hester Sherlock in possession of the premises. That upon his entering into office, an injunction, agreeably to an order of the English peers, issued from the exchequer, commanding him to restore Maurice Annesly to the possession of the above-mentioned lands; that not daring to act in contradiction to the order of the house, he was fined. That in consequence of this, being afraid lest he should be taken into custody, he durst not venture to come in to pass his accounts, for which he was fined twelve hundred pounds.

The lords resolved, that Alexander Burrowes, Esq. in not obeying the injunction issued from his majesty's court of exchequer, in the cause betwixt Sherlock and Annesly, has behaved himself with integrity and courage, and with due respect to the orders and resolutions of the house. That the fines imposed upon him be taken off. That the lord chief barons of the exchequer, in the cause betwixt Sherlock and Annesly, and also respecting the sheriff of Kildare, had acted in manifest derogation to and diminution of the king's prerogative, of finally judging in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of this kingdom and its parliaments. They also ordered the barons into custody; and, in vindication, drew up a representation to be presented to his majesty.

In it they represented, that by many ancient records and sundry acts of parliament it appeared, that the kings and principal men of Ireland did, without compulsion, submit to Henry the Second

as their liege lord, who, at the desire of the Irish, ordained that the laws of England should be of force, and observed in this kingdom. That by this agreement Ireland obtained the benefit of English law, with many other privileges, particularly that of having a distinct parliament, in which weighty and important matters relating to this kingdom, were to be treated, discussed, and determined. That this concession and compact, ratified by succeeding kings, encouraged the English to come over and settle in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the same laws, the same liberties, and a constitution similar to that of England. That by this constitution and these privileges, his majesty's subjects had been enabled to discharge their duties faithfully to the crown; that therefore they insisted upon them, and hoped to have them preserved inviolable. That though the imperial crown of this realm was annexed to that of Great Britain, yet being a distinct dominion, and being no part of the kingdom of England, none could determine with the affairs of it, but such as were authorized by its known laws and customs, or the express consent of the King. That it was an invasion of his majesty's prerogative, and a grievance to his Irish subjects, for any court of judicature to take upon them to declare, that he could not by his authority in parliament, determine all controversies between his subjects of this kingdom, or that when they appeal to his majesty in parliament here, they did not bring their cause to a competent judicature. That in relation to the removal of causes by ap-

peal from this kingdom, the judges being sometimes ignorant of the common law of England, which was the rule of their decisions, did apply to his majesty for information, which he gave them by the advice, and with the assistance of the justices of the King's bench, who in ancient times constantly attended his person. That when the King's bench came to be fixed, appeals were made to it, though the king was not personally present. That from hence it could not be inferred upon any ground, that appeals from the parliament of Ireland, might be brought before the house of peers in England. They represent, that but two instances occurred, of appeals from the Irish court of chancery to the English peers, prior to the revolution, and two instances subsequent to it, until the year seventeen hundred and three, none of which ought to affect the jurisdiction of the Irish lords, as by the principles and the nature of their constitution, whatever judicial powers were lodged in the British parliament, with respect to that kingdom and its inferior courts. That therefore in the year seventeen hundred and three, upon a complaint of the Earl and Countess of Meath, that during the interval of parliament, an order of the English peers had dispossessed them of certain lands, which had been decreed them here, the Irish parliament restored them effectually, to the undisturbed possession of them. That there was just reason to conclude they would have acted the same part, respecting the appeal of the Bishop of Derry, had he not been removed, and a composition made by

his successor with the London society prevented it. They then state the appeal of Maurice Annesly from their judgment, with all the particulars of the interference of the English lords, in that cause, injurious to their privileges; and the pernicious consequences of this usurped jurisdiction of the British peers.

They observe to his majesty, that it is the right, and the happiness of his subjects in this kingdom, as well as of those in Britain, that by their respective constitutions, justice is administered to them without much trouble or expence, in the kingdom to which they belong; but if his majesty is deprived of the power of finally determining causes here, in his high court of parliament, those who were unable to follow them to Britain, must submit to whatever wrongs they might suffer, from the more rich and powerful. That if all judgments made in his majesty's highest court within this kingdom, were subject to be reversed by the lords in Great Britain, the liberty and property of all his subjects of Ireland, must thereby become finally dependent on the British peers, to the great diminution of that dependence, which by law they ought always to have on the English crown. That if the interference of the English lords, in receiving appeals from Ireland, be recognized and supported, it would take away the power from his majesty, of determining causes in his parliament of this country, and confine it entirely to the parliament of Britain. That the writs for summoning the lords and commons in both countries being the same,

they must in each kingdom be possessed of equal powers, or else the peerage of their nation be little more than an empty title, and the commons stand for ever deprived of the privilege of impeaching in parliament, which right could not possibly be maintained, if there were not within the realm a parliamentary judicature. That if the power of judicature may, by a vote of the British lords, be taken away from the parliament of Ireland, no reason could be given why the same lords might not, in the like manner, deprive the people of Ireland of the benefit of their whole constitution. That the lords of Great Britain have not in themselves any way, either by law or custom, of executing their decrees in Ireland. That this could only be accomplished by an extraordinary exertion of royal power, which would be highly prejudicial to the liberties of this nation.

They also inform his majesty, that to prevent the appellant from making farther application to the Irish parliament, his deputy receiver had paid her a sum exceeding eighteen hundred pounds, which, to the prejudice of his majesty's subjects, he expected would be refunded by government. That these proceedings of the English lords had greatly embarrassed his parliament of Ireland, disgusted the generality of his loyal subjects, and must of necessity expose all sheriffs and officers of justice to the greatest hardships, by this interference of different jurisdictions. They hoped, that all these things being duly considered, his majesty would justify the steps they had taken, for supporting his prerogative, and the just rights and

liberties of themselves and their fellow subjects.

But their hope was vain. Their representation and proceedings were laid before the British house of lords. Being read, they resolved, that the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, in their proceedings in the cause between Annesly and Sherlock, in obedience to their orders, had acted with courage according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for doing their duty. They then passed a law, which declared, that whereas attempts have been lately made, to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependence upon, the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the lords of Ireland in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your majesty, that it may be enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of

Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland. And it further enacted and declared, that the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

This thus degraded colonial assembly still gratified their elaborately inculcated prejudices, and their pitiful pride, in the exercise of a delegated, subordinate tyranny, by enforcing penal laws against their catholic countrymen; whilst England continued, with unabating asperity, to inflict political and commercial disabilities on both, the delegates of their tyranny, their negro drivers, as well as on the slaves of slaves.

In the year 1723, the commons unanimously resolved, that it was the indispensable duty of all magistrates to put the laws in immediate execution against popish priests; and that the ne-

glect of several magistrates, in executing the laws against papists, did greatly contribute to the growth of popery. The laws for this purpose, however, were not deemed sufficient. A bill was brought in, to explain and amend the acts to prevent the growth of popery. One of the most zealous promoters of it, in a long and laboured speech, took notice, that of all the countries wherein the reformed religion had prevailed, Sweden was freest from those secret, but irreconcilable, enemies of all protestant governments, popish ecclesiastics; which, he said, was visibly owing to the great wisdom of their laws, inflicting the penalty of castration on all such dangerous intruders into that kingdom. And concluded by moving, that this Gothic and inhuman penalty be added as a clause to the bill before them: to which the house, after a short debate, agreed; and ordered it to be laid before his grace the lord lieutenant, to be transmitted into England, with this remarkable request on their part, that he would recommend the same, in the most effectual manner, to his majesty. To which his grace was pleased to answer, that as he had so much at heart a matter, which he had recommended to the consideration of parliament at the beginning of the session, they might depend upon a due regard, on his part, to what was desired.

The bill was accordingly transmitted to England; but rejected there, by means of the humane and earnest interposition of cardinal Fleury with Mr. Walpole, whose great power and interest at

that juncture were then universally known. His grace the lord lieutenant, in his speech to that parliament, at the close of the session, in order to console them for the loss of their favourite bill, gave them to understand, that it miscarried merely by its not having been brought into the house, before the session was so far advanced. And after earnestly recommending to them, in their several stations, the care and preservation of the public peace, he added, that in his opinion that would be greatly promoted, by the vigorous execution of the laws against popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions that such persons only should be put into the commission of the peace, as had distinguished themselves by their steady adherence to the protestant interest.*

The distinction between English by birth, and English by descent, was now systematically acted upon. Born in Ireland, was an incapacity to office, that the most decided enmity to the antient faith, and the remnant of the antient natives, could not remove.†

The united voice of the colony, guided by the patriotic Swift, had so little weight, that Wood's patent, to coin copper money, was yielded to it with great difficulty. So base was the metal, that a shilling of his halfpence was scarcely worth a penny. Parliament addressed, the privy council addressed, the corporations addressed his majesty,

* Currie. Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

† Boulter's State Letters.

against Wood's halfpence; the grand jury of the county of Dublin presented all persons, who attempted to impose it upon the people of Ireland, enemies to government, and to the peace, safety and welfare of his majesty's government. The English by birth, at length deemed it necessary to revoke the patent; Boulter thought it expedient, and the patent was revoked.

Now and then a patriotic genius arose, like lightning illuminating the gloom of a clouded night, reminding the public of the many shackles, imposed on their commerce, their manufactures, the nuisance of absentees draining the country of money, and the intolerable grievance, to a people called free, to be governed by a foreign legislature, without for the present producing any other effect, than the diffusion of political knowledge. Of these the most distinguished was dean Swift, whose patriotic exertions are still gratefully acknowledged by his countrymen. The state to which Ireland was reduced, in those days when Irishmen dared not to complain, he feared not to publish. He commences his *State of Ireland* in the year 1727, enumerating, by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any countries flourishing and growing rich; and then examines what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

“The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil, to produce the necessities and conveniencies of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities, to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens to carry out their own goods, as much manufactured, and bring in those of others, as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them; except to those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore, all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreasing the number of their people; without which, any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour,

profit, or trust, only to the natives, or at least with very few exceptions; where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand, and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or convenience, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in cloaths, furniture, food or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I cannot at present recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these: after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely

to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire, in the neighbourhood, the reputation of being rich; because those who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and, in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out, in shewing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog, and rock, and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions which both kingdoms deal in, are very near on equality in point of goodness; and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people; our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly

unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years; it can hardly be said, that the nation hath received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in antient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures, wherever they pleased; except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this priviledge, by the superiority of meer power, is refused us, in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous, as they are invidious to mention. To go unto the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord chief justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum*, written as a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus, we are in the condition of patients, who have physick sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution, and the nature of their disease: and thus, we are forced to pay five hundred per cent. to decide our properties; in all which, we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to improvement of land, those few who attempt that, or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries, make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing, but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journies of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court, and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army; and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the isle of Man, they coin their own silver; every petty prince, vassal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take

special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plad, through which the workmen are forced to run a sort of gold thread that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England as well as corn: and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine; for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, upon which I could easily enlarge, I would be glad to know by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining; without industry, labour, or improvement of lands, and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom, annually exported; for which we receive not a single farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the north, a trade casual, corrupted, and at mercy; and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason; like the thorn at Glastenbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the faces of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance

and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farmers' houses and barns: the towns and villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods, wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast number of ships in our harbours and docks and ship-wrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures, the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress? What glorious reports would they make when they went back to England.

But my heart is too heavy to continue in this irony longer, for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet, and dwelling of the people. The general desolation in most parts of the kingdom. The old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead. The families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet; or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty, to receive them. These, indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own

country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted. *Nostra miseria magna es.*

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents, is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants; who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries, a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence, alone, comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money. Hence the dearness of necessaries for life; because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take, or go a begging) without raising the price of cattle, and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of buildings in this city; because workmen have nothing to do, but employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily encrease of bankers; who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours, who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold; so that within three years past, the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two; and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom the isle of Man; and the meanest prince in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox

of the kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen, the bankers; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year; and thereby interpose at least some short delay, to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to his majesty, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year, without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side. But how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtle piece of malice; that, because there may be a dozen families in this town, able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables; their guests, upon their return to England, shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital where all the household officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment."

On the death of George I. June 11, 1727, his son, George II. succeeded, on the 15th of June. The accession of the house of Hanover made no material alteration in the state of Ireland, or condition of the catholics. The persecution of the latter can in no manner be imputed to a family, bred in the principles of toleration established in Germany. They were borne down by the general torrent of national hatred and religious intolerance, raging in England, and impelled by the authority of parliament and the clamours of the people, to enforce and even augment the penal laws. These victims of persecution having heard it reported, that their neglect in addressing queen Anne, on her accession, occasioned the enactment of the severest of the penalties, resolved to petition George I. The clamours and suspicions, raised against them at that period, debarred them of all access to the throne, directly or indirectly. On the accession of George II. they resumed the design of addressing; and hoped the more favourable reception therefrom, as their irreproachable behaviour, and steady loyalty, might have somewhat abated the rancour of their enemies. An humble address was accordingly drawn up, and presented to the lords justices, by lord Delvin and other leading catholics; but so little was they or their address noticed, at that time, that they were never informed whether it was transmitted or not.

To redeem the interest and principal of the national debt, a fund had been provided. An attempt to vest it in the crown for ever had failed.

Administration now endeavoured to have this fund granted to his majesty, for twenty-one years. The numbers for and against were equal. The votes were on the point of being taken, when colonel Tottenham, who had ridden post, entered the house of commons. His vote frustrated the views of government; and 'Tottenham in his boots' was long the theme of public applause.

The rigorous execution of the popery laws was again renewed in 1734. Application having been made to his majesty, to reverse some of the outlawries, the commons stated to his majesty, that nothing could enable them to defend his right and title to his crown so effectually, as the enjoyment of those estates, which have been the forfeitures of the rebellious Irish, and were then in the possession of his protestant subjects; and therefore, that they were fully assured, that he would discourage all applications or attempts that should be made in favour of such traitors or their descendants, so dangerous to the protestant interest of this kingdom. Notwithstanding his majesty's favourable answer, that 'he would for the future discourage all such applications and attempts,' to prevent the possibility of such claims being renewed, an act was passed, disqualifying catholics from practising as solicitors; the only branch of the law they were then permitted to practise. During its progress through parliament, a subscription was commenced, and money collected, to defray the expence necessarily attendant on legally opposing the passing of this bill. Some clergymen, in Munster, having been engaged in this

business, Hennessy, a parish priest, suspended by his superior for scandalous behaviour, to be revenged, gave information that the money was for the purpose of bringing in popery and the Pretender. After the strictest scrutiny, the sum collected was found not to exceed five pounds; yet the committee of the house of commons reported, that it appeared to them, that under colour of opposing heads of bills, great sums of money had been collected and raised, and a fund established by the popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the protestant interest, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment. The house resolved, that an humble address should be presented to the lord lieutenant, to issue his proclamation to all magistrates, to put the laws against popery in execution; and that it was the indispensable duty of all magistrates, and officers, to put the laws made to prevent the further growth of popery in Ireland, in due execution: and that the members of that house, in their respective counties and stations, would use their utmost endeavours to put the several laws against popery in due execution. The proclamation was issued, and the laws against popery were strictly executed by the magistrates in every part of the kingdom.

The frequent resolutions of the commons, aided by inflammatory anniversary sermons, and equally inflammatory pamphlets, occasionally preached and published, diffused such a spirit of rancour and animosity against catholics, among their protestant neighbours, as made the generality of them

believe, that the words popery, rebellion and massacre, really signified the same thing, and thereby excited such real terrors in these latter, as often brought the liberties, and sometimes the lives of the former, into imminent danger. The most shocking circumstances of the Irish insurrection in 1641, and of the English gun-powder treason in 1605, were studiously revived and aggravated in these sermons and pamphlets, with a degree of virulence and exaggeration, which, as it surpassed the most extravagant fictions of romance or poetry; so it possessed their uninformed, though often well-meaning hearers and readers, with lasting and general abhorrence of these people. The crimes, real or supposed, of catholics dead more than a century before, were imputed, intentionally, to all those who survived them, however innocent, of the same religious persuasion. By these means, an antient nobleman and privy-counsellor, of great power and influence, was so enthusiastically incensed against them, that, in the year 1743, on the threatened invasion of England by the French, under the command of mareschal Saxe, he openly declared in council, that as the papists had began the massacre on them, about an hundred years before, so he thought it both reasonable and lawful, on their parts, to prevent them, at that dangerous juncture, by first falling upon them. And although the barbarity of that suggestion was quickly over-ruled in that honourable assembly; yet so entirely were some of the lower northern dissenters possessed and influenced, by this prevailing prepossession and rancour against catho-

lies, that in the same year, and for the same declared purpose of prevention, a conspiracy was actually formed by some of the inhabitants of Lurgan, to rise in the night-time, and destroy all their neighbours of that denomination in their beds. But this inhuman purpose was also frustrated, by an information of the honest protestant publican, in whose house the conspirators had met to settle the execution of their scheme, sworn before the Rev. Mr. Ford, a justice of the peace in that district, who with difficulty put a stop to the intended massacre.

On account of the Scottish rebellion in 1745, in favour of the pretender, in which it will presently appear, that not a single Irish catholic, lay or clerical, was any way engaged, the minds of the protestants all over the kingdom were so much irritated by the inflammatory means before-mentioned, together with the additional incentives of pastoral letters, of the like evil tendency, from all the bishops of the kingdom to their respective diocesans, that dreadful consequences, with regard to these inoffensive people, were justly apprehended; and probably would have ensued, had not the great wisdom and lenity of the then chief governor, the earl of Chesterfield, frequently and earnestly interposed. This nobleman, though pressed from all quarters by their powerful enemies, on a pretended knowledge of their disaffection, but really from the malignity of prejudice, to put the laws in force against them, always eluded their importunities, either by his own uncommon sagacity and resolution, or by some happy turn of

pleasantry, which never failed to expose the folly of their apprehensions; for he quickly discovered, that they had neither the power nor the inclination to give the government any disturbance. And he even assured both houses of parliament, “ that France, which alone encouraged and supported the rash adventurer, had made use of him only as the occasional tool of their politics, and not as the real object of their care. That although Great Britain had, in the course of this century, been often molested by insurrections at home and invasions from abroad, Ireland had happily and deservedly enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity.” And in short, that this attempt to shake his majesty’s throne, would serve to establish it the more firmly, since all Europe must know the unanimous zeal and affection of his subjects, for the defence of his person and government.”

The great goodness and mercy of providence in sending such a governor among us, at that period of suspicion and danger, will be for ever most gratefully remembered by these people. Even their enemies in parliament, at the close of his administration, seem to have, in some measure, retracted their former councils of rigour and severity; for the commons in their address at the end of their session, after mentioning their late unquiet apprehensions, “ acknowledged, with cheerfulness and the utmost gratitude, that the profound tranquillity which, without any extraordinary increase of public expence, the nation, had hitherto enjoyed, was the result of his excellency’s wise and vigilant administration; formed

upon the principles, and carried on by the uniform exercise of lenity without remissness, and of firmness without severity."

I promised to make it appear, that no Irish catholic, lay or clerical, was any way engaged in the Scottish rebellion of 1745. I shall now perform my promise. Lord Chief Justice Marlay's charge to the grand juries of the city and county of Dublin, bears honorable testimony to their loyalty. "When posterity read," says he, "that in this age a rebellion was carried on in Great Britain, without the least colour or pretence of oppression, nay, by many who had not even that false pretence of religion to palliate their treason against a prince, one of the best, the most merciful, just, and most generous of our royal line, who has given the fortunes of all criminals, whether forfeited for crimes against the state, or for other offences, to their children or relations (a grace never practised before); who has exposed his person at the head of his armies, in defence of the liberties of his kingdoms, and of Europe; and that Ireland, where much the greatest part of the inhabitants profess a religion, which sometimes has authorised, or at least justified rebellion, not only preserved peace at home, but contributed to restore it among his subjects of Great Britain; will they not believe that the people of Ireland were actuated by something more than their duty and allegiance? will they not be convinced, that they were animated by a generous sense of gratitude, and zeal for their great benefactor, and fully sensible of the happiness of being

blessed by living under the protection of a monarch, who, like the glorious king William, the Henries, and Edwards, his royal predecessors, has himself led his armies to victory, and despised danger in the cause of his people; and one from whom we not only expect, but are assured of, a race of princes, equally eminent for their generosity, prudence and courage."

In the year 1762, upon a debate in the house of lords upon the expediency of raising five regiments of these catholics, for the service of the king of Portugal, Doctor Stone (then Primate), in answer to some common-place objections against the good faith and loyalty of these people, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly in the house of lords, that "in the year 1747, after that rebellion was intirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels, and their correspondents, which were seized in the custody of Murray, the pretender's secretary; and that, after having spent much time and taken great pains in examining them (not without some share of the then common suspicion, that there might be some private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish catholics), he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or correspondence in them; or of any of the latter's favouring, abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of these rebels. And what," he said, "he wondered at most at all was, that in all his re-

searches, he had not met with any passage in any of these papers, from which he could infer, that either their Holy Father the Pope, or any of his cardinals, bishops, or other dignitaries of that church; or any of the Irish clergy, had either directly or indirectly, encouraged, aided or approved of, the commencing or carrying on of that rebellion."

'That no man should ever doubt of what complexion the spirit actuating the persecutors of the catholic faith, they invited and embraced with open arms, the enemies of Christ and of his church; professing equal contempt for the cross. It was natural enough for the enemies of the faith to associate. Thus the infidel rulers of the French republic, while they laboured with might and main to undermine and abolish the christian faith, naturalized the Jews. Vain was their endeavour. To a land, ruled by wolves and tygers, impoverished even to beggary, by restrictions on industry, exorbitant taxation, and immense tributes to England, the Jews would not come. The circumcized race will never consider any country their home, but that promised them by their prophets. Therefore they are not addicted to the cultivation or purchase of land, subsisting by traffic, and such other means as will always leave them ready to obey the long expected signal of departure for the holy land. They did say, that, among a people purposely impoverished, there was no chance of living; as a beggared population must, by dire necessity, be driven to their wits end, to such shifts as to out-jew the

very Jews. It was the observation of a Jewish rabbi, in Saxony, who entertained me very kindly. On asking him, why there were no synagogues in Ireland? he replied, smiling, be so good as to tell me why, in so fertile a land, and so happily situated for commerce, your people are such poor rogues, that you are greater Jews than ourselves, whence our people could not live among you. But to return to the Irish persecutors, fraternizing with the enemies of Christ. The Irish commons, in the session of 1747, brought heads of a bill into their house, for naturalizing persons professing the Jewish religion; which were committed, agreed to by the house without any amendment, and presented to his grace the lord lieutenant, to be by him transmitted into England. In the session immediately preceding, the same bill was brought into the commons, and carried through without any debate; but it then miscarried either here or in England; as it also did this second time.*

After the departure of the earl of Chesterfield, in the spring of 1746, the kingdom was governed by lords justices till September, when the earl of Harrington arrived. The death of Sir James Sommerville the following year, and of alderman Pearson, representatives for the city, gave occasion to a remarkable contest for members to succeed them, and called forth to public view a character conspicuously distinguished. Strong natural powers, especially when excited to action by public spirit, have rendered men eminent, though

* Currie. Hist. Rev. Civil Wars.

unaccompanied by the advantages of a liberal education, by riches, station, and the influence of powerful connexions. Of this Charles Lucas exhibited a striking example. Some years before, this extraordinary man, having attracted the notice of his fellow citizens, was admitted to the common council. Here he resolved to exert himself in behalf of their privileges. The new rules, framed in the reign of Charles II., by authority derived from a clause in the act of explanation, had, as in other corporate towns, changed the powers of the city corporation. To increase the influence of the crown, among other innovations, they deprived the commons of the power of choosing the city magistrates, and placed it in the board of aldermen, subject in its exercise on each election to the approbation of the chief governor and privy council. Of this injury Lucas loudly complained. But the law being absolute, could not be controuled. Suspecting however, that in other respects encroachments had been made on the rights of the citizens, not justified by law, he examined the city charters, and searched diligently into ancient records, by which he was convinced that his apprehensions were well founded. He published his discoveries, explained the evidence resulting from them, and encouraged the people to take the proper steps for obtaining redress. In consequence, a warm contest commenced betwixt the commons and aldermen in seventeen hundred and forty-one, which continued the two succeeding years.

Though the former struggled in vain to reco-

ver their lost privileges, the exertions of Lucas in every stage of the dispute, were strenuous and persevering. These services rendered him so respectable, and raised him so high in the esteem and confidence of his fellow citizens, that on the death of Sir James Sommerville, they encouraged him to declare himself a candidate to represent them in parliament. Ambitious of an office so flattering, which would give him an opportunity of exerting his abilities to the greatest advantage in the service, not only of the city of Dublin, but of his country, he complied with their desire. His speeches to the several corporations on this occasion, which were bold, nervous and animated, in favour of liberty, encreased their attachment to him. But a number of addresses to his fellow citizens, which he wrote and published, still in a higher degree, encreased his popularity. In these, among other subjects, he considered distinctly the several branches of the constitution, pointed out to the electors of Dublin, and to the nation, the privileges of Irishmen, and the various injuries they had sustained by the usurped interference of the British legislature. The bold truths which he unfolded, and the unreserved severity of his strictures, alarmed government. They determined to crush him by the hand of power, unable to withstand his spirited efforts in behalf of his country by reason and argument. For this purpose, certain passages, the most expressive of our grievances, and, for that reason, most obnoxious to the state, were collected from his publications, and made the foundation of a charge

which was brought against him before parliament. The rights of the commons, which with particular attention he laboured to vindicate and ascertain, had been one of the subjects of his free discussion. Instead of protecting him, in reward of this service and of his exertions in behalf of the liberties of Ireland, the commons, obedient to an authority hostile to their dignity and to the interest of their constituents, listened to the charge, voted him an enemy to his country, and addressed the lord lieutenant to order him to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney-general. As the cause of Lucas was that of liberty and the constitution, every freeman in the kingdom was interested in his safety. But the favour of the public was not sufficient to defend him from the danger by which he was threatened. To avoid the impending storm, he fled from Ireland. Fortune, which now deserted this oppressed patriot, after he had spent some time in banishment, placed him in a most honorable point of view. The exertions of his friends rose superior to the influence by which he was persecuted. Upon a new vacancy, he returned to Dublin, and was elected one of the representatives for the city. The same virtuous principles, and the same exertions in behalf of our constitutional rights, for which he had been hitherto remarkable, invariably distinguished his opposition in parliament. Proof against the alluring seducements of venality, he preserved his integrity unsullied, and as he had lived, died with the character of the incorruptible Lucas.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the protestant ascendancy, established by English policy in Ireland as the surest lever for moving her at pleasure, began, early after the revolution, to shew symptoms of Irish patriotism, and oppose what they considered the unnatural sacrifice of Irish interest and prosperity, to any foreign interest, under whatever name or pretext. During a period of near fourscore years, the catholics being excluded from the pale of the constitution, the task naturally devolved on Irish protestants, sharing somewhat of power with their English masters. Some writers and speakers of ability, managed the cause of the people, both in and out of parliament, supported by the whole body of the presbyterians, by principle and practice attached to constitutional freedom. From Lucas's memorial, and that presented to his majesty, king George II. by the earl of Kildare, the political creed, professed by the patriots of that day, is plain enough.

To his excellency William earl of Harrington, lord lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland, may it please your excellency, the love and duty I owe my sovereign, and the regard I bear his governments and dominions, in general, those of this my native country, in particular, which are most intimately and inseparably connected and linked together, in one common bond of affection, interest and allegiance, prompt me to use all just and lawful means to obtain an effectual redress of the capital grievances of this kingdom and city, which no good subject, or

good governor, can overlook or slight, consistent with the principles of his moral, religious and political obligations to our system of civil society.

These motives, which your excellency must be too wise and just to condemn, or discourage, first induced me to contend with my fraternity, for a reformation of my profession in the years 1735, and 1741, and since, with my superiors, for the restoration of the rights and liberties of the commons and citizens of this broken and reduced metropolis.

If your excellency will take the trouble of perusing this and the following address to the lords justices, with the dedication to the king, I flatter myself, you will see such causes assigned for the courses, I have taken, to obtain some redress of the heavy grievances of which I complain, that, I hope, you will not only pardon the presumption of once more addressing, or attempting to address your excellency in this manner, but allow there is some degree of merit in struggling through the many dangers and difficulties that have been opposed to me, for the bringing or endeavouring to bring such important truths to the royal ear, as, if regarded, must tend to the unspeakable honor and advantage of the king and people of these realms, in the security and welfare of each of which, I look upon myself to be equally interested and concerned.

However, my lord, as the same necessity which first urged me to lay our complaints before you, still strongly subsists, I should be wanting in the duty of a citizen, and a subject, and fall short

of the character I have endeavoured to establish in life, if I should slacken in my just application to obtain a restoration of our rights and liberties; and therefore, regardless of the manifold disadvantages of station, birth and education, under which I labour, and of the numberless misrepresentations made of me, by designing men, I presume to make one effort more to bring the complaints of Dublin before my royal sovereign; of the greatness and integrity of whose soul I am so fully convinced, that I am firmly persuaded he wants but due information to redress the grievances of his subjects.

I am well aware, my lord, that some of these great men, who have thought fit to represent me to your excellency, heretofore, as a madman, will now set me forth in more hateful colours. It is become much the fashion, of late, to vilify me, to represent me as a riotous, tumultuous incendiary, a disaffected person, a condemner of government, of magistracy, even of majesty.

To acquit myself of these foul imputations, I must beg your excellency will permit me lay before you a short review of the course I have taken to obtain justice and law, the common benefits of the constitution of this my country.

When I first discovered the invasions made on the rights and privileges of the commons and citizens of this city, I tried all just and moderate means to set things to right within the city; and though the invaders gave me all manner of unjust, forcible, and cruel opposition, and have now scarce left so much of the traces of our constitu-

tion as might demonstrate we had any, I still preserve the respect due to the magistracy of the city, though I can look upon it only as *de facto*, not *de jure*.

Failing of redress within the city courts, I had recourse, with my fellows, to the courts of law, and though we were attended with no better success there, I can defy mine enemies to shew the instance in which I failed to pay due respect to the judges of our courts.

I have, it is true, my lord, taken the benefits our constitution admits, of appealing against, or complaining of the proceedings of some of these judges, to an higher power, to your excellency, as the representative of his majesty; whether or no the terms in which I did so were wrong or injurious, I humbly submit to your excellency's recollection.

One of the most sensible happinesses of our system of government is, that every person, who does but think himself aggrieved by any branch of the subordinate administration, has the privilege of appealing or complaining to a superior, in a regular gradation from one to another, even to the supreme magistrate. This is a privilege too sacred for any loyal subject to give up, for any good governor to suppress.

When I first claimed the benefits of this privilege, and layed before your excellency the complaints of Dublin, it must be confessed, you heard me with patience, with humanity, with a tender feeling of the sufferings of the king's subjects, and some pain for the shocks given our consti-

tution. What unhappy misrepresentations of facts, or person, or what unauthorised arrogance or insolence of servants, prevented your excellency's taking the steps in this affair, that your wisdom and justice promised, or afterwards excluded me the access to your excellency's presence, I cannot take upon me to point out; but, as the same principles of justice and law bind alike the small and the great; when I judged it expedient, and my bounden duty, to appeal to our sovereign, I thought it necessary to let him see, that I had recourse to the highest power here, before I presumed to trouble his majesty, which then, not before, gave me the subject's right to apply for relief to the throne.

I addressed the lords justices of this kingdom, in your excellency's absence. I presented them with the charter and dedication, which I now lay before your excellency, and prayed to have it transmitted to his majesty; but their excellencies thought fit to decline granting my petition.

Thus your excellency may see, the same necessity still subsists, the same principles prompt, and the same motives that before prevailed, still strongly induce me, with all respect and humility, to address your excellency, and to supplicate you on behalf of myself, and the rest of my suffering fellow-subjects and citizens, to forward the summary state of our case in the following charter and dedication, to the royal presence.

There is another reason, to me, no less cogent, for begging this favour with greater earnestness of your excellency; my reputation is dearer to

me than life; that is rigorously, severely struck at: the most violent, the most lawless, the most inhuman threats are daily uttered against me; for none other crime, that I know of, than that of complaining of public injuries, dangerous and destructive to the king and to his people. I have appealed to Cæsar. Shall Cæsar's servants obstruct the laying my complaints before the throne? and even punish me for complaining? Shall this be done under the administration of a Stanhope? God forbid!

My lord, to sum up all my desires and intentions in a few words; I only wish to discharge the end of my creation, in fulfilling the duty of a subject, in every station, to which it shall please all-wise, all ruling Providence to call me, with due submission and subjection to every loyal and good governor and subordinate magistrate, and an equal right to oppose, by law, and to complain of the misconduct of all those, who endanger our constitution by endangering the right of the subject, or neglecting to discharge the duties of their stations.

If in all that I have hitherto attempted, with this intent, I have done wrong to any man, I am open to conviction, and ready to make the fullest atonement. Therefore, if I have advanced any thing repugnant to the principles of our government, or inconsistent with the rights and privileges of the subject, I humbly conceive my intentions ought to be considered, and I should be properly examined, before the threatened weight and fury of power be let loose upon me. It is

not to be deemed beneath the dignity of good governors to inform active and well-meaning subjects of errors in their conduct; if such can be made to appear in my transactions, I shall from the same principle, that I mean to advance truths, in my judgment conducive to the happiness of this city, and these kingdoms, as readily, as publicly, retract errors, or mistakes.

My lord, I must beg your excellency's indulgence to make one declaration more. At a time, when ministerial influence of court dependence is rather sought than avoided, by men of independent fortunes, it may be suspected, that one of my low sphere may have some private or selfish views in thus attending upon your excellency. To obviate such an imputation, I thus solemnly declare, that though I wish to be always well understood, and, upon occasion, well heard, by the government; yet, even that, is only for the public good; because, that for myself, I have nothing to ask, nor any thing to fear from the highest powers; my sole ambition is to discharge the duties of my station. And, in so doing, I shall ever take care to approve myself, his majesty's most unfeigned loving and loyal subject, as well as, may it please your excellency, your excellency's most dutiful and most faithful humble servant, C. Lucas. October, 1749.

To his most serene and august majesty king George II. The humble memorial of J. Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, &c. most humbly sheweth, that your memorialist is the eldest peer of the realm, by descent, as lineally sprung from the

ancient and august blood of the noble earl of Kildare, who came over under the invincible banner of your august predecessor Henry the second, when his arms conquered the kingdom of Ireland.

That your memorialist, on this foundation, has the greater presumption to address your august majesty, as his ancestors have ever proved themselves steady adherents to the conquest of that kingdom, and were greatly instrumental in the reduction thereof, by their money, interest and forces.

That though they were first sent over with letters patent, under Henry the second's banner, to conquer that kingdom, yet by the inheritance of lands, by intermarriages with princesses of the kingdom, they became powerful, and might have conquered for themselves, notwithstanding which, their allegiance was such, as that, on that sovereign's mandate to stop the progress of war, we obeyed, and relinquished our title of conquest, laid down our arms, and received that monarch with due homage and allegiance, resigning our conquests as became subjects, and also prevailed with the sovereign princes, bishops, nobles, clergy and gentry, to acknowledge him right and lawful sovereign of Ireland, and of the seas, sea-ports, and other demesnes of the kingdom.

That on this presumption, your memorialist has, in the most humble manner, at the request of the natives of Ireland, your majesty's true liege subjects, not only the aborigines thereof, but the English colonies, sent over by Henry the second, Richard the second, Elizabeth, Charles, Crom-

well the usurper, William the third of glorious memory, and other kings, your majesty's predecessors, and the conquerors of Ireland, made bold to lay before your majesty the true state of their several and respective grievances, a burden now become almost too heavy to bear.

And your memorialist was rather induced to lay this memorial at your august majesty's feet, as it was on good presumption surmised, that all access to your royal ear was shut up, and your liege subjects debarred the liberty of complaining, a right ever allowed to your majesty's liege subjects of what degree or condition soever.

That no notice being taken of several remonstrances heretofore made by your majesty's liege subjects, it was humbly presumed, that such remonstrances had been stopped, and debarred in their progress to your royal ear.

That your memorialist, at the request of several thousands of your liege subjects, as well the nobles as the clergy, the gentry, and commonalty of the kingdom, has ventured on this bold step, for which he humbly craves your majesty's pardon, as nothing but the distress of his countrymen, your most loyal subjects, could have drawn him to this presumption.

That in general the face of your royal kingdom of Ireland wears discontent, a discontent not coloured from caprice or faction, but purely founded on ministerial misapplication.

That though several persons, particularly N. G. was called to account for the public money, which he had drawn out of the treasury, and deposited

in the banks, yet this inquisition came to nothing by the mediation of party, and the interposition of power.

That the duke of Dorset's son lord George, though in high and lucrative employments already, not satisfied therewith, has restlessly grasped at power, insatiable in his acquisitions.

That the primate, who is now on the pinnacle of honour, connected with the said noble lord, has made use of influence to invest himself of temporal power, and like a greedy churchman, affects to be a second Wolsey in the senate.

That influences being so predominant, corruption so formidable, and elections so controlled by the mighty power of those two statesmen, your loyal kingdom of Ireland feels the sad effects of it, and dreads this duumvirate as much as England did that of the Earl of Stafford and Archbishop Laud.

That your other ministers, officers, subjects, and servants, being cut out of dignity and power by this formidable monopoly, can scarce perform the proper functions of their ministry, as all measures are determined by fatal and influenced majorities in the houses.

That the citizens of Dublin have for a long time laboured under an unprecedented slavery in subjection to the bankers of administration, who act in a despotic manner, raising and disposing the public revenues of the city, just as to them seems fitting.

That your majesty's interest in the hearts of your loyal subjects is likely to be affected by

those arbitrary measures, as the landed interest is very much injured thereby, and as few care to represent their country in parliament, where a junto of two or three men disconcert every measure taken for the good of the subject, or the cause of common liberty.

That your memorialist has nothing to ask of your majesty, neither place, civil or military, neither employment or preferment for himself or friends, and that nothing but his duty to your majesty, and natural hatred to such detestable monopoly, could have induced your memorialist to this presumption, who is, in all respects, your most loyal and dutiful subject, J. Fitzgerald.

While the Roman catholic body, languishing under pains and disqualifications, left the political interests of the country to the discussion and management of their protestant countrymen, they received from the duke of Bedford, appointed lord lieutenant the 25th of September, 1757, a kind intimation of an intention to alleviate some of their sufferings; which, from whatever motive, whether to disgust and divide the protestant patriots, as yet generally unripe for toleration, or to baffle the French threats of invasion, was speedily circulated; and produced a grateful acknowledgment from the catholic clergy, in the following exhortation to their flocks.

It is now time, christians, that you return your most grateful thanks to the Almighty God, who, after visiting you with a scarcity, which approached near unto a famine, has been graciously pleased, like a merciful father, to hear your pray,

ers, and feed you with a plentiful harvest; nor ought you to forget those kind benefactors, who, in the severest times, mindful only of the public good, generously bestowed, without any distinction of persons, those large charities by which thousands were preserved, who otherwise must have miserably perished the victims of hunger and poverty. We ought especially to be most earnest in our thanks to the chief governors and magistrates of the kingdom, and of this city in particular, who, on this occasion, proved the fathers and saviours of the nation.

But as we have not a more effectual method of shewing our acknowledgments to our temporal governors, than by an humble, peaceful, and obedient behaviour; as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and christian dispositions; and thus, by degrees, you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions, which have been conceived so much to our prejudice, and industriously propagated by our enemies. A series of more than sixty years, spent, with a pious resignation, under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation with which they were executed, ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiassed persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrine and tenets of our holy church.

You know that it has always been our constant practice, as ministers of Jesus Christ, to inspire you with the greatest horror for thefts, frauds,

murders, and the like abominable crimes; as being contrary to the laws of God and nature, destructive of civil society, condemned by our most holy church; which, so far from justifying them on the score of religion, or any other pretext whatsoever, delivers the unrepenting authors of such criminal practices over to Satan.

We are no less zealous than ever in exhorting you to abstain from cursing, swearing, and blaspheming; detestable vices, to which the poorer sort of our people are most unhappily addicted, and which must at one time or other bring down the vengeance of heaven upon you in some visible punishment, unless you absolutely refrain from them. It is probable that, from hence, some people have taken occasion to brand us with this infamous calumny, that we need not fear to take false oaths, and, consequently, to perjure ourselves; as if we believed that any power upon earth could authorise such damnable practices, or grant dispensations for this purpose. How unjust and cruel this charge is, you know by our instructions to you, both in public and private, in which we have ever condemned such doctrines, as false and impious. Others, likewise, may easily know it from the constant behaviour of numbers of Roman catholics, who have given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence to those tenets, by refusing to take oaths, which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them utterly repugnant to the principles of their religion.

We must now entreat you, dear christians, to offer up your most fervent prayers to the Almighty

God, who holds in his hands the hearts of kings and princes; beseech him to direct the counsels of our rulers, to inspire them with sentiments of moderation and compassion towards us. We ought to be more earnest, at this juncture, in our supplications to heaven; as some very honorable personages have encouraged us to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws. Pray, then, the Almighty to give blessing to these their generous designs, and to aid their counsels, in such a manner, that, whilst they intend to assist us, like kind benefactors, they may not, contrary to their intentions, by mistaking the means, most irretrievably destroy us.

To conclude; be just in your dealings, sober in your conduct, religious in your practice; avoid riots, quarrels and tumults; and thus you will approve yourselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious christians.*

Some of the most leading catholics in spirit and ability, of whom the most prominent were Charles O'Connor, of Balinagar, and Dr. Curry, met, consulted, and laid the plan of a catholic committee, for managing the catholic interest; and of literary publications, for wiping off the foul aspersions thrown on their body by malevolence and prejudice. Their first meeting, at the Globe tavern, Essex-street, Dublin, consisted only of seven. At the recommendation of Dr. Curry and Mr. O'Connor, it resolved to employ eminent literary men, in support of catholic claims.

* From the Dublin Journal, October 4, 1757.

In October, 1759, the duke of Bedford sent a message to the house of commons, acquainting them with certain intelligence, sent him by Mr. Pitt, of a design on the part of the French to invade Ireland. The bad success of their arms, in every quarter of the world, prompted them to this desperate attempt; to which they were encouraged by hopes, held out by Irish exiles, of their being joined, in case of invasion, by the majority of the population. The parliament, of course, answered the message with an address of loyalty, and the usual proffer of support; but the alarm caused such a run on the banks, that public credit was endangered, had not the landed and mercantile interests associated for its support.

The catholics neglected not to testify their allegiance, and offer their hearty support, at this critical period of alarm, by the following address to the lord lieutenant, signed by three hundred merchants and citizens.

May it please your grace, we, his majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholic gentlemen, merchants, and citizens of the city of Dublin, do, with the greatest respect, approach your grace, the illustrious representative of the best of kings, with our hearty congratulations on those glorious successes, by sea and land, which have attended his majesty's arms, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war.

We gratefully acknowledge the lenity extended to us by his most sacred majesty, and by his royal father, of happy memory. Our allegiance, may it please your grace, is confirmed by affection and

gratitude; our religion commands it; and it shall be our invariable rule firmly and inviolably to adhere to it.

We are called to this duty, at the present time in particular, when a foreign enemy is meditating desperate attempts to interrupt the happiness and disturb the repose, which these kingdoms have so long enjoyed, under a monarch who places his chief glory in approving himself the common father of his people: and we sincerely assure your grace, that we are ready and willing, to the utmost of our abilities, to assist in supporting his majesty's government against all hostile attempts whatsoever.

Whenever, my lord, it shall please the Almighty, that the legislative power of this realm shall deem the peaceable conduct of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of Ireland, for many years past, an object worthy of its favourable attention, we humbly hope means may then be devised, to render so numerous a body more useful members to the community, and more strengthening friends to the state, than they could possibly have hitherto been, under the restraint of the many penal laws against them.

We most humbly beseech your grace to represent to his majesty these sentiments and resolutions of his majesty's faithful subjects, the Roman catholics of this metropolis; who sincerely wish, that a peace, honourable to his majesty, and advantageous to his kingdoms, may be the issue of the present war; and that the people of Ireland, may be long governed by your grace, a

viceroy, in whom wisdom, moderation, and justice are so eminently conspicuous. Dec. 1, 1759.

The answer of his excellency was sent to the Rt. Hon. John Ponsonby, speaker of the house of commons.

Sir, I beg the favour of you, to return my most-sincere thanks to the gentlemen, the Roman catholics of Dublin, for the address which you brought me from them this morning, and for the good opinion which they have therein expressed of me.

The zeal and attachment, which they profess for his majesty's person and government, can never be more seasonably manifested, than in the present conjuncture.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to find that they are so fully sensible of the lenity, which hath been extended to them, during the whole course of his majesty's reign; and they may be assured, that, so long as they conduct themselves with duty and affection to the king, they will not fail to receive his majesty's protection. I am, with great truth and regard, sir, your most obedient humble servant, Bedford.

This first manifestation of a lenient disposition towards Irish catholics, was grounded on the most obvious policy. The fate of Conflans's expedition was as yet undetermined. It was wise to publish, that he could hope for no co-operation in Ireland; nor could any thing more effectually deter a disaffected party from joining the invader, than the unanimous declaration of loyalty, addressed to government from all parts of the king-

dom. Very happily, however, both for protestants and catholics, they merited, on that occasion, the thanks of their rulers, without exposing their courage or loyalty to any trial. Conflans was defeated, by admiral Hawke, near Belleisle; and Thurot's squadron, after various adventures, was first dispersed and damaged in storms, and the remnant, after the adventure of Carrickfergus, captured.

The lenity experienced by Irish catholics during the reign of George the 2d, is erroneously attributed to the interference of the French minister. It has been already observed, that a much more powerful advocate, Lewis the 14th, could obtain nothing in their favour from the ungrateful Charles. It was owing to a more powerful cause, the warm affection and friendship, subsisting between the king and the Austrian ambassador, one of the Irish exiles, Nicholas, lord viscount Taffe. Educated in the same school, in Germany, they contracted an early friendship, of the most lasting kind. This partiality of the English monarch was one motive, if not the principal, for his being employed as ambassador from the court of Vienna. George, being desirous of his company, and the court of Vienna interested that their ambassador should be his favourite. In their conversation and correspondence, the stile was simply, dear George and dear Nicholas, as when school fellows; and when the wrath of the king was raised against his ministers, sometimes to such a degree as to kick the prime minister out of his presence, the surest resource

was, to send for Nicholas, whose presence and conversation operated like a charm, in calming the royal mind. An instance of their strict amity is not quite forgotten in Dublin. One Sunday, as lord Taaffe went to Stephen-street chapel, to his devotion, he found it shut, and was informed that all the chapels in Dublin were in like manner closed. Nicholas forthwith wrote a note to his royal friend, after the following laconic manner, Dear George, it is a hard case, that in your kingdom of Ireland, my own native country, I am not allowed to hear prayers, but the chapel gates are nailed up, which harsh treatment has been extended to all the chapels in Dublin. Yours, Nicholas Taaffe. His majesty was enraged at this insult offered to his friend, and ordered the minister to send peremptory orders to the lord lieutenant to open the chapels, and make an apology to Nicholas.

The reign of George II. was glorious for England; Ireland shared the toils of war by sea and land, but neither the laurels nor the prize of victory. Divided into two hostile parties, the persecuted and the persecutors; while the protestant pale enforced the laws to prevent the further growth of popery, they were obliged to submit to laws, enacted by their masters in England, to prevent the further growth of Ireland's prosperity; laws, interdicting commercial intercourse, trade and manufactures; laws which, to use the language of Pitt and Hawkesbury, deprived Ireland of the bounty of heaven, and the industry of man. Neither the distress of Ireland, nor the suf-

ferings of the catholics, are imputable to George the Second. He partook none of the national hatred, or monopolizing spirit, of his subjects. Passionate and blunt, but honest and honorable, he was, like the rest of his family, inclined to principles of impartial justice and toleration.

An. 1760, George III. ascended the throne, with the most auspicious circumstances. England may be said to have reached, at this period, the pinnacle of human greatness. Her commerce and manufactures covered all the seas; there was no end to her riches; her debt was trifling; her taxes moderate; and the nation enjoyed, since the revolution, uncontested rights and privileges, unknown to the rest of Europe, under a political constitution, with all its defects, confessedly the best known; and which, with such amendments as time makes necessary in all human institutions, would combine a corresponding practice with the most beautiful theory in the world. Her power became paramount in the empire of Indostan; and the American colonies were a giant in the cradle. The northern nations supplied naval stores, and other raw materials; the Dutch were her retail merchants; the lords of Potosi supplied the precious metals; and her old rival, France, was her most profitable customer. The war with the house of Bourbon was uncommonly successful, under the able administration of Pitt, senior; and continued so, until it terminated in a treaty of peace, very humiliating to France and Spain. Her unbounded commerce, and extensive fisheries, were protected by fleets, that gave law

to the ocean; and to whose supercilious pride every flag must strike obeysance!

The peace, that terminated this prosperous war, humbled France and Spain, and enlarged the British dominion in Hindoostan, led to serious consequences. Since the revolution, the ruling powers adhered to its principles; not alone for consistency, but because the expelled family still subsisted, with claims and partizans not well opposed but on revolutionary grounds. Now this check was removed. The pretensions became antiquated; the family was nearly extinct; the partizans were few and contemptible; and the only powers, from whom any considerable aid could be expected, in support of a desperate cause, were dictated to.

In this spring-tide of power and glory, the administration thought it expedient to tax the American colonies; in order to defray, in part, the expences of a war, alleged to be undertaken in their defence. These zealous adherents to constitutional freedom, pleaded the injustice of being taxed by a legislature in which they were not represented; while they offered to contribute, for the benefit of the parent country, in their colonial assemblies, more than the sum proposed to be levied on them in England. They further argued, that the war was waged rather for the aggrandizement of England, and the depression of its European rivals, than for the advantage of the colonies; and that they had already contributed largely, in men, money and provisions. The plea was plausible, and maintained by a strong,

enlightened and active party in the British dominions, the dissenters and whigs, in and out of parliament. It was argued, with some appearance of truth, that legislating for an unrepresented people was deviating from the principles of freedom, sapping the foundation of the British constitution; and that separating legislation from representation was introducing arbitrary power, whether attempted by one, one hundred, or ten hundred. Another method of taxing the colonies was resorted to, namely, by taxing the commodities exclusively purchased from the mother country; for instance, tea.

The second scheme fired the Americans, considering it an insidious and insulting experiment, adding insult to oppression; whereupon the bold Bostonians boarded the English ships in their harbour, and flung their tea into the sea. Both parties continuing obstinate, a war ensued, which converted the colonies into the independent states, rapidly rising to power and opulence.

Until this memorable epoch, a dark cloud, of unequalled calamity, hung over the sacred soil of Innisfail. Swarms of adventurers succeeded each other, thirsting for each other's destruction, as well as for that of the antient proprietors, whose anarchy and feuds made their natural superiority of no avail. The catholic pale was acrimonious and treacherous towards the catholic Milesians, whom they stiled the Irish enemy. They vainly flattered themselves that would always be supported and honoured, as the English garrison, the true guardians of the English inte-

rest until the Irish enemy was completely subdued. Experience taught them, through a long series of sufferings, the fallacy of their confidence. Elizabethians, Cromwellians, Williamites, treated them, in their turn, as its enemies. A protestant pale was established on the ruins of the English catholic pale, which persecuted catholics of both races without distinction.

The parliament of the protestant pale, Irish it was not, had been so moulded, that no effort within it, without a powerful external impulse, could be effectual. Deputed, as the members were, from James Stuart's forty rotten boroughs, and venal factious electors scarcely less rotten, and few in number, as the great majority of the nation was excluded from elections, the majority was, by its very formation, at the disposal of the highest bidder. Hence every effort for the relief of Ireland proved abortive.

A careful review of those melancholy times will convince an impartial enquirer, that all the debates and publications of that day, in which the English faction alone was concerned, have ceased to be interesting to the generality of Irishmen, except as far as the merit of argument, wit and composition, may entitle them to notice. Persecution for conscience sake, privation of civil rights, oppressive exclusion from the means and fruits of industry, overwhelming tributes in diverse shapes, rents and pensions to absentees, sinecure salaries, interest to creditors, were not the only evils afflicting this unfortunate people; an epidemic disease among the horned cattle,

and some failures of the harvest, occasioned great scarcity, and taxes were imposed more than the people could afford to pay. "The revenue, for the reasons already given, decreased in 1755, fell lower in 1756, and still lower in 1757. In the last year, the vaunted prosperity of Ireland was changed into misery and distress; the lower classes of our people wanted food, the money arising from the extravagance of the rich was freely applied to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. One of the first steps of the late duke of Bedford's administration, and which reflects honor on his memory, was obtaining a king's letter, dated 31st of March, 1757, for £20,000 to be laid out as his grace should think the most likely to afford the most speedy and effectual relief to his majesty's poor subjects of this kingdom. His grace, in his speech from the throne, humanely expresses his wish, that some method might be found out to prevent the calamities, that are the consequences of a want of corn, which had been in part felt the last year, and to which this country had been too often exposed. The commons acknowledge, that those calamities had been frequently and were too sensibly and fatally experienced in the course of the last year; thank his grace for his early and charitable attention to the necessities of the poor of this country in their late distresses, and make use of those remarkable expressions, 'that they will most chearfully embrace every practicable method to promote tillage.' They knew that the encouragement of manufactures were the effectual means, and that these means were not in

their power. The ability of the nation was estimated by the money in the treasury, and the pensions on the civil establishment, exclusive of French, which at Lady-day 1755, were 38,003l. 15s. Od. amounted at Lady-day 1757, to 49,293l. 15s. Od.

The same ideas were entertained of the resources of this country in the session of 1759. Great Britain had made extraordinary efforts, and engaged in enormous expences for the protection of the whole empire. This country was in immediate danger of an invasion. Every Irishman was agreed, that she should assist Great Britain to the utmost of her ability, but this ability was too highly estimated. The nation abounded rather in loyalty than in wealth. Our brethren in Great Britain had however formed a different opinion, and surveying their own strength, were incomplete judges of our weakness. A lord lieutenant of too much virtue and magnanimity to speak what he did not think, takes notice from the throne, of the prosperous state of this country, improving daily in its manufactures and commerce. His grace had done much to bring it to that state, by obtaining for us some of the best laws in our books of statutes. But this part of the speech was not taken notice of, either in the address to his majesty, or to his grace, from a house of commons well disposed to give every mark of duty and respect, and to pay every compliment consistent with truth. The event proved the wisdom of their reserve. The public expences were greatly increased, the pen-

sions on the civil establishments, exclusive of French, at Lady-day 1759, amounted to 55,497l. 5s. 0d.: there was at the same time a great augmentation of military expence. Six new regiments and a troop were raised in a very short space of time. An unanimous and unlimited address of confidence to his grace, a specifick vote of credit for £150,000, which was afterwards provided for in the loan bill of that session, a second vote of credit in the same session for £300,000, the raising the rate of interest paid by government one per cent. and the payment out of the treasury in little more than one year, of 703,957l. 3s. 1½d. were the consequences of these increased expences. The effects of these exertions were immediately and severely felt by the kingdom. These loans could not be supplied by a poor country, without draining the bankers of their cash; three of the principal houses (Clement's, Dawson's, and Mitchell's) among them stopped payment, the three remaining banks in Dublin discounted no paper, and in fact did no business. Public and private credit, that had been drooping since the year 1754, had now fallen prostrate. At a general meeting of the merchants of Dublin, in April 1760, with several members of the house of commons, the inability of the former to carry on business was universally acknowledged, not from the want of capital, but from the stoppage of all paper circulation, and the refusal of the remaining bankers to discount the bills even of the first houses."*

* Hutchinson on the Commercial Restraints of Ireland.

Among the numerous addresses to his majesty king George III. on his accession, was the following, from the Irish Roman Catholics.

Most gracious Sovereign, we your majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to approach your majesty with this humble tender of our unfeigned loyalty, on your majesty's happy accession to the throne of your ancestors.

While your majesty's subjects, of all denominations, are now endeavouring to be foremost in the exertion of every duty towards your majesty's person and government; and while all circumstances of affairs, at home and abroad, unite for the present happiness and future glory of your reign; permit us to condole with your majesty, and to pour out our sincere sorrow for the loss we have sustained by the death of a monarch, who had always approved himself the common father of all his people; a loss, the more sensible on our part, as the repose we have so long enjoyed entirely proceeded from his royal clemency, and the mild administration of his government in this kingdom.

Ever since the accession of your majesty's royal house to the throne of these realms, we have, in a particular manner, experienced the paternal interposition of your illustrious predecessors. We, most gracious sovereign, who are so unfortunately distinguished from the rest of our fellow-subjects, cannot subsist without a continuance of the royal favour and protection.

Sensible of the same hereditary compassion in

your majesty's breast, we most humbly hope for that share in the happiness of your reign, which our peculiar circumstances can admit: and we beg leave to assure your majesty of our grateful and constant return of affection and loyalty; a loyalty, which our conduct has proved, and our religion enforces: happy! might it entitle us to express a wish, that, of all your majesty's dutiful subjects of this kingdom, we alone may not be left incapable of promoting the general welfare and prosperity of it.

May the Almighty so influence and direct your counsels, through the whole course of your reign, that they may be ever productive of real happiness to all your people; and may that reign be as memorable, for its duration and felicity, as for the greatness and variety of those blessings, which we have already so much reason to expect from it!

This humble testimony of gratitude and loyalty, the zealous exhortations of the catholic clergy to their flocks, the beneficent disposition of the sovereign, could not screen the catholics from violent oppression; for which the lawless proceedings of the White Boys furnished the pretext.

In the beginning of 1762, the peasantry, in the south of Ireland, driven by oppression to despair, assembled in parties, at night, covered with white shirts, and dug up the ground not laid down for tillage; bullocks, for whom the inhabitants were dispossessed, were particular objects of their resentment; the enclosures of the commons they

levelled; and endeavoured to prevent tythes being collected, by threatening and torturing the tythe-proctors.

The Irish catholics easily foresaw, that the disorders of the Munster levellers would affect them; and on the first rising of that mob, addressed the earl of Halifax, then in the government, with the strongest assurances of their allegiance to his majesty. The superiors of the catholic clergy, in that province, were at the same time edifyingly active in pressing the duty of obedience and loyalty on their people. This is well known. He of Waterford exerted himself, by giving the government the best and earliest intelligence he could, of the intentions and motions of those miscreants;—he of Ossory distinguished himself also, by excellent instructions (published in the public papers) for the civil conduct of the people under his care. They issued excommunications, and denounced, in vain, the most tremendous censures of the church against the incorrigible and obstinate.* As their distress continued, the White Boys persevered in their tumultuous proceedings. The severity of the rack-rent, and the exactions of tythe-proctors, drove these half-naked slaves to despair. It may be said, the Connaught peasantry were also oppressed, without disturbing the peace. Allowing that they were, yet the tithe did not press so heavily upon them as in Munster; because it did not, as there, attack the poor man's potatoe-garden; besides, there is a greater number of small

* Taaffe's Observations on the Affairs of Ireland.

estates in Connaught, whose owners reside, and circulate much of their income, in one shape or another, among the people. Munster was far worse situated than the other two provinces. Ulster carried on the staple manufacture of the kingdom. Leinster exercised an extensive, improving agriculture. In the south, destitute of both, man was depreciated below his natural value. The hire of his labour bore no proportion to the price of the soil, or of its produce. That country, stocked with cattle, for the use of the most wealthy, commercial and manufacturing people in the world, disposed of them nearly as high as they would sell for in England; and raised rents in a similar ratio. The cottier's plot thus coming very dear, and the wages of his labour, as having no bidders either in the pursuits of agriculture or manufactures so very low, not increased since the days of Elizabeth, and adjusted by a combination of employers. When to this deplorable distress is added, the tyrannical levy of the tenth sack of potatoes on the poor man's potatoe garden, little wonder, that people, thus oppressed, who could expect no protection from magistrates or law, should have recourse to nocturnal violence, to alleviate their sufferings, or at least procure some respite, by the terror they endeavoured to inspire.

Numbers of the rioters were apprehended in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Tipperary. Judge Aston was sent to try them on a special commission, but not for high treason as several of the bills were intended. A few guilty of felony were con-

demned and executed. These wretched men, instead of being treated as objects of compassion, whom extreme misery had forced into this unwarrantable opposition to law, were prosecuted in some places with great severity. Aston did his duty, but in the discharge of it, would not violate the dictates of humanity. On his return to Dublin, he was witness to a sight most affecting, and which he must have beheld with the highest satisfaction. For above ten miles from Clonmel, both sides of the road were lined with men, women and children, who, as he passed along, kneeled down and supplicated heaven to bless him as their protector and guardian angel.

The riots of these forlorn men, were soon construed into a general popish conspiracy against the government; because, indeed, the greatest part of them were papists, at least in name; although it was well known, that several protestant gentlemen, and magistrates of considerable influence in that province, did all along, for their own private ends, connive at, if not foment these tumults; and although we were assured by authority, "that the authors of these riots consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his majesty's person or government appeared in any of these people."*

This authentic declaration was grounded on the report which had been made to government, by persons of distinguished loyalty and eminence in the law, sent down and commissioned some time

* Dublin Gazette.

before to inquire upon the spot into the real causes and circumstances of these riots ; which report was afterwards confirmed by the going judges of assize, and by the dying protestations of the first five of these unhappy men, who were executed in 1762 at Waterford, for having been present at the burning down of a cabin, upon the information of one of their associates, who was the very person that with his own hand set fire to it. These men, immediately before their execution, publicly declared, and took God to witness, “ that in all these tumults it never did enter into their thoughts to do any thing against the king or government.

The oppressors of the unfortunate Irish peasantry, wishing to interpret the effects of misery and despair into a war of religion, selected N. Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen, the victim with whose blood they designed to seal their foul calumny. This man was giddy and officious, but not ill-meaning, with somewhat of a Quixotish cast of mind towards relieving all those within his district, whom he fancied to be injured or oppressed ; and, setting aside his unavoidable connection with those rioters, several hundred of whom were his parishioners, he was a clergyman of an unimpeached character in all other respects. In the course of these disturbances, he had been indicted, and tried as a popish priest, but no sufficient evidence having appeared against him on that charge, he was always acquitted, to his own great misfortune ; for, had he been convicted, his punishment, which would be only transpor-

tation, might have prevented his ignominious death, which soon after followed.

In the year 1764, the government was prevailed upon by his powerful enemies, to issue a proclamation against him, as a person guilty of high treason, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for taking him, which Sheehy in his retreat happening to hear of, immediately wrote up to Secretary Waite, " that as he was not conscious of any such crime, as he was charged with in the proclamation, he was ready to save to the government the money offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand, to be tried for that or any other crime he might be accused of; not at Clonmel, where he feared that the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice (as they soon after indeed proved to be), but at the court of King's bench, Dublin. His proposal having been accepted, he was accordingly brought up to Dublin, and tried there for rebellion, of which, however, after a severe scrutiny of fourteen years, he was honourably acquitted; no evidence having appeared against him but a blackguard boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, all brought out of Clonmel jail, and bribed for the purpose of witnessing against him.

But his inveterate enemies, who like so many blood-hounds had pursued him to Dublin, finding themselves disappointed there, resolved upon his destruction at all events. One Bridge, an infamous informer against some of those who had been executed for these riots, was said to have

been murdered by their associates in revenge, (although his body could never be found*), and a considerable reward was offered for discovering and convicting the murderer. Sheehy, immediately after his acquittal in Dublin for rebellion, was indicted by his pursuers for this murder, and notwithstanding the promise given him by those in office on surrendering himself, he was transmitted to Clonmell, to be tried there for this new crime, and, upon the sole evidence of the same infamous witnesses, whose testimony had been so justly reprobated in Dublin, was there condemned to be hanged and quartered for that murder.

What barefaced injustice and inhumanity were shewn to this unfortunate man on that occasion,† is known and testified by many thousands of creditable persons, who were present and eye-witnesses on the day of his trial. A party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding

* It was positively sworn, by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he privately left the kingdom some short time before he was said to have been murdered.

† I shall mention only one instance out of many. During his trial, Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country, having given the clearest and fullest evidence, that, during the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house, that he could not have left it in the night time without his knowledge, and consequently that he could not have been even present at the murder; the Rev. Mr. H., an active manager in these trials, stood up, and after looking on a paper that he held in his hand, informed the court, that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list, as one of those that were concerned in the killing of a corporal and sergeant, in a former rescue of some of these levellers. Upon which he was

whomsoever they thought proper ; while others of them, with a certain knight at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner, forcing into inns and private lodgings in the town, challenging and questioning all new comers, menacing his friends, and encouraging his enemies : even after sentence of death was pronounced against him (which one would think might have satisfied the malice of his enemies), his attorney found it necessary for his safety, to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed make his escape to Dublin.

The night before his execution, which was but the second after his sentence, he wrote a letter to major Sirr, wherein he declared his innocence of the crime for which he was next day to suffer death ; and on the morning of that day, just before he was brought forth to execution, he, in the presence of the sub-sheriff and a clergyman who attended him, again declared his innocence

immediately hurried away to Kilkenny jail, where he lay for some time, loaded with irons, in a dark and loathsome dungeon : by this proceeding, not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came on purpose to testify the same thing, but instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting with the same treatment. Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for this pretended murder at the assizes of Kilkenny, but was honourably acquitted ; too late, however, to be of any service to poor Sheehy, who was hanged and quartered some time before Mr. Keating's acquittal. The very same evidence, which was looked upon at Clonmell as good and sufficient to condemn Mr. Sheehy, having been afterwards rejected at Kilkenny, as prevaricating and contradictory with respect to Mr. Keating.

of the murder; solemnly protesting at the same time, as he was a dying man, just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals, that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise; that he never had distributed money among them on that account, nor had ever received money from France, or any other foreign court, either directly or indirectly, for any such purpose; that he never knew of any French or other foreign officers being among these rioters; or of any Roman catholics of property or note, being concerned with them. At the place of execution he solemnly averred the same things, adding, “that he never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered in his life-time; nor ever knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly talked of; nor did he know that there ever was any such design on foot.”

Every body knew, that this clergyman might, if he pleased, have easily made his escape to France, when he first heard of the proclamation for apprehending him: and he was all along accused of having been agent for the French king, in raising and fomenting these tumults, he could not doubt of finding a safe retreat, and suitable recompence for such services, in any part of his dominions. It seems, therefore, absurd in the highest degree, to imagine that he, or any man, being at the same time conscious of the complicated guilt of rebellion and murder, would have wilfully neglected the double opportunity of

escaping the punishment due to such crimes, and of living at his ease and safety in another kingdom; or that any person, so criminally circumstanced as he was thought to be, would have at all surrendered himself to a public trial, without friends, money, or family connections; and, above all, without that consciousness of his innocence, on which, and the protection of the Almighty, he might possibly have relied for his deliverance.

Emboldened by this success, the knight before-mentioned published an advertisement, somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, wherein, after having presumed to censure administration for not punishing, with greater and unjustifiable severity, these wretched rioters; he named a certain day, on which the following persons of credit and substance in that country, viz. Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, James Farrel, and others, were to be tried by commission at Clonmell, as principals or accomplices in the aforesaid murder of Bridge. And, as if he meant by dint of numbers, to intimidate even the judges into lawless rigour and severity, he sent forth a sort of authoritative summons "to every gentleman in the county to attend that commission." His summons was punctually obeyed by his numerous and powerful adherents; and these innocent (as will appear hereafter) men were sentenced to be hanged and quartered by that commission.

It will naturally be asked, upon what new evidence this sentence was passed; as it may well be supposed, that no use was made of the former reprobated witnesses on this occasion. But truth

obliges me to answer, with reluctance and shame, that use was made of them, and a principal use too, in the trial and conviction of these devoted men. The managers, however, for the crown, as they impudently called themselves, being afraid, or ashamed, to trust the success of their sanguinary purposes to the now enfeebled, because generally exploded, testimony of these miscreants, looked out for certain props, under the name of approvers, to strengthen and support their tottering evidence. These they soon found in the persons of Herbert and Bier, two prisoners, accused like the rest of the murder of Bridge; and who, though absolutely strangers to it (as they themselves had often sworn in the jail), were nevertheless in equal danger of being hanged for it, if they did not purchase their pardon by becoming approvers of the former false witnesses. Herbert was so conscious of his innocence in respect to Bridge's murder, that he had come to Clonmel, in order to give evidence in favour of the priest Sheehy; but his arrival and business being soon made known, effectual measures were taken to prevent his giving such evidence. Accordingly bills of high treason were found against him, upon the information of one of these reprobate witnesses, and a party of light horse sent to take him prisoner. Bier, upon his removal afterwards to Newgate in Dublin, declared, in a dangerous fit of sickness, to the ordinary of that prison, with evident marks of sincere repentance, "that for any thing he knew to the contrary, the before mentioned Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, and

James Farrell, were entirely innocent of the fact for which they had suffered death; and that nothing in this world, but the preservation of his own life, which he saw was in the most imminent danger, should have tempted him to be guilty of the complicated crimes of perjury and murder, as he then confessed he was, when he swore away the lives of those innocent men."

On Saturday morning, May 3d, 1766, the convicts were hanged and quartered at Clogheen. Their behaviour at the place of execution was chearful, but devout; and modest, though resolute. It was impossible for any one in their circumstances, to counterfeit that resignation, serenity, and pleasing hope, which appeared strikingly in all their countenances and gestures. Conscious of their innocence, they seemed to hasten to receive the reward prepared in the next life, for those who suffer patiently in this. For, not content to forgive, they prayed for and blessed their prosecutors, judges, and juries, as likewise all those who were otherwise instrumental in procuring their deaths. After they were tied up, and just before they were turned off, each of them, in his turn, read a paper aloud, without tremour, hesitation, or other visible emotion, wherein they solemnly protested, as dying christians, who were quickly to appear before the judgment-seat of God, "that they had no share either by act, counsel or knowledge in the murder of Bridge; that they never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered amongst them; that they never heard,

that any scheme of rebellion, high treason, or a massacre, was intended, offered, or even thought of, by any of them; that they never knew of any commissions, or French or Spanish officers being sent, or of any money being paid to these rioters. After this, they severally declared, in the same solemn manner, that certain gentlemen, whose names they then mentioned, had tampered with them at different times, pressing them to make, what they called useful discoveries, by giving in examinations against numbers of Roman catholics of fortune in that province (some of whom they particularly named) as actually concerned in a conspiracy and intended massacre, which were never once thought of. But above all, that they urged them to swear, that the priest, Nicholas Sheehy, died with a lye in his mouth; without doing which, they said, no other discovery would avail them. Upon these conditions, they promised and undertook to procure their pardons, acquainting them at the same time, that they should certainly be hanged, if they did not comply with them." Thus did those virtuous men, prefer even death to a life of guilt, remorse, and shame, the just punishment in this world of their tempters, as well as the wretches seduced by them.

Such, during the space of three or four years, was the fearful and pitiable state of the Roman catholics of Munster, and so general did the panic at length become, so many of the lower sort were already hanged, in jail, or on the informers lists, that the greatest part of the rest fled through fear; so that the land lay untilled,

for want of hands to cultivate it, and a famine was with reason apprehended. As for the better sort, who had something to lose (and who, for that reason, were the persons chiefly aimed at by the managers of the prosecution), they were at the utmost loss how to dispose of themselves. If they left the country, their absence was construed into a proof of their guilt: if they remained in it, they were in imminent danger of having their lives sworn away by informers and approvers; for the suborning and corrupting of witnesses on that occasion, was frequent and barefaced, to a degree almost beyond belief. The very stews were raked, and the jails rummaged in search of evidence; and the most notoriously profligate in both were selected and tampered with, to give informations of the private transactions and designs of reputable men, with whom they never had any dealing, intercourse or acquaintance; nay, to whose very persons they were often found to be strangers, when confronted at their trial.

In short, so exactly did these prosecutions in Ireland resemble, in every particular, those which were formerly set on foot in England, for that villainous fiction of Oates's plot, that the former seems to have been planned and carried on entirely on the model of the latter; and the same just observation that hath been made on the English sanguinary proceedings, is perfectly applicable to those which I have now, in part, related, viz. "that for the credit of the nation, it were indeed better to bury them in eternal oblivion, but that it is necessary to perpetuate the remembrance of

them, as well to maintain the truth of history, as to warn, if possible, our posterity and all mankind, never again to fall into so shameful and so barbarous a delusion.”*

The celebrated Arthur Young, in his tour through Munster, honestly declares, that there he saw the ne plus ultra of human misery. “The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience in what concerns the poor to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm: the language of written law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery: there is too much of this contradiction in Ireland. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an honest, unlimited submission: speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of written liberty. Landlords, that have resided much abroad, are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind, so that even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of the people being made free with, without any appre-

* Hist. Rev. Civil Wars of Ireland.

hension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground——The execution of the law lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chuses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be called out. Where manners are in conspiracy against law, to whom are the oppressed people to have resource?—They know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

The colours of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common, would be an exaggeration; but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity, is to keep strictly to truth: and what is liberty but a farce and a jest, if its blessings are received as the favour of kindness and humanity, instead of being the inheritance of right?

Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of White-boys, Steel-boys, Oak-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, &c. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the

people is into protestant and catholic. All but the White-boys are among the manufacturing protestants in the north: the White-boys, catholic labourers in the south. From the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the White-boys; who, being labouring catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance: the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation: acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height, that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following sessions marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest, that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as

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Consequences have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of White-boys, Steel-boys, Oak-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, &c. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they are very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the

people is into protestant and catholic. All but the White-boys are among the manufacturing protestants in the north: the White-boys, catholic labourers in the south. From the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the White-boys; who, being labouring catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance: the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation: acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height, that by one they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed by the following sessions marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest, that the gentlemen of Ireland never thought of a radical cure, from overlooking the real cause of disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as

yourselves: put an end to that system of religious persecution, which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals.”*


The disturbances, raised by the northern weavers, under the denominations of Hearts-of-oak, and Hearts-of-steel, were soon suppressed. They were not provoked by persecution, penalties, or discouragement of the linen manufacture; but by some internal regulations. The making and repairing highways was a heavy burden on those of the lower stations. The poor complained, that they were frequently compelled to work at roads made for the convenience of individuals, which were of no manner of advantage either to themselves or to the public. The inhabitants of a parish in Armagh declared they would make no more highways of the kind. As a mark of distinction, they put oaken branches in their hats, from which they called themselves Oak Boys. Those particularly concerned in superintending new roads and in repairing the old, were the first objects of their resentment; but very soon they turned their attention to other matters of complaint. The clergy, they alleged, exacted from them unreasonable tythes, the rent of their lands was more than they could bear. As new grievances opened to view, which they resolved to redress, the number of their partizans increased. The infection was communicated from parish to

* Young's Tour.

parish, until it spread to the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh, an. 1763. In their progress they exacted illegal oaths, and committed other excesses. The military were collected from the other provinces, who in a few weeks dispersed the insurgents. Next session of parliament the road act, that had been so justly complained of, was repealed, and another enacted, that roads should be made and repaired by a tax equally assessed upon the lands of both poor and rich.

The rising of the Steel-boys, in 1771, had its origin from the dispossessing the tenants on an estate. The leases on the estate of an absentee nobleman, in the county of Antrim, were expired. Instead of an additional rent, he proposed to take fines from his tenants, of an adequate value. Many could not comply with these terms: the fines were paid by others, who insisted upon a rent from the immediate tenants, greater than they were able to pay. In consequence, a number of them were dispossessed. Being thus deprived of their habitations, and of the means of subsistence, they became desperate, maimed the cattle and expressed the strongest resentment against those who were instrumental in reducing them to the state of distress in which they were involved.

One of the insurgents, charged with felony, was apprehended and carried to Belfast. The Steel-boys determined to save him, by force, from punishment. Several thousands assembled armed, and marched to Belfast, to rescue their associate. The prisoner was removed to the barrack, to

which the Steel-boys advanced. After a few shots were exchanged, it was deemed prudent to liberate the prisoner, who was carried off in triumph. Though many who were engaged in this enterprize returned home, and had afterwards no immediate connexion with the rioters, they still consisted of a considerable number, which daily increased, until the same spirit extended to the neighbouring counties. Grievances, nearly similar to those which had inflamed the Oak-boys to insurrection, were now the subjects of their complaint, and the objects of their pretended redress. Their excesses were likewise in some measure the same, but much more violent. Besides the oaths which they exacted, and other lesser injuries sustained by individuals, they destroyed houses, and, in some instances, were guilty of flagrant acts of inhumanity. Some were taken, and tried at Carrickfergus; but, whether from want of evidence, from fear of incurring the resentment of the populace, or from partiality in the witnesses and the jury, they were acquitted. On this the legislature interfered, and passed an act, by which all persons, indicted  such offences, were ordered to be tried in counties different from those in which the excesses were committed. Several were brought to trial at Dublin; but so strong was the prejudice against this breach of a fundamental law of the constitution, that no jury there would find them guilty. Soon after the obnoxious act was repealed. Reflexion now took place, and the pernicious consequence of the principles and the conduct of the insurgents began to be viewed

in a just light. Some of them were tried, condemned and executed. This, and the exertions of the military, extinguished the commotion. But the cause from whence it arose, and the fear of punishment, operating strongly on the minds of many of the insurgents, and the influence of their example extending to their relations, produced effects, that were permanent, and highly prejudicial; many thousands emigrated to America.

The general distress of Ireland at this juncture, an. 1773, emanating from popery laws, commercial restrictions, a long embargo on the provision trade of the south, with Spain, Portugal, and Holland, the insurrection of the Steel-boys, &c. having produced its necessary consequence, a failure in the revenue, a financial expedient was resorted to by lord Harcourt, though not supported by government interest, highly beneficial to Ireland, and a present resource to the distressed financier, an absentee tax. This equitable and beneficial measure was opposed and rejected, by the powerful interest of the great land owners on both sides of the water; yet not without a strong contest, as they mustered only twenty majority, having 122 votes against 102. An opposition, flowing from ambition, vanity, love of courtly pomp and luxury, was accounted for from more plausible pretences, by those to be affected by the tax, in the following letter to lord North, signed by the peers Devonshire, Besborough, Rockingham, Milton, Upper Ossory.

My lord, it is publicly reported, that a project has been communicated to the king's minis-

ters, for proposing in the parliament of Ireland a tax of regulation, which is particularly and exclusively to affect the property of those of his majesty's subjects, who possess lands in that kingdom, but whose ordinary residence is in this. It is in the same manner publicly understood, that this extraordinary design has been encouraged by an assurance from administration, that if the heads of a bill proposing such a tax, should be transmitted from Ireland, they would be returned with the sanction of his majesty's privy council here, under the great seal of England. My lord, we find ourselves under the description of those, who are to be the object of this unprecedented imposition. We possess considerable landed property in both kingdoms; our ordinary residence is in England. We have not hitherto considered such residence as an act of delinquency to be punished; or, as a political evil, to be corrected by the penal operation of a partial tax. We have had, many of us, our birth, and our earliest habits, in this kingdom; some of us have an indispensable public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects, of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his majesty's dominions we shall esteem most convenient. We cannot hear, without astonishment, of a scheme, by which we are to be stigmatized, by what is, in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of the British empire, and the residence of our common sovereign. We have ever shewn the utmost readiness in contributing with the rest of

our fellow-subjects, in any legal and equal method, to the exigencies of the public service, and to the support of his majesty's government. We have ever borne a cordial, though not an exclusive regard, to the true interest of Ireland, and to all its rights and liberties: to none of which we think our residence in Great Britain to be in the least prejudicial, but rather the means, in very many cases, of affording them a timely and effectual support. We cannot avoid considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom as well as of this; its manifest tendency is to lessen the value of all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it unknown in any part of the British dominions; and as far as we can find, without parallel in any civilized country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the standing policy of our ancestors, which has been, at every period, particularly at the glorious revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie both of affection and interest. We apply to your lordship in particular. This is intended as a mode of public supply; and as we conceive the treasury of Ireland, as well as that of England, is in a great measure within your lordship's department, we flatter ourselves we shall not be refused authentic information concerning a matter in which we are so nearly concerned; that if the scheme, which we state to your lordship doth exist, we may be enabled to pursue every legal method of opposition to a project in every light unjust and impolitic.

The first essay towards relieving catholics from the severities of the penal statutes, was made in 1773. Two bills for this purpose, were brought in by three of the government party, Monk Mason, Sir Lucius O'Brien, and Hercules Langrishe; the one to enable them to receive land security for money lent; the other, qualifying them to take leases for lives. Both were lost; probably not from religious bigotry, a malady to which few statesmen are subject, but from the motives thus pointed out by Edmund Burke: "From what I have observed, it is pride, arrogance, a spirit of domination, and not a bigotted spirit of religion, that has caused and kept up those oppressive statutes. I am sure I have known those, who have oppressed papists in their civil rights, exceedingly indulgent to them in their religious ceremonies; and who wished them to continue in order to furnish pretences for oppression; and who never saw a man by conforming escape out of their power, but with grudging and regret. I have known men, to whom I am not uncharitable in saying, though they are dead, that they would become papists, in order to oppress protestants; if being protestants it was not in their power to oppress papists. It is injustice, and not a mistaken conscience, that has been the principle of persecution, at least as far as it has fallen under my observation."

Though rejected in so disdainful sort by her protestant countrymen, the disputes with America obtained some indulgence. When the British ministry contrasted the patient long-suffering of

the catholics, labouring under the most oppressive code of penalties perhaps ever framed, with the refractory spirit of the protestant subject in the transatlantic colonies; when they also behold the submissive temper of the catholic province of Canada, lately conquered from France, and the stubborn resistance of the protestant colonies, founded and cherished into growth by England; they thought government called upon to reward the passive loyalty of the one, with some conciliatory mark of approbation. The first consisted, simply, in a permission to every description of his majesty's subjects to testify their allegiance, and is as follows.

“ Whereas many of his majesty's subjects in this kingdom are desirous to testify their loyalty and allegiance to his majesty, and their abhorrence of certain doctrines imputed to them, and to remove jealousies which hereby have for a length of time subsisted between them and others his majesty's loyal subjects; but upon account of their religious tenets are, by the laws now in being, prevented from giving public assurances of such allegiance, and of their real principles, and good will, and affection towards their fellow subjects; in order therefore to give such persons an opportunity of testifying their allegiance to his majesty, and good will towards the present constitution of this kingdom, and to promote peace and industry amongst the inhabitants thereof, be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this

present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of June, 1774, it shall and may be lawful for any person professing the popish religion, to go before the judges of his majesty's court of king's bench, any justice of the peace for the county in which he does or shall reside, or before any magistrate of any city or town corporate wherein he does or shall reside, and there take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and declaration herein-after mentioned; which oath and declaration such judges of the king's bench, justices of the peace, and magistrates, are hereby enabled and required to administer:

“ I A. B. do take Almighty God, and his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign lord king George III., and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, and his heirs, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the stile and title of Prince of Wales in the life-time of his father, and who since his death is said to

have assumed the stile and title of king of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as unchristian and impious to believe, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics; I further declare, that is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration; and I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope, or any

authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with, or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God."

From the commencement of the disputes with America, the history of Ireland becomes more interesting. Since the revolution until then, it had been impoverished by restrictions on trade and manufactures, exhausted by tributes, compulsory balance of trade, and absentee rents. The majority of the nation was ground down, under a code of pains and penalties, exceeding, in inventive malice, the persecutions of the heathens; while the laws to prevent the further growth of popery, were accompanied by those prohibitory and restrictive laws, to prevent the further growth of Ireland, equally affecting the protestant tormentors and the tormented catholics. As the latter was politically extinct, and all power and political influence were confined to the protestant colony, the legislature did not represent the nation, nor even the colony itself, but partially. The boroughs, created by James I. together with other decayed places, the paucity and dependence of electors in many places, filled the house of commons with the creatures of aristocracy and the castle. It had been generally the custom with every Irish administration, to bargain with the heads of this aristocracy for

their support; who, in recompence, obtained the disposal of places of trust and profit, graces and favors; by which means they were enabled to retain their adherents in parliament.

If the Irish legislature represented not the nation, while swayed by the aristocracy, it represented the landed interest; and, occasionally, the will of an English cabinet was eluded or defeated. This was intolerable to those who could not brook a spark of independence in a country, which they considered themselves entitled to rule despotically, as a conquered province. Accordingly lord Townsend was sent as viceroy, commissioned to break the oligarchy, by detaching their adherents from the leaders; which he accomplished, by purchasing the members individually, until he brought the Irish parliament to be as obsequious as the English. What could Ireland expect, from a legislature so constituted. The standard of patriotism was indeed frequently erected there, but the number, that rallied round it, was neither great nor constant. An absentee tax, so desirable for Ireland, was, wonderful to say, recommended by government, during the administration of lord Harcourt, without, however, lending its support to the measure. The opposition of the great holders of Irish lands, on both sides of the water, as well foreseen by ministry, threw it out. Until the American contest, scarcely any thing of value was done for Ireland. An octennial parliament was, after many struggles, obtained, in 1768, without much mending the rotten fabric thereof.

The borough holders were the chief gainers; as the value of a single seat rose thereupon to two thousand pounds.

The impotence of the protestant colonial parliament, to relieve the wretched Irish, could not appear more clearly than in the year 1765, when a scarcity of grain, and failure of potatoes, induced the parliament to pass an act, prohibiting distillation from grain, and the exportation of corn. This bill was sent back, altered by the British cabinet; who inserted a clause, granting his majesty and his Irish viceroy, a power of dispensing with this law; an act, justly attributed to the worst of motives, leaving the people no alternative but famine or insurrection, to oppose the dispensing power. Thus the very people, who brought Charles to the block, among other charges, for assuming a power of dispensing with the laws, assume the same power against the Irish. The bill, thus altered, was opposed, though ineffectually, and passed into a law.

Having thinned the fleeting ranks of changeling patriots, at the expence of the nation, the castle neglected not its usual policy, of vilifying by every art, the few, who firmly adhered to the cause of their country. But one character, at least, was unassailable, by the shafts of calumny or misrepresentation. Dr. Lucas stood high, not only in the estimation of his country, but in that of many, whose measures or political opinions he opposed. His patriotism did not render him unacceptable to his sovereign, nor always to his

viceroys. He was, in particular, respected by lords Hertford, Halifax, Chesterfield, Harrington, Northumberland, &c. He had to bear the mortification, of incessantly struggling in the cause of his suffering country in vain. This eminent and genuine patriot, like others of that rare description, felt the ingratitude of his adored country, as did likewise his distressed progeny.

But in vain were all the efforts of the virtuous few, to defend the rights of a much injured people. To no purpose they proved hostile misgovernment, tyrannic oppression, from the impoverished state of a country, naturally abounding with resources, a rapidly increasing debt, and taxes encreasing as fast. Lavish expenditure of the public money, places, pensions, &c. were incessantly rung in the ears of a corrupt majority, and an enslaved people. Yet, corrupt as these majorities were, there were some cases, in which the castle pensioners resisted its mandates, for instance: two attempts of lord Townsend, in 1769, to pass an act for originating money bills in the English privy council, instead of the commons of Ireland, were defeated; and Woodfall's Public Advertiser, of date Dec. 9, 1769, was ordered by the Irish commons to be burned, by the common hangman, for a libel on their opposition to these ministerial encroachments on their rights. This libel breathes such domineering arrogance, sullen contempt, and determined hostility to the freedom, independence and prosperity of Ireland, as clearly characterize the public, for whose perusal it was printed. "Hiber-

nian patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol, worshipped at the London Tavern; insolence, assumed from an opinion of impunity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependance of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more suiting an army of White-Boys than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult, that has been offered to government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else the state is ruined. Let the refractory house be dissolved; should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved; and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue, I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as well as colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubted right, vote the Irish supplies; and so save a nation, that their own obstinate representatives endeavour to ruin."

Feeble as were these obstacles to British tyranny, they caused a prorogation of parliament successively, during fourteen months, until the members should be so drilled, as to yield more obedience. This prime object being accomplished, at the public expence, the parliament was convened, February 26, 1771, in which the

ministerial phalanx appeared strongly recruited, by the diligent profusion of the viceroy. Most eminent among these mercenary proselytes, was the PATRIOT, Sexton Pery; among the articles of whose bargain were, to be chosen speaker, and raised to the peerage. Addresses, as usual, were prepared, which, besides the ordinary expressions of loyalty to his majesty, conveyed most humble and grateful thanks, for continuing lord Townsend in the government of Ireland. This fulsome address, condemning the preceding sessions, and justifying the viceroy's unconstitutional steps, in discontinuing the sittings, and corrupting the members of parliament, being carried by a majority of 132 against 107, John Ponsonby, the speaker, declining to be the bearer of such an address, resigned the chair, whereupon Edmond Sexton Pery was appointed in his place.

Constituted as the parliament now was, the mandates of the castle were not disobeyed; nevertheless, the patriots were firm in their opposition, and resolved to leave to posterity a memorial of the misgovernment, with which, in all times and circumstances, and in every variety of forms, Ireland was crushed. They moved, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty; expressing, that his faithful commons of Ireland have been always most ready to repose the utmost trust in the persons employed in high authority under his majesty; that therefore his faithful commons did confidently hope, that a law for securing the independency of the judges of this kingdom would have passed: such a law having

been recommended, and promised by his excellency the lord lieutenant, in the speech from the throne, in the first session of his excellency's government. That, in like manner, as his excellency had recommended to that house, in his speech from the throne, in that session of parliament, an attention to the high price of corn, his majesty's faithful commons did flatter themselves, that the tillage of the kingdom would have received encouragement; but that, on the contrary, in a session professedly called for the making and receiving useful laws, his majesty's commons had the unspeakable grief to find, that two laws heretofore enacted, and transmitted, in order to be continued and revived, for the benefit of tillage; one for the restraining of distilleries, the other for a bounty on the carriage of corn coastways, had not been returned, though calculated to meet and correspond with the wishes of government, expressed from the throne, respecting that important article to the community, whereby that kingdom has been debarred of the benefit of two useful laws; the salutary effects of which they had formerly experienced, and which the then existing circumstances of that country, and the morals of the people, peculiarly required. That the suppression of those bills, and the unexpected alteration of others, whereby the hopes of that country, founded in the declarations of his majesty's servants there, had been frustrated, tended to weaken the confidence of the public in his majesty's ministers, so essential to the dignity of the crown, and to the happiness of the subject,

That both public and private credit was in a very low state, that government securities, which used to bear a considerable premium, could not then be circulated at par. That money could scarcely be obtained, and that the price of land was falling. That the circumstances could not fail to be attended by melancholy and anxious apprehensions in the most loyal of his majesty's subjects; and imploring that his majesty would be graciously pleased to take such steps for the remedy thereof, as his royal wisdom and paternal dignity should suggest." This motion was negatived, by 123 against 68.

Sixteen peers did likewise enter their protest, against a paragraph in the address to the king, in praise of Townsend's administration, assigning their reasons for disapproving thereof: namely, misapplication of the public money, subversion of the basis of civil liberty, and other mal-practices.

Lord Townsend's method of disciplining the commons, considerably encreased the national debt; but he was quite satisfied, as he secured a decided majority in the parliament, in support of the English interest, and quite independent of the oligarchy. Notwithstanding his boast of economy, which could not stand without concealing the public accounts, he was obliged, during the fourth session, to apply for aid, to defray arrears, alleged to have been incurred for the public service, though expended in corrupting the legislature. In fact, there was no public service at the time, that justified the arrears. The

only public service of any note was, quelling the commotions of the Steel-boys; a thing done by enforcing the law, and some exertions of the military, without expence to government. The emigration of thousands of them deluded insurgents to North America, was far more detrimental to the nation, than the trouble of suppressing, and contributed to fan the flames of discontent in the colonies.

Truth or justice had little share in the fate of any measure brought before this new-modelled parliament; the chief consideration being, whether government opposed or supported it: for instance, a resolution negatived, “ Be it resolved, that the office of a commissioner of his majesty’s revenue, would be better executed by a person resident in this kingdom, than by an absentee.”

During five years residence as viceroy, the catholics of Ireland received no further favours from his lordship’s humanity, than a less rigid execution of the penal laws. His affection to the protestant interest, is recorded in the act encouraging the conversion of popish priests, by an addition of ten pounds a year to the bounty allowed in the reign of queen Anne. That these bounties should not encroach on the treasury, it was provided they should be levied by grand juries on the counties where such conforming priests had previously resided. Experience has proved the inefficacy of this proselytizing bounty; and the bribed legislators, if not blinded by a belief in the omnipotence of the means, that operated their own conversion to the ministerial

rank, could have seen it. Transitions from the rigid discipline of the catholic church, to the more indulgent, evangelical liberty of the established, encouraged and rewarded by a bounty, put a construction on such conversions, obvious to the most illiterate, depriving them of the effect intended, of drawing the laity after them. Again, if conversions were few, the intent was frustrated; and, if numerous, protestants as well as catholics, would feel and deprecate the burden. Purchased proselytism of pastors, instead of relaxing, invigorate the zeal of the flocks; as all contraries tend to produce each other reciprocally; heat produces cold, rarefaction condensation, and reciprocally.

From the tyranny displayed by the monopolists of the soil, in their legislative capacity, where their imperious spirit of vindictive rule was liable to be somewhat mollified by public opinion, the collision of parties, or the humanity and arguments of some members, it will readily be inferred, that landlords, magistrates and proctors, exercised uncontrolled despotism over the wretched population dispersed over the country, generally unprotected by law, for want of interest and money, more especially papists, victims persecuted by law, whom it was construed loyalty to oppress.

The immoral and wretched state of the times, so late as 1771, is strikingly manifest, by an act passed that session for reclaiming unprofitable bogs. Catholics were indeed allowed to reclaim such bogs; but the restrictions and penal clauses

would deter from the attempt. A tenant might lease fifty acres of such unprofitable bog, with only half an acre of arable land adjoining thereto; free the first seven years, from tithes and cesses; must not be within a mile of a city or market town; depth of it, at least four feet; if half the bog were not reclaimed in twenty-one years, ejectment, &c. The want of such public encouragement for the improvement of barren lands, and unprofitable, i. e. no turf bogs, is here acknowledged; but the spirit of encouragement was stifled by the hatred of popery. Yet this barren act was unpopular, as favouring the persecuted sect.

Lord Harcourt, who succeeded Townsend in 1773, found the parliament so well moulded and obsequious, that he had little else to do, but to move on quietly in the footsteps of his predecessor. This pleasing pliability in the majority, he enjoyed the first session; for on the opposition demanding the public accounts to be laid before the house, an amendment was moved, "as far as there are materials for them;" which was carried by a majority of 88 against 52. This enabled government to conceal all those papers, which would expose the means employed to gain majorities in parliament.

During the administration of lord Harcourt, a regenerating breeze of liberty seemed to refresh and invigorate Ireland, so long languishing in thralldom. The disputes with the American colonies had now broke out into open war. The situation of Ireland bore too much analogy to

that of America, not to excite sympathy and kindred feelings. This analogy was so striking, that it became fashionable to compare these two important dependencies of the empire. Ireland, in fact, had much heavier causes of complaint than the revolted colonies. The former had been founded and cherished by England; the latter was, by a long and various warfare, and perfidious policy, subjugated, depressed, degraded; restricted in manufactures and commerce; exhausted by taxes, and drained by enormous remittances to England. The people could not but feel, that they were ruled with a rod of iron, not for their improvement or advantage, but for their impoverishment and oppression. The British were aware, that the Irish, from a similarity of circumstances, were liable to the infection of colonial discontents, whose influence was increased, by the strong support given to their cause in and out of parliament. These motives influenced the rulers of Britain, to pay some attention to long disregarded Ireland. Some tub must be thrown out to the whale; some trinket, that might gratify the vanity of the dependant, without costing the giver too much. At the time the Americans were excluded from the Newfoundland fisheries, the Irish were licenced, as stated in the British parliament, least it should fall into the hands of their enemies, the French or Dutch. A bill was brought before the Irish parliament, to enable catholics to take mortgages in land for money lent, and leases of lives renewable; but the horrors of popery were not yet

appeased, by the transatlantic gale of liberty, and the bill was lost. They obtained, for that time, barely the permission of testifying their loyalty, by an oath of allegiance. See page 96.

In mentioning, horrors of popery, the term is used, as expressive of an affected bigotry, cloaking tyrannical dispositions. It can hardly be suspected, that the majority of the legislature would be bitter bigots, however they may be corrupt and oppressive to their inferiors. This, as we have seen, was the opinion of Edmund Burke; an opinion justified by an anecdote of a Munster nabob. When the introduction of the Palatines into Ireland was in consideration, he protested, with an oath, that none of them should be his tenants; because every one of them German protestants would consider hisself as good a man as I.

It was prudent, at this juncture, to hold out the patience and loyalty of Ireland, as a contrast to the rebellious colonies; and to show some proofs of an inclination not to let such meritorious passive obedience pass altogether unrewarded, or at any rate unpraised. Hence, the soothing language, accompanying the trivial indulgence of Britain.

Cajoling language and toys, however, were but a poor compensation for a serious blow, struck on Irish commerce, by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative. An embargo, laid on all the harbours of Ireland, under pretence of withholding provisions from the revolted colonies, deprived Ireland, at once, of the export of her

linen, and reduced her to the greatest distress.

The Opposition, who defended the cause of the Americans, espoused that of Ireland also. It was easy to enlarge on the injurious treatment the unfortunate island, called sister, received from her domineering step-sister. They did, moreover, unfold to public view, the vast advantages accruing to Britain therefrom, even in its crippled, debilitated state. They showed, that the exports of Great Britain to Ireland, amounted to two millions four hundred thousand pounds annually; besides vast sums remitted to absentees, placemen and pensioners, to be spent in England. The maintenance of a large standing army, always ready for the defence of the empire, &c.

In the session of 1775, some inconsiderable favors were conferred on Ireland. Bounties on Irish as well as on British ships, to encourage the Newfoundland fisheries; five shillings per barrel on all flax seed imported into Ireland. This was the more necessary, as all commercial intercourse ceased with the colonies. The Irish, also, were licenced to export provisions, hooks, lines, nets, and tools for the fishery. A bounty to encourage the whale fishery in certain seas, and a drawback on the duty on imported oil, blubber, bone and seal-skin.

The viceroy now thought hisself well entitled to meet an Irish parliament with confidence. He, in the name of his majesty, demanded from the commons, the disposal of four thousand men belonging to the Irish establishment, promising to

supply their place with an equal number of foreign protestant troops. The first was granted; the second, to the great surprise of the castle, rejected by a great majority. The Irish commons soon had another opportunity of showing the British their resolution of not parting with their rights. A bill, granting duties on ale, beer, &c. was returned from England altered, upon which it was thrown out, and another framed.

If a strong party in Britain reprobated the American war on principle, the Irish, from similarity of circumstances, assumed the cause of the colonies as allied with her own. The earl of Effingham acquired popularity, for resigning his commission, that he might not draw his sword against his fellow subjects. He received the thanks of the city of Dublin, and the guild of merchants. The latter published an address of thanks to all the peers who protested against the Restraining bills. The sheriffs and commons endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the aldermen, in a petition to the king, against the measures pursued with regard to America. On being disappointed, they came to the following resolutions. "Anxious to preserve our reputations, from the odium, that must remain to all posterity on the names of those, who in any wise promote the acts now carrying on in America; and feeling the most poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that country, as on that of our own brave countrymen, sent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow-subjects:

Resolved, that is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmost abilities to allay the unhappy disputes, that at present disturb the British empire. Resolved, that whoever would refuse his consent to a dutiful petition to the king, tending to undeceive his majesty, and by which it could be hoped, that the effusion of one drop of subject-blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the British constitution."

The encreasing distresses of Ireland seemed to rouse the energies of the people. In 1776, the debt incurred was near a million, and the deficiency of the revenue that year, was £247,797. Pensions, at the same calamitous period, came to no less a sum than £158,685. Contrary to the example of all other nations, the Irish government had been borrowing in time of peace, while it continued to impose new taxes.

Though the catholics gladly embraced the proffered opportunity, by the act passed in 1774, of wiping off the false title of Irish enemy; and, by testifying their loyalty, of being received among his majesty's faithful subjects; they had the mortification to see an act pass, authorizing their dwellings to be entered, by night or day, for the seizure of arms or ammunition; and of being examined upon oath, if the magistrate suspected they had such concealed. But should they refuse to deliver up, or declare, what arms, &c. they had, hinder their delivery, not discover on oath, or neglect appearing before a magistrate, to be examined, they were to be punished, by fine and imprisonment, or pillored, or whipped.

This year, 1776, the first octennial parliament not being considered pliable enough to the mandates of the castle, having in two instances disobeyed, and made an unwelcome representation of grievances, was dissolved, and another called, which elected the former speaker, Pery, and met not until October 1777. Lord Buckinghamshire, who had been appointed viceroy early that year, met this, with an address more modest than usually came from his predecessors.

There seemed to be, during this reign, a competition, between the depression of the people and the augmentation of the aristocracy. While peerages were multiplied, to corrupt the legislature, petitions flowed in from distressed traders and manufacturers; the unerring evidence of national calamity, produced by misgovernment. The merchants and traders of Cork stated, that they were reduced to extreme misery, by an embargo, laid in November 1776, on all ships laden with provisions for foreign ports, rigorously enforced. That the perishable commodities, of which this beneficial export trade chiefly consisted, were lost, while the trade fell into the hands of other nations. That great quantities of provisions, such as could be preserved, lay on hands. That his majesty's revenue had of course decreased, in proportion to the decay of trade. That the embargo not being essentially necessary or useful, for any public purpose, and so detrimental to the commerce, agriculture and finance of Ireland, ought to be annulled. The manufacturers of Dublin were reduced to such extreme

indigence, that they would have perished by thousands, had they not been relieved by charity. The revenue was so exhausted, by pensions and bribes to unworthy persons, that government could afford no assistance. They were unable to pay their forces abroad, and obliged to borrow money from England, to pay those at home. The expenditure exceeding the revenue £8,000, £166,000 were borrowed in England, on debentures at 4 per cent.: further increase of the drain.

That a resident parliament would be better informed of the wants and wishes of the people, and sympathise more cordially with them, appears from all existing documents. However place and pension could debauch a majority, occasionally national questions were carried; and, even when they miscarried, the minority, by protest or resolutions, entered upon the journals such records, as proved a check to the executive power, and a lesson of political justice to posterity. A national assembly, however imperfectly constituted, or seduced by sectarian faction, or bought at the public expence, must, notwithstanding, be somewhat swayed by public opinion, and have better means of knowing the situation of the nation, and stronger motives for listening to the public voice, than a foreign legislature, in which deputies form an inefficient minority. Emulation, itself, between the two legislatures, might at times benefit the dependency; as appears from the attention given to Irish affairs by the English parliament, in consequence of petitions from the distressed manufacturers of Dublin to

the Irish parliament. It is true, the Irish lost most of the benefits proposed for them, through the intervention of English commercial monopoly pleading against them. Still it cannot be questioned, that the petitions produced an effect in St. Stephens's chapel, that could hardly be expected now from similar claims. The petitions point out the distress of Ireland. That from the woollen, linen, silk and cotton manufacturers, of the city and liberties of Dublin, stated, that the petitioners, from want of trade, were overloaded with goods, for which there was no demand, amounting to upwards of £300,000. That having worked up their capital and credit, and finding no sale for the goods, they had been under the painful necessity of discontinuing employment to the working people, whereby they and their families, to the number of many thousands, were reduced to extreme poverty. That the relief of half a pound of oatmeal or of flour, per day, for each person, had then ceased; the fund, raised by the humanity of the nobility and gentry for that purpose, being nearly exhausted. That the condition of the unemployed poor, their wives and children, was become truly deplorable, which the petitioners humbly laid before that house, hoping for relief only from the wisdom of parliament.

This miserable situation of Irish affairs, caused the absentee landlords to partake, in some degree, of the common calamity. The English house of commons took the trade of Ireland into consideration, and came to the following resolution:

“ That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, all the produce or the manufacture of the kingdom, wool or woollen manufacture only excepted, or commodities of the growth or manufactures of Great Britain, legally imported from that kingdom; as also foreign certificate goods, under the same condition. That all the goods, the produce of any of the British settlements, or of the settlements on the coasts of Africa, tobacco excepted, be allowed to be directly imported into Ireland. That glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to be exported from it, to all places, Great Britain excepted. That cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed to be imported into Great Britain; and that Irish sail-cloth and cordage should have the same privilege.” Scanty as were these means of relief, they were curtailed, and nearly abolished, by the influence of the domineering nation. For bills being framed agreeable to these resolutions, its trading and manufacturing towns took the alarm. The increase of the trade of Ireland they considered to be, not only prejudicial to their interest, but an encroachment on their rights. The table was covered with petitions against the INDULGENCE to Ireland. Counsel and evidence were heard against it. The supporters and opposers of these bills compromised; and the measure ended, in a trivial enlargement of the linen trade, particularly cheque, and some openings given in the African and West India trades.

Though the votes of the commons, in 1778, prove beyond contradiction, the unjustifiable means used by the English cabinet, to keep this island a depressed, subservient dependency, through the corruption of its parliament, in pensions, sinecure places, the creation of new places, and the revival of old places, become obsolete, because useless; yet all this proves, not, that a foreign legislature was more eligible than a domestic one, for two reasons. First, the means of seduction employed, while it revealed the malignant designs of the seducer, show also, that there existed an Irish interest in that assembly, which, in spite of the vile means employed to subdue it, and to plant an overwhelming English interest on its ruins, sometimes predominated; what cannot be expected in an English parliament. Secondly, because it completed the host of absentee noblemen and gentlemen; one of the greatest diseases of this island.

On the 27th of March, 1778, a message from his majesty to the Irish parliament announced, that a treaty of amity and commerce had been concluded between France and the revolted Americans; and calling for the aid and exertions of his loyal and affectionate Irish subjects. An address of loyalty and affectionate zeal was voted, promising every exertion in their power. Thirty thousand pounds were accordingly voted, to be raised by tontine. But so low was the credit of the Irish government, that no purchaser could be found.

The most important act, passed this session,

which ended on the 14th of August, 1778, was that, which enabled Roman catholics, on taking the oath of allegiance, (see page 96,) to take leases for any term of years not exceeding 999, or any number of lives not exceeding five. To purchase or take by grant, limitation, descent or devise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, and to dispose of them by will or otherwise, descendable, devisable and transferable as the lands of protestants. This act also repealed the penalties for celebrating or being present at mass; for keeping a horse, value £5; from reimbursing losses by privateers. The providing protestant watchmen; the prohibition to dwell in the city or suburbs of Limerick; to teach school publicly, or instruct youth privately, were repealed; and the guardianship, care and tuition of their own children, was restored to them.

In the year 1779, the distresses and discontents of Ireland occasioned some debates in the parliaments. Those interested by their landed possessions there, brought in a motion, granting relief to Ireland by some portion of trade. In vain they argued from principles of policy, as well as justice; the importance of Ireland, as a member of the empire, for augmenting and defending the wealth of England, by her vast remittances, in payment of absentee rent, interest of debt, and British manufactures. Even the confined indulgence of importing sugars direct from the West Indies, could not be obtained. Indeed the poor Irish received leave to plant tobacco and hemp.

But these boons were received with contempt, as mockery on the nation; and the discontents of the people were the more exasperated, by insult superadded to disappointed hope. Associations for the encouragement of Irish manufactures, were entered into. In Dublin, an assembly at the Tholsel, “ Resolved, that the unjust, illiberal, and impolitic opposition, given by many self-interested people of Great Britain, to the proposed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

“ Resolved, that we will not, directly or indirectly, import or use any goods or wares, the produce or manufactures of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom, till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of justice, shall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken so active a part in opposing the regulations proposed in favour of Ireland; and till they appear to entertain sentiments of respect and affection for their fellow-subjects of this kingdom.”

At Waterford, the high sheriff, grand jury, and many of the most respectable inhabitants, seeing the ruinous state of trade and manufactures, and the decreased value of the staple commodities of the kingdom, considered it an indispensable duty, to their country and themselves, to restrain, by all means in their power, these alarming evils; to effect which, they entered into the following resolutions.

“ Resolved, that we, our families, and all whom we can influence, shall from this day wear and make use of the manufactures of this country, and this country only, until such time as all partial restrictions on our trade, imposed by the illiberal and contracted policy of our sister kingdom, be removed: but if, in consequence of this our resolution, the manufacturers (whose interest we have more immediately under consideration) should act fraudulently, or combine to impose upon the public, we shall hold ourselves no longer bound to countenance and support them.

“ Resolved, that we will not deal with any merchant or shopkeeper, who shall, at any time hereafter, be detected in imposing any foreign manufacture, as the manufacture of this country.”

Similar resolutions being generally entered into, and acted upon, revived the Irish manufactures, and so affected the British, that a disposition to attend to Irish complaints, was excited, different from what Ireland had hitherto experienced.

The house of Bourbon had now united their arms with North America; their combined fleets rode triumphant in the channel. The maritime towns, alarmed, petitioned the king's lieutenant for protection; but received for answer, that he was unable; that sufficient money could not be obtained to raise the militia; and that he had been obliged to beg money from the English ministry, to support the force remaining in Ireland, utterly inadequate to the present crisis.

The people of Ireland consequently resolved to defend themselves. Corps of volunteers were

formed in every part of the kingdom, whose imposing attitude prevented the intended invasion. The weakness and poverty of government, at this critical period; its dependence on the voluntary exertions of the inhabitants, together with the rising patriotism of the nation, influenced parliament to take the public distress into more serious consideration; as they evinced, in the following address for commercial freedom.

“ We beg leave humbly to represent to your majesty, that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin. And from your majesty’s gracious declaration, a declaration imprinted in our hearts in characters of indelible gratitude, that “ anxious for the happiness of all your people, you will most chearfully co-operate with your parliaments in such measures as may promote the common interests of all your subjects,” we draw the happiest presages, in favour of a measure, essential to the existence of this kingdom, and which appears to us conducive to the interests of Great Britain.

“ Permit us to assure your majesty, that we have every disposition to go as far as the national abilities will, in making a provision for the honourable support of your majesty’s government; but with hearts glowing with the warmest wishes for the prosperity and glory of the British empire, and full of zeal against the common enemy, we have the mortification to find, that the limited state of our trade and commerce must, by narrowing our resources, set bounds to our libera-

lity, very far short of our earnest inclinations."

As this was the commencement of the efforts, that procured for Ireland a free trade and free parliament, a brief statement of the debates on the address may not be unacceptable. Mr. Grattan replied to Sir Robert Deane, and Mr. R. H. Hutchinson, who moved an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant, in the servile language of ministerialists, echoing the speech delivered at the opening of the session. "The speech contained nothing satisfactory," he said; "it meant to quiet the minds of the people, without any declaration whatever. After his majesty had been addressed by his Irish subjects for a free export trade, did such addresses require no answer? Were the people of Ireland undeserving the notice of the British ministers? Was there no respect for the interests of these kingdoms, among the servants of the crown on this side of the water? Were not these servants of the crown also representatives of the people? Why not then speak out? Are our distresses of so private a nature, that they must not be mentioned?.....It is plain we have nothing to expect, since applications from the people, backed with the same from the officers from the crown, are not attended to. Ireland, then, has nothing to depend upon but her spirit; no redress of grievances, no extension of trade, but from the efforts of her people! and will it be politic, will it be safe, here or elsewhere, to oppose these efforts? Why does not our address also speak out? Why have we less spirit than the people? Shall the Commons

of Ireland shew less spirit than the most insignificant corporation? Are we so fallen, so despicable, as to be more afraid of England's censure, than of the cries of our starving manufacturers?

The distresses of this kingdom are two-fold, the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the state. The first, he would not ask the commissioners of the revenue to prove, but he would ask them upon oath, whether the restrictions upon our trade were not the cause? Whether the prohibitions, laid on by England, against the exports of woollen cloths, did not occasion it? Whether there were not too many inhabitants in this kingdom, though not half peopled? Whether those inhabitants, was the American continent still open, would they not have emigrated thither, rather than pine in their native land, the victims of English tyranny; rather than starve in it, by an English act of parliament? And, lastly, was there one rich merchant in the kingdom? This kingdom, ruined by a balance of trade against her for so many years, and the drain of absentees, owes its present existence to associations; it is but a temporary expedient, and something more effectual must be done.

“ As to the bankruptcies of the state, they are the consequence of a system of boundless prodigality, profligacy, and violence; a boundless prodigality, while our means were limited; a profligacy and violence uniformly maintained. One instance will suffice, where the late attorney-general obliged the merchants of Cork to sign an illegal bond, as a collateral security to an

illegal oath. The peace establishment of this poor country, amounts to one-sixth of that of England; what proportion is there in our means? What is this establishment? Infamous pensions to infamous men!..... And will those men, whom we pay, vote against an extension of our trade? vote against the means of supporting them! To what pass have these profligate administrations reduced this kingdom! to be insulted with our poverty, in the speech from the throne; to be told of our beggary; that the officers of the crown here have begged £50,000 from England, or the troops could not have marched into camp; when it is known, that it is this profligacy that has unnerved the arm of government, and made the sword of defence fall in its hand." He then moved, "that we beseech your majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade, have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want. Famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness, and the only means left to support the expiring trade of this miserable part of your majesty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Irish subjects enjoy their natural birth-right."

This amendment was seconded by lord Westport. Several members spoke in the debate, which terminated in the adoption of that proposed by prime serjeant, Hussey Burgh, "that

it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin."

The address, thus amended, was presented to the lord lieutenant by the speaker; the Dublin Volunteers, commanded by the duke of Leinster, lining the streets, from the parliament-house to the castle.

The debates on the affairs of Ireland, that year, in the British parliament, and the mutual recriminations of the opposite parties, concerning England's treatment of that country, justify the axiom, help yourself, and your friends will like you the better; to which may be added, your enemies will be fewer, and respect you more. The union and spirit of Irishmen then, bid fair to prosper their cause. In the British parliament acknowledged, that they had been an injured people, deserving of relief. To promote this good disposition in the British, the Irish parliament, with equal prudence and ability, granted only a six months money bill; and unanimously resolved, "That the exportation from this kingdom, of its woollen and other manufactures, to all foreign places, would materially tend to relieve its distresses, encrease its wealth, promote its prosperity, and thereby advance the welfare of Great Britain, and the common strength, wealth and commerce of the British empire. That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, in like manner as trade is carried on between

Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements, would be productive of very great commercial benefits, would be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our distresses, and would give new vigour to the zeal of his majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to stand forward in support of his majesty's person and government, and the interest, the honour and the dignity of the British empire."

It is now time to observe the effect of the short money bill, on the other side of the water. The minister opened his propositions for the relief of this kingdom, the 13th of December, 1779. To wit, the repeal of the prohibitions, to export Irish manufactures, made or mixed with wool, from Ireland to any part of Europe; to import glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from Ireland. Also, that Ireland be suffered to carry on a trade of export and import, to and from the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and her settlements on the coast of Africa, subject to such limitations, regulations and restrictions, as the parliament of Ireland should impose.

The first two bills passed with facility; the third, appearing capable of interfering more with British commerce, was laid over till after the holiday recess, to acquire time for studying it.

The people and parliament of this country were much gratified by concessions, from which they expected such mighty advantages. Supplies

for a year and a half were now granted, and £260,000 ordered to be raised by treasury bills or lottery, as the lord lieutenant should direct. The speaker, on presenting the money bills, amidst all his compliments to government, mentioned the true causes, that extorted concession. " Though long depressed by the narrow policy of former times, still to retain such vigour, and at the same time such temper and caution, as animated it (Ireland) to claim, with honest confidence, its rights....To this state of wisdom and moderation, unexampled in any age or in any country, under similar circumstances.....must be ascribed, the happy restoration of that equitable system of equality in commerce, which has silenced those pernicious suspicions and jealousies, which lately threatened the peace of both kingdoms. But whatever advantages this change in our condition may promise, it will avail us little, if it inspires false hopes and vain expectations of sudden affluence; the future prosperity of this kingdom will depend upon our industry and economy, public as well as private, the effects of which, though certain and permanent, are ever gradual and slow; and unless our expences are regulated by our acquisitions, disappointment will be our portion, and poverty and distress must be the consequence of our conduct."

The concession, however, was attended with a violation of Irish rights. The mutiny bill, passed in parliament for a limited time, when transmitted to England, was made perpetual. Another bill was also altered there. This bitter, humiliating

appendix to commercial regulations, not generally approved of, occasioned much discontent. Petitions flowed in from all quarters, to the Irish house of commons, against the alterations, made by the English privy council in the bills transmitted. As they all breathe one spirit, differing only in language, one may suffice for all. That of Newry stated, "that the petitioners had heard with deep concern, of alterations then said to have been made in the bill, for laying a duty of twelve shillings per hundred weight, on imported refined sugars, and also in the bill for the better regulation of the army; that the duty of twelve shillings appeared to be the lowest, that could possibly be admitted, with the appearance of justice to this country; and, that a perpetual bill, for the regulation of the army, or of any other duration than from session to session, was a daring attack on the constitution of both countries. That petitioners humbly prayed, that, by an equal distribution of justice, the mutual cordiality between Great Britain and Ireland might be ensured, and the necessity for this country to resolve to consume her own manufactures only, might be removed; and, that a parliamentary army might be maintained in Ireland, regulated upon principles such as Great Britain could approve of, and Ireland submit to."

The altered mutiny bill being taken into consideration, by a committee of the whole house, on the 16th of August, 1780, the arguments of the minority were in unison with the sense of the nation against said alterations. They argued,

“ that the present bill tended to the subversion of all public liberty. That it would not be wise to grant to the Crown a dictatorial power over fifteen thousand men for ever. That it was the wish of the kingdom to be governed by its own laws. That they considered the power of originating this very act, as a declaration of rights: they were consequently contending with the minister of Great Britain, not for any concession, which might wound the interest or pride of the English, but for a measure, which would bring every man in Britain on their side; as they could not wish to see the power of the Crown rendered so dangerous to the constitution of both kingdoms, with a perpetual army, which might vest his majesty with too great an influence over the laws; and that any articles of war, which the king might hereafter make, would be articles of war for this kingdom; for the act extended a power over all his majesty’s forces, by which means Ireland would be under the controul of an English statute, and this kingdom would become a place of arms.” In support of it, it was urged, “ that the peace of the country required it should pass. That as long as parliament held the purse, they could, by refusing to pay, annihilate the army. That the hereditary revenue would be exhausted, if applied to the forces; and, that if the king could raise, he should also have perpetual power to regulate the army.” The weight of gold, not of these flimsy arguments, carried the obnoxious bill.

The discontents arising from passing this, and

the altered bill, called forth several public meetings, and spirited resolutions, condemning the breach of trust committed by the majority. For example, the Merchants' Corps, convened at the Exchange, Dublin, resolved, " that the late decisions of the House of Commons (so destructive, in our opinion, to the constitutional rights, and injurious to the commercial interests of this kingdom) demand the most serious attention of every Irishman. That we consider their consent to the mandate of the British minister, by which the bill for the regulation of the army is made perpetual, and the controul thereof for ever vested in the hands of the crown, as a subversion of the constitution, and a stab to the liberty of the subject. That, considering the army of this kingdom as a body of men embarked in the cause of their country, and equally entitled with ourselves to the protection of its legislature, we cannot but feel for their situation, who, by this law, are in danger of being made, at a future day, the unwilling instruments of despotism, to violate the liberties of Ireland. That we consider the compliance of that house, with the alteration made in the sugar bill by the English privy council, reducing the proposed duty on lump sugars, as an overthrow to the refinery of this kingdom, and a total obstruction to the extension of its manufactures by an export to the British colonies and West Indies. That we will concur with the volunteer corps of this kingdom, and the rest of our fellow subjects, in every effort, which may tend to avert the dangers we are

threatened with. That the strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts, of the minority of the House of Commons, in defence of the constitution, merit the thanks, and firm support, of every friend of his country." Similar resolutions were entered into by other volunteer bodies, the Dublin Independents and Liberty, also by the citizens of Dublin. A non-importation agreement, and the use of Irish manufactures only, seemed now generally determined on.

The parliament attacked the printers of these proceedings, not caring to attack the armed associations. A clause of the 2d of Anne, unfavourable to protestant dissenters, was repealed; foreign merchants and manufacturers, choosing to settle here, were naturalized; and the session closed.

The earl of Carlisle succeeded the earl of Buckinghamshire, and met the parliament, on the 9th of October, 1781. Besides the usual formalities and professions, recommendation of linen manufacture, and protestant charter schools, &c. there is nothing new or interesting in the speech, except an acknowledgment of the spirit and loyalty of the country; and also, though not sufficiently explicit, of the merits and services of the volunteer army. "No event," the viceroy says, "could more contribute to the public security, than the general concurrence, with which the late spirited offers of assistance were presented to me, from every part of this kingdom; and I am fully convinced, that, if necessity had arisen, it was in my power to have called into action

all the strength and spirit of a brave and loyal people, eager under my direction to be employed in aid of his majesty's regular forces, for the public defence." Neither is there any thing interesting in the Address, as usual an echo to the Speech, except the following remarks on the state of the country, expressing rather what ought to be, than what was. "Several attempts have been lately made, and with some success, to establish in this kingdom new manufactures, to revive and improve the old, and to extend its commerce; the lower orders of the people are recovering from their former indolence and ignorance, and the spirit of enterprize and of industry, the great spring of national happiness, begins to diffuse itself through the nation. From these dispositions in the people, and the generous encouragement given to every useful undertaking, by those of higher condition, it seems not too much confidence to hope, that the time is not far distant, when this kingdom will emerge from that state of inaction and languor, into which it was sunk, and that it will assume that rank in the empire which belongs to it, and become one of its principal pillars."

The portion of commercial rights, reluctantly imparted by England to Ireland, was obstructed. The court of Portugal refused to receive Irish manufactures; which was justly attributed to British influence. On the 23d of April, 1781, a meeting of the guild of Merchants was held, to consider of this unprovoked aggression. Some, commissioned for the purpose, contended, that

government, so far from encouraging the court of Lisbon to this prohibition, had, on the first notice, taken the promptest steps to obtain redress; in confirmation of which, two letters of secretary Eden were produced. The meeting ended, by voting thanks to Lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden.

The exertions of these personages, in behalf of Ireland, having proved unavailing, the Irish parliament took it up on the 7th of February, 1782, when the following Address was passed unanimously. “ Most gracious sovereign, we, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to approach your majesty with sincere professions of that zealous loyalty which will never cease to glow in our hearts, and which we trust will ever distinguish the character of your faithful people of Ireland, and to assure your majesty, that we possess an entire reliance on your paternal protection, which has been happily exerted, during the course of your majesty’s reign, in promoting and establishing the prosperity of this kingdom. With painful reluctance, therefore, at a time when your majesty’s attention is engaged in the most momentous concerns, we yield to the necessity of laying before your majesty, a subject, which deeply affects the commercial rights of this your majesty’s kingdom. Founding our claims upon the faith of treaties, and desirous to promote all the reciprocal advantages of commerce, between this country and the subjects of your majesty’s ancient and faith-

ful ally, the queen of Portugal, we considered that kingdom, in our commercial regulations, as the most favoured nation, and by acts of parliament gave to the wines of Portugal, that advantage over the wines of France, in the imposition of duties, which is described in the treaty of 1703, expecting from the justice of the court of Portugal, that woollen manufactures, sent from this kingdom, would, in consequence, have the same admission which is given to those imported there from Great Britain. We rested this most reasonable expectation, not only on the construction of the treaty above-mentioned, but on the letter and spirit of many ancient treaties, made between your majesty's royal predecessors and the crown of Portugal; and we hoped for a common participation with your majesty's subjects of Great Britain in every branch of commerce with Portugal, which, till now, has never been denied to us in that kingdom. With much surprize, therefore, we have heard, that the entry of our woollen manufactures and printed linens had met with some obstructions at the port of Lisbon. Nevertheless, being satisfied that the zealous and repeated requisitions of your majesty's ministers, strenuously urged, and in a cause so evidently reasonable and just, would be attended with success, we have hitherto refrained from resenting the injury, by commercial regulations restrictive of the trade of Portugal, and by such other effectual means, as the honour and indispensable rights of this kingdom may demand; nor would we then disturb your majesty's atten-

tion by an address upon the subject: but, if we are now to understand, that it is the determination of her most faithful majesty to exclude your majesty's subjects of Ireland from the benefits of the treaty of 1703, or to refuse any relief in respect of the printed linens of this kingdom, it is become our duty to resort to your majesty's protection and powerful interposition, that our manufactures may not be excluded from the ports of one of your majesty's allies, which must at all times be grievous, but peculiarly so, when the common calamity of war has prohibited our commercial intercourse with so many other states. We beg leave, therefore, to approach the throne, earnestly recommending our cause to your majesty's unremitted attention and unabated efforts; and we entreat your majesty to interpose your royal influence with the court of Portugal, in the most effectual manner, that the obstructions to our trade may be removed, and that we may be restored to those commercial rights to which we are entitled."

To this Address, on the 5th of March, 1782, Mr. Eden communicated the answer of his majesty, which stated, that "his majesty is not surprized, that his faithful commons, always attentive to the true interest of this country, should have observed, with alarm and concern, the obstruction given in the ports of Portugal to the importation of Irish woollen and printed linen manufactures into that kingdom; and the full satisfaction which the house of commons express, in his majesty's solicitude upon this important

subject, and in his unremitted endeavours to open the eyes of Portugal, not only to the true sense of the treaties between the two crowns, but to a just understanding of her own real interests, is graciously accepted by his majesty. His majesty applauds the temper and moderation of his commons upon this occasion; such a conduct is always becoming of their prudence and wisdom, but particularly so in the present instance, as it affords time for further exertions towards bringing this business to a happy conclusion; and the house of commons may rest assured, that his majesty will persevere in every possible effort for the attainment of that desirable end."

The attainment of legislative independence, and the relief of the Roman Catholics, occupied the attention of the nation. The ineffectual efforts in parliament, for the rights of Ireland, roused the resentment of the people. The motion of Mr. Grattan, on the 19th of April, 1780, "that no power on earth, save the king, lords and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws for Ireland," was obliged to be withdrawn, a majority being ready to negative it. "The plain and simple doctrine, that we could not be free, if any power on earth could make laws to bind us, save our king, lords, and commons, quickly prevailed. This became the sentiment of almost every man. It could not be openly, but it was insidiously attacked. These attacks raised many powerful advocates for Irish liberty. The public mind became enlightened; and it was in vain, that the supporters of administration pressed them to at-

tend to their free trade, and relinquish their freedom. With their information, the power of the people was also increasing. A variety of causes all tended to add to the volunteers. The gentlemen who had hitherto taken the most active part, were mostly of what is called the country party. Government, not able to suppress, wished its supporters also volunteers. On this principle many new corps were raised, differing much in political sentiment, but who were to become equally useful to their country. Another cause operated strongly: it became highly fashionable. Volunteer rank was an object of ambition, and it was considered as the most glorious destination of a gentleman, to be at the head of a well-appointed corps. Among the lower orders of men, the smartness of those who had enrolled themselves, became an object of envy and emulation. The idea of glory, which attended it, also had its weight; and every able young man felt ashamed, that he was not amongst the guardians of his country. The fair also, materially served the volunteer cause. Countrymen from being slovenly in their dress, and awkward in their manners, became neat in their persons, and comparatively polished and refined. They were also to be the protectors of their mistresses, and obtained from the softer sex in return an envied precedence. In short, these various causes operated so powerfully, that almost every man who could, became a volunteer. But the volunteers, though powerful, had no fixed object; no bond of union; no communication. Detached in separate companies, they

as yet wanted that connexion, which alone could make them truly beneficial." To remedy this, in the beginning of 1780, a plan of general organization was formed; exercising officers and reviewing generals chosen, and reviews appointed. Their opinions on public affairs were boldly declared; all their resolutions asserting, that Ireland was an independent kingdom, fully entitled to all the uncontrouled rights, privileges, and immunities of a free constitution; that no power on earth, save the king, lords and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind them; and that they were ready to resist the usurpations and encroachments of any foreign legislature with their lives and fortunes. The Southern Battalion of Armagh Volunteers, commanded by lord Charlemont, on the 28th of December, 1781, unanimously resolved, " That with the utmost concern, we behold the little attention paid to the constitutional rights of this kingdom, by the majority of those, whose duty it is to establish and preserve the same. That to avert the impending danger from the nation, and to restore the constitution to its original purity, the most vigorous and effectual methods must be pursued, to root out corruption and court influence from the legislative body. That to open a path towards the attaining of this desirable point, it is absolutely requisite, that a meeting be held in the most central town of the province of Ulster, which we conceive to be Dungannon, to which said meeting every volunteer association of said province

* Dobbs's History of Irish Affairs.

is most earnestly requested to send delegates, then and there to deliberate on the present alarming situation of public affairs, and to determine on, and publish to their country, what may be the result of said meeting. That as many real and lasting advantages may arise to this kingdom, from said intended meeting being held before the present session of parliament is much farther advanced, Friday, the 15th day of February next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, is hereby appointed for said meeting at Dungannon as aforesaid. That as at said meeting, it is highly probable the idea of forming brigades will be agitated and considered, the several corps of volunteers, who send delegates to this meeting, are requested to vest in them a power to associate with some one of such brigades as may be then formed. Francis Evans, Chairman.

The boldness of these resolutions astonished, alarmed and offended government. Vain were the efforts of the Castle to render the requisition abortive. The representatives of 143 corps assembled in the Church, and adopted the memorable resolutions, drawn up by lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Flood, Mr. Stewart, and Mr. Dobbs.

“ Ulster Volunteers. At a meeting of 143 corps of volunteers, held at Dungannon, on Friday, the 15th day of February, 1782, Colonel William Irvine in the chair. Whereas it has been asserted, that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of par-

liament, or public men. Resolved, 1. That a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights. 2. That a claim of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons, of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. 3. That the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, or under colour, or pretence, of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. 4. That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. 5. That a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance. 6. That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England; and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction, where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail; and is in itself unconstitutional and a grievance. 7. That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honor, that we will at every ensuing election, support those only, who have supported, and will support us therein; and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy

and effectual. 8. That the right honorable and honorable the minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks; and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions. 9. That four members from each county of the province of Ulster (eleven to be a quorum) be, and are hereby appointed a committee till next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province. 10. That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect. 11. That the committee be, and are hereby instructed, to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place. 12. That the court of Portugal had acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in such a manner as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal; and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Por-

tugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire. 13. That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves. 14. Therefore, that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland. 15. That the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Thomas Reed, having joined a regiment of this province, the First Newry Regiment, or Newry Legion, and petitioned to be received as part of this body, and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received. 16. Whereas a letter has been received by the chairman of this meeting, from the united corps of the county of Cavan, Colonel Ennery in the chair, declaring their readiness to co-operate with their brother volunteers in every constitutional support of their rights. Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be presented to the said united corps of the county of Cavan, for their spirited resolution; and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be inclosed by the chairman to Colonel Ennery, to be by him communicated to the said united corps; and that they shall have a right, if they choose, to associate with the corps represented at this meeting, to nominate four members to act with those already appointed, as a committee by the delegates at this meeting. 17. That the thanks

of this meeting be presented to Captain Richardson, and the Dungannon Light Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day. 18. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Southern Battalion of the first Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic zeal, which we are convinced induced them to call this meeting. 19. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel William Irvine, for his particular propriety and politeness of conduct in the chair. 20. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain James Dawson, for his readiness in undertaking the office of secretary to this meeting, and for his particular attention and ability in the laborious duty thereof. 21. That these resolutions be published."

To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Minority in both Houses of Parliament, they published the following Address. "My Lords and Gentlemen, we thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country, Go on! the almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence, if we doubted of success."

The Ulster national committee being imme-

diately chosen, resolved, "that the corps of this province, not represented at the meeting held this day, be, and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting, and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing."

"As these resolutions made their public appearance, they were admired even by their enemies. The volunteers from every quarter paid their tribute of applause, and erected them as the standard, to which all repaired: from east, west, north, and south, they were re-echoed. Committees of correspondence were formed, and the national committee crowned the business."*

A more universal, more warm and spirited concurrence, in favour of liberty, than that which now pervaded this island, is not to be found, even from the earliest period, in the history of any nation in the world. Two days after the memorable resolutions at Dungannon, the Independent Dublin Volunteers agreed to the following resolutions and preamble. "Natural justice and equity having established the universal rights of mankind upon an equal footing, the inhabitants of Ireland have a claim to a Free Trade with all nations in amity with Great Britain; yet their ports have been kept shut, their trade has been monopolized, and their industry has but served to aggrandize the proud traders of a neighbouring kingdom. Necessity, which compels to ingenuity, has lately held up that trade, dignified with the specious name of Free; yet, trade,

* Plowden's Historical View, &c.

which enriches industrious nations, serves but to impoverish the natives of this kingdom, because they have purchased at a high price, an illusion. Defrauded thus of their birth-right, there is nothing left but economy as a counterpoise. The unsubstantial freedom of commerce, having originated from the united spirit of the people against the use of foreign manufactures, the same spirit, which procured the fallacious grant, may yet, by a persevering unanimity, establish a real, permanent and substantial trade. Therefore, resolved, that these our thoughts and opinions be laid before our countrymen, reminding them, at the same time, that not only they, but their posterity, are interested in the event; and, that to do away effectually the yoke of monopoly, a non-consumption and non-importation agreement should be entered into without delay."

A few days afterwards, the Lawyer's Corps resolved, "that we do highly approve of the Resolutions and Address of the Ulster Volunteers, represented at Dungannon, on the 15th of February inst. That, as citizens and volunteers, we will co-operate with the several corps, whose delegates met at Dungannon, in every constitutional mode of obtaining a redress of the grievances mentioned in their resolutions."

A week had not elapsed since the Dungannon meeting, till Mr. Grattan again endeavoured to cause the Irish parliament to assert their independence. "After the ample discussion," said he, "in this house, of the present question of right on the 19th of April, 1780, and the uni-

versal reprobation of the assumption of the British parliament, to bind this kingdom, then received, I had been silent on that subject, if that parliament had not since that time continued its tyrannical and unconstitutional assumption, by enacting several laws to bind Ireland, which I have in my hand, as also a proclamation in the Irish Gazette, where the execution of a British statute is enforced: measures that evidently shew, that the British nation, so far from relinquishing the claim of usurped authority in this kingdom, have still the same spirit of making laws for us, which they keep alive by renewing their claim on every occasion. These fresh instances of British usurpation, added to that disgraceful and unrepealed act of the 6th of George I. which declares Ireland bound at all times by the legislature of Great Britain, makes it necessary at this time for the parliament of Ireland to come to an explanation concerning its privileges, and the injured rights of the nation. And what are the boasted regulations Britain has granted to us? The first was in 1778, as contemptible in principle as in effect; for after a bar of lawyers had been brought to plead against Ireland in the English House of Commons, we are permitted to export every thing except our manufactures. Their favour was an insult and aggravation to our misery. The minister sends over to know the causes of our distresses; and he is answered from his agents here, that it was done away, and that we were satisfied by being permitted to cultivate tobacco. The second period was in 1779,

when government abdicated the defence of Ireland, and Ireland appeared in arms; the minister now changed his tone, he glanced a temporary gleam of hope upon our shields; he gave us every thing, but kept the power of taking it back; he retained a mutiny bill and the post-office act. The third period was a ministerial address of thanks, evidently calculated to dissolve the union of the people; it had its effect in a paroxysm of ease, and when it was known, that the strength of this house was dissolved, and that the glory of 1779 was no more, an order comes over to oppose on every occasion the latent claims of Ireland; to oppose an Irish mutiny bill, to alter the sugar bill; and when lord Hillsborough found you had lost all veneration for yourselves, he lost it for you likewise. The reprobated measure of a perpetual mutiny bill followed; but you have not done with it yet, you have stabbed your country, and the wound is festering. Emboldened by your dissolution, English acts binding Ireland were passed last winter. Is the claim of the British parliament to legislate for this kingdom given up, as I have heard some gentlemen say in this house? How futile and ridiculous now do these arguments appear, that declared the return of the Irish mutiny bill was a renunciation of legislation on the part of England. How futile and absurd are all the arguments, that teemed on that occasion from the government press? I am for tranquillity; it is for honorable tranquillity; but when I see an administration, unable to make a blow against an enemy,

tyrannize over Ireland, I am bound to exert every power to oppose it.

“ Ireland is in strength; she has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost: when England conquered, Ireland was coerced; when she was defeated, Ireland was relieved; and when Charles-town was taken, the mutiny and sugar bills were altered. Have you not all of you, when you heard of a defeat, at the same instant, condoled with England, and congratulated Ireland?

“ If England were for a moment awake to her own interests, she would come forward, and invite us to her arms, by doing away every cause of jealousy. How, but by the strictest domestic union, can Great Britain, with only eight millions of people, oppose the dreadful combination of seven millions in Spain, with twenty-four millions in France, and two in Holland? Will she cast off three millions of brave and loyal subjects in Ireland, at so critical and eventual a time?

“ An Irish army, the wonder of the world, has now existed for three years, where every soldier is a freeman, determined to shed the last drop of blood to defend his country, to support the execution of its laws, and give vigour to its police. The enemy threaten an invasion, the Irish army comes forward, administration is struck dumb with wonder, their deputies in their military dress go up to the Castle, not as a servile crowd of courtiers attending the lord lieutenant's levee, but as his protectors, while the

eringing crowd of sycophants swarm about the treasury, and, after having thrown away their arms, offer nothing but naked servitude.

“ You are now losing the British constitution, which by compact you were to possess; two councils, with more than parliamentary power, dependent judges, a mutiny bill lost, and governors like the Roman pro-consuls in distant provinces, are sent over to fleece you.

“ A general election is shortly to take place; what will be your answer to those, who have sent you hither, when you resign your delegated trust, and they ask you, where are our rights? Where is our sugar bill? Where our mutiny bill?

“ What will be the consequence of your not explaining your rights now? When a peace happens it will then be too late; your island will be drained of its people, the emigrants will say, let us prefer freedom in America to slavery at home, and cease to be his majesty's subjects here, to become his equals there. Let us not therefore suffer the same men, whose infamous arts were reprobated in America, to succeed here.” He then moved an Address to his majesty,

“ To assure his majesty, of their most sincere and unfeigned attachment to his majesty's person and government.

“ To assure his majesty, that the people of Ireland were a free people; that the crown of Ireland was a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof.

“ To assure his majesty, that by their fundamental laws and franchises, which they on the

part of this nation claimed and challenged as their birth-right, the subjects of that kingdom could not be bound, affected, or obliged, by any legislature, save only the King, Lords, and Commons, of that his majesty's realm of Ireland; nor was there any other body of men, who had power or authority to make laws for the same.

“ To assure his majesty, that his majesty's subjects of Ireland conceived, that in that privilege was contained the very essence of their liberty, and that they tendered it as they did their lives, and accordingly had with one voice declared and protested against the interposition of any other parliament in the legislation of that country.

“ To assure his majesty, that they had seen with concern, the parliament of Great Britain advance a claim to make law for Ireland, and their anxiety was kept alive, when they perceived the same parliament still persist in that claim, as might appear by recent British acts, which affected to bind Ireland, but to which the subjects of Ireland could pay no attention.

“ To assure his majesty, that next to their liberties, they valued their connexion with Great Britain, on which they conceived, at that time most particularly, the happiness of both kingdoms did depend, and which, as it was their most sincere wish, so should it be their principal study to cultivate and render perpetual. That under that impression, they could not suggest any means, whereby such connexion could so much be improved or strengthened, as by a renunciation

of the claim of the British parliament, to make law for Ireland, a claim useless to England, cruel to Ireland, and without any foundation in law.

“ That impressed with a high sense of the magnanimity and justice of the British character, and in the most entire reliance on his majesty’s paternal care, they had set forth their right and sentiments, and without prescribing any mode to his majesty, throw themselves on his royal wisdom.”

The Attorney General (afterwards Earl Clonmell) declared the object of the motion utterly impracticable. He said he did not mean to agitate the question of right; the act of the 6th of George the First was certainly of little ornament upon the statute book, and of still less use; yet if it gave nothing to England, it certainly took away nothing from Ireland. After endeavouring to terrify, by the phantom of the resumption of the forfeited estates, so successfully introduced by Mr. Fitzgibbon, in the debate on the Catholic bill, he animadverted on the introduction to the motion; and said, if an ambassador from France or Spain, or if the boldest agents for the rebels of America, were at the bar to urge the house in language such as that, he should not be much surprised; for it ill accorded with the loyal and liberal feelings of Irishmen, who scorn to take advantage of an enemy in distress, but always remember acts of friendship with gratitude; he was therefore against the address, because it would give the world an opportunity of saying, Ireland had made demands on Great Britain, and

was in arms to enforce them. He was against it, because it was a challenge, though couched in terms of civility; because it tended to anarchy and misrule; because the thing contended for could never gain strength but by struggle; and because, if obtained, it would shake all the property of the nation. Upon those principles he thought it an honor to oppose the address in any way; but from respect to the honorable mover, he would not give it a direct negative, but move to have it put off to the first of August; which was carried, 137 voting for the attorney general's motion, and 68 against it.

The attempt of Mr. Flood, to obtain an acknowledgement of the independence of Ireland upon the British legislature, met a similar fate, on the 26th of the same month. After stating the rights of Ireland, he moved the following declaratory resolutions: 1. That the members of this house are the only representatives of the people of Ireland. 2. That the consent of the commons is indispensably necessary to render any statute binding. The second, he said, he would not move till the first was determined upon. It was objected, that universal coincidence of opinion on this subject, and the universal acknowledgement of the great truth, which was the substance of the resolution, made the motion unnecessary, and if it were necessary, it was unadvisable. The resolution was negatived; only 76 supporting the declaration, and 137 against it.

This obstinate opposition, far from disheartening, roused the nation to greater exertions.

Grand juries, cities, towns, corporations, parishes, all ranks and degrees of men, animated by the same sentiments, with united voice, spoke out boldly in behalf of the privileges of their country. The Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened by the High Sheriffs, on the 19th of March, 1782, unanimously agreed to the following Address to their representatives, Sir Samuel Bradstreet, Bart. Recorder, and Travers Hartley, Esq.

“ Gentlemen, as men justly entitled to, and firmly resolved to obtain a Free Constitution, we require you, our trustees, to exert yourselves in the most strenuous manner, to procure an unequivocal declaration, “ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this country.” And we solemnly pledge ourselves to you and to our country, that we will support the representatives of the people at the risk of our lives and fortunes, in every constitutional measure which may be pursued for the attainment of this great national object. Be assured, Gentlemen, that your zeal upon this occasion will insure you a continuance of our esteem and regard.”

Sir Samuel Bradstreet returned the following answer. “ Gentlemen, it has ever been my wish to receive with pleasure, and to obey the instructions of my constituents. You may depend on my using every means in my power to procure an explicit and unequivocal declaration, “ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this

country;" and I rely on your solemn engagement to support your Representatives, in every constitutional measure which may be necessary for the attainment of this great national object. Permit me to assure you, that my zeal for the accomplishment of your wishes, can be equalled only by my desire to convince you, how sacred I esteem the trust you have reposed in me, and how much I value a continuance of the good opinion of my fellow-citizens."

"Gentlemen," says Travers Hartley, Esq. "I should be very unworthy of that honorable and important trust, with which you have so recently invested me, did I not receive with the highest respect, the most perfect satisfaction, and cheerful conformity, your instructions, on a subject in which the national honor and security are essentially engaged. To suppose that any power, except that of the "King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, is competent to make laws to bind this kingdom," is utterly inconsistent with the idea of freedom; it is equal liberty alone, which can secure that perfect harmony to the subjects of the same crown, so necessary to the prosperity both of Great Britain and Ireland. You may rely, Gentlemen, on every exertion I am capable of, to procure an unequivocal declaration of the sole right of the legislature of this kingdom, to enact laws obligatory on the people of Ireland; and I doubt not in this, and every constitutional measure, I shall be always secure of the support of my constituents. Your instructions, on this occasion, will give a dignity to the vote you have

entrusted me with, which it must have wanted, if considered as merely proceeding from my own private judgment."

The Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Galway, convened by the High Sheriff, on the 31st of March, 1782, unanimously resolved: 1. That a seat in parliament was never intended by our constitution, as an instrument of emolument to individuals; and, that the representative, who perverts it to such purpose, particularly at so momentous a period as the present, is guilty of betraying the trust reposed in him by the people for their, not his benefit. 2. That the people, who could tamely behold their suffrages made the tool of private avarice or ambition, are still more criminal than the venal representatives, as they become the panders without even the wages of prostitution. 3. That when we daily see the mandate of the minister supersede all conviction in debate; when placed and pensioned members of parliament notoriously support in public, measures which they condemn in private; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and government have exemplified in recent instances of distinguished public characters, that to vote according to conscience, amounts to a disqualification to hold any office in the service of our country, it is time for the people to look to themselves, and in great national questions to assert their right to controul those who owe their political existence to their birth, and may be annihilated by their displeasure. 4. That, at an æra when every thing that

can be dear to a nation is at stake, we are called upon by our duty to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to stand forth, and by the most unremitting exertions stem the returning torrent of corruption at home, and resist usurpation from abroad, that all mankind may see we are determined to preserve the purity, while we vindicate the rights, of our legislature. 5. Therefore we do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, by every tie of honor and religion which can be binding to man, that, as the sacred duty which we owe to the community supersedes all ties and obligations to individuals, we will not suffer private friendship or private virtues, to ward our settled determination not to vote for any man, at a future election, either for county, town, or borough, who shall act in opposition to our instructions, and who will not subscribe a test to obey them previous to the election, or who shall absent himself when those questions on which we instruct him are agitated in parliament. 6. That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that we will resist the execution of any other laws with our lives and fortunes. 7. That, if 'force constitutes right,' the people of this country have a right to use force against the man who dares to maintain doctrines subversive of their constitution; but as the object* is beneath the

* Mr. John Scott, attorney-general, afterwards Earl Clonmell. In the Commons, when the patriots demanded, By what right England made laws to bind Ireland? he shamelessly supported the usurpations of the British Legislature, answering, that 'Power gave Right.'

national resentment, we shall only bid such a man beware how he hereafter trifles with the rights of his country, and provokes the vengeance of a people determined to be free. 8. That we highly approve of the Resolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, assembled at Dungannon and Ballinasloe. 9. That the thanks of this county be returned to the Minority in Parliament, and particularly to our countrymen, Sir Henry Lynch Blossie, Anthony Daly, and Robert Dillon, Esqrs. 10. That the following Addresses be presented to the Right Hon. Denis Daly, and W. P. Keating Trench, Esq. representatives in parliament for this county.

To the Right Hon. D. Daly.—Sir, there is a moment in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, which, if seized and happily improved, may lead to prosperity, if neglected, may terminate in the riveting of its oppressions. Such a moment is the present: the eyes of Europe are upon us, and posterity will read our conduct with applause or execration, according to the use we make of the opportunities, which a providential combination of events has afforded us. When the rights of a nation become objects of public question or discussion, not to assert is to relinquish, to hesitate is to betray. The die is cast; if we advance with a manly and determined step, we ensure success; if we recede or divide, we sink for ever; in so awful an hour, who is the man, that, however unwilling to provoke the question, will not in the day of trial be found at his post? Your private opinion, Sir, must give way to the national voice; the assemblage of

qualities, which formed and elevated your character, raised you to one of the most exalted situations a subject could arrive at. Your abilities remain, we have relied on your integrity; yet, we cannot but lament, that at the moment we stood in need of all the influence of such a character, its brightness should have been shaded, and its weight lost to the nation, by being placed in a station in which, however chaste, it may, at least, be suspected. But waving at present the consideration of this subject, we now call upon you, as one of our representatives, as you value our future approbation and support, to give your fullest assistance to the following measures, whenever they shall be proposed in parliament, viz. 'A declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the assumed power of the privy council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill rendering the judges independent of the crown; and a bill to reduce the expences of this nation to a level with its revenues;' as we cannot conceive a conduct more insane, than for a people scarce emerging from ruin, like a profligate heir, to anticipate its funds, and ground certain extravagance on uncertain prosperity.

To W. P. Keating Trench, Esq.—Sir, the present period calls upon every man in this country, to take an active and decided part in the common cause. The nation is not now to be trifled with. Upon our conduct at this eventful hour, depends the establishment of our constitution, and the liberties of unborn generations.

We shall not, Sir, suffer our attention to be drawn from the great object in which we are engaged, by a retrospect into your past parliamentary conduct, however dissonant in many points from our opinions; but we call upon you, if you value our future approbation, to give your fullest support to the following measures, whenever they shall be agitated in parliament, viz. ‘ A declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the power of the privy council to stop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill to render the judges independent of the crown; and a bill to reduce the national expences to a level with its revenues.’

The University, on the 2d of April, agreed to, and presented, the following Address to their representatives, the Right Hon. Walter Burgh, and John Fitzgibbon, Esq., afterwards Earl of Clare.—Gentlemen, When the murmurs of a people, struggling for their rights, have been heard even in the quiet retreat of science, we should deem it a breach of duty to our countrymen and ourselves, did we neglect to second their virtuous exertions: we are never forward in political contests; we shall always be decided and steady; although we have not been the first to complain of, yet, we have not been the last to feel the repeated injuries this country has suffered, not only from those who may have separate duties and separate interests, but from men, who are bound by the strongest duty, and their dearest interest, to vindicate its rights, and cherish its prosperity.

The power of binding Ireland by acts of a foreign legislature, is what nothing but a spirit of arrogance or oppression would insist upon, nothing but the most abject servility submit to; for we cannot suppose, that the appearance of a claim which irritates the whole body of the people, would be retained, unless there was an intention of enforcing this claim hereafter; we are therefore convinced, that an express declaration of rights, is the only measure upon which this country can build its legislative independence, and that a reluctance to assert the constitution of the land, may furnish Great Britain with a pretence for denying the justice of our requisition.

We do not think the present situation of Great Britain to be any objection against such a declaration, as we can never suppose that she could derive strength from our weakness, or any security to her liberties from the oppression of ours; and that time is undoubtedly to be preferred for the assertion of our rights, when the object is likely to be obtained with the least struggle.

The insecure attachment of Ireland to the crown of England at a former period, furnished a pretext for divesting the houses of parliament of their right to originate bills, unless previously certified into England under the great seal of this kingdom; now, as the loyalty of this country for several centuries past, so often tried, and so often acknowledged, has removed every cause of distrust, we conceive that this injurious and humiliating restriction should also cease.

The dependance of the judges of Ireland on the will of the sovereign, may, in the hands of an aspiring monarch, prove a powerful instrument of oppression; now, holding ourselves entitled to every constitutional security which our sister kingdom possesses, we consider it necessary that the judges of this kingdom should be made equally independent with those of Great Britain.

But since every advantage which could result from these reformatations must be precarious, as long as a perpetual mutiny bill exists, by which, force may be made to supercede right, and the soldiery of Ireland are subjected to trial and punishment by any future articles of war, which the king and privy council of Great Britain may think proper to adopt; we are persuaded, that every concession must be imperfect, unless accompanied by the repeal of so dangerous a law.

We therefore expect you will exert your most strenuous efforts, to obtain a declaration of the rights of Ireland; a repeal or satisfactory explanation of the law of Poynings'; an act for making the tenure of the judges independent of the crown; and a repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill.

We declare, that these are our fixed and unalterable sentiments, and we are convinced that nothing short of the requisitions herein contained, can be, in any degree, satisfactory to the people of Ireland.

It is our wish to render the connexion between this country and Great Britain as close and per-

manent as possible, and we are persuaded that this is only to be accomplished by abolishing all usurped authority of the one over the other, and removing every invidious distinction between the constitutions of two countries, equally entitled to be free.

To this address the following answers were returned:

To the electors of the University. Gentlemen, when I reflect on my past parliamentary conduct, it affords me the highest satisfaction, to find that it entirely corresponds with the tenor of your instructions. Whenever the objects that you recommend have come into discussion, I have given them my uniform and decided support. My conduct has been founded upon principles, which no motives of interest or ambition have been able to shake, and in which I shall persevere unto the last hour of my life. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, gentlemen, your most faithful humble servant, Walter Burgh.*

To the Electors of Trinity College. Gentlemen, I am just now honoured with your instructions, which have been forwarded to me by post. Be assured, that I shall always feel the utmost satisfaction in receiving the instructions of that very great and respectable body which I have the honour to represent, and that you shall ever find me ready, to the best of my ability, to vindicate your rights.

I have always been of opinion, that the claim of the British parliament to make laws for this

* Afterwards lord chief baron of the court of exchequer.

country, is a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people, and have uniformly asserted this opinion both in public and private. When a declaration of the legislative right was moved in the house of commons, I did oppose it, upon a decided conviction that it was a measure of a dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. However, I do, without hesitation, yield my own opinion upon this subject to yours, and will, whenever such a declaration shall be moved, give it my support.

With respect to an explanation of the law of Poyning, I confess, the more I consider the subject, the more difficult it appears to me. Allow me to remind you, that the University did, upon a very recent occasion, experience that this law, in its present form, may operate beneficially. A total repeal of it, will I hope, on consideration, appear to you to be not, by any means, a desirable object. You may rest assured, that the best attention which I can give to the subject shall be exerted; and I trust and doubt not, that upon a communication with you upon this topic, I shall be able to give you full satisfaction.

I agree with you most warmly, that any advantage which we may derive from reformation must be precarious, so long as the articles of war shall continue to be a permanent and established branch of municipal law, which they certainly are under the present act for regulating the king's army in Ireland. I have no doubt in my mind, that a perpetual mutiny law, lays the

foundation of a military government in this country; upon this principle I did oppose it as strenuously as I could, from the first moment it was introduced into the house of commons, and upon this principle I will, whilst I live, make every effort within my power to procure a repeal of it. The administration of justice in this country is certainly an object of the first importance, and therefore I will, at all times, concur in any measure which can be proposed to make the judges of the land independent and respectable. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with great respect, your most obedient, and very humble servant, John Fitzgibbon.*

The voice of the people, at length, was attended to; the British ministry, was changed, lord Carlisle recalled, and the duke of Portland appointed his successor.

On the 9th of April, 1782, Mr. Fox, communicated to the British house of commons, the following message from his majesty:

“ George R. His majesty being concerned to find, that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this house, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. G. R.”

On the 14th of April, the duke of Portland arrived in Dublin. Parliament met on the 16th. The Right Hon. Hely Hutchinson, secretary of

* Afterwards earl of Clare and lord chancellor of Ireland.

state, on the chair being taken, delivered a similar message to the house of commons; then congratulated his country on it; avowed, that he had always asserted from the seat of judicature, as a judge; and in that house, as a representative of the people, the right of the king, lords and commons of Ireland, only, to make laws for Ireland. After a merited eulogium on Mr. Grattan, he said, that whatever mode should be proposed for the declaration of this right, in terms the most unequivocal and explicit, whether by vote, address, or bill, should receive his strongest support, provided it contained such sentiments of duty and loyalty to the king, and affection to our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, as every man in this nation felt.

Mr. George Ponsonby moved, that a dutiful and loyal address should be presented to his majesty, thanking him for his most gracious message, and assuring him, that his faithful commons would immediately proceed upon the great objects he had recommended to their consideration.

Mr. Grattan rose, to state to the house his reasons for changing, in some measure, the form of the address proposed by the hon. gentleman, and hoped to induce the house, rather to declare that they had considered the causes of jealousy; and that they were contained in his original motion for a declaration of rights, which he would now move as an amendment to the address. He said he had nothing to add, but to admire by what steady virtue the people had asserted their

own rights. He was not very old, and yet, he remembered Ireland a child. He had watched her growth; from infancy she grew to arms; from arms to liberty. She was not now afraid of the French; she was not now afraid of the English; she was not now afraid of herself. Her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry; a ruined commonalty; protestants oppressing catholics, catholics groaning under oppression—but she was now a united land.

Turn to the rest of Europe, you will find the antient spirit every where expired. Sweden has lost her liberty, England is declining; the other nations support their consequence on the remembrance of a mighty name, but ye are the only people who have recovered it by steady virtue. Ye not only excel modern Europe, but ye excel what she can boast of old. Whenever great revolutions were made in favour of liberty, they were owing to the quick feeling of an irresistible populace, excited by some strong object presented to their senses. Such an object was the daughter of Virginius—sacrificed to virtue; and such the seven bishops, whose meagre and haggard looks expressed the rigour of their suffering: but no history can produce an instance of men, like you, musing for years upon oppression, and then, upon a determination of right, rescuing the land. You will find that the supporters of liberty in the reign of Charles I., mixed their sentiments of constitution with principles of gloomy bigotry; but amongst us, you see delegates of the north, advocates for the catholics of

the south; the presbytery of Bangor mixing the milk of humanity with the benignity of the gospel—as christians tolerant—as Irishmen united. This house agreeing with the desires of the nation, passed the popery bill, and by so doing got more than it gave; yet found advantages from generosity, and grew rich in the very act of charity. Ye gave not, but ye formed an alliance between the protestant and the catholic powers, for the security of Ireland.

Fortunately for us, England did not take the lead; her minister did not take the lead in the restoration of our rights; if she had, we should have sunk under the obligation, and given back in sheepish gratitude the whole advantage; but the virtue, the pride of the people was our resource, and it is right that people should have a lofty conception of themselves; though it is wonderful they should preserve their ancient pride, not having amongst them any of those outward and visible signs of glory, those monuments of their heroic ancestors, such as were wont to animate the ancient Greeks and Romans, and rouse them in their country's cause. They had nothing, such as these, to call forth the greatness of the land, and therefore it is astonishing, that they should proceed with a temper seldom found amongst the injured, and a success never but with the virtuous. They have no trophies, but the liberty they transmit to their posterity is more than trophy. What sets one nation up above another, but the soul that dwells therein? for it is of no avail, that the arm be strong, if the soul

be not great. What signifies it, that three hundred men in the house of commons—what signifies it that one hundred men in the house of peers, assert their country's liberty, if unsupported by the people? But there is not a man in Ireland, there is not a grand jury, there is not an association, there is not a corps of volunteers, there is not a meeting of their delegates, which does not maintain the independence of the Irish constitution, and pledge themselves to support the parliament in fixing that constitution on its rightful basis. Gentlemen will perceive, that I allude to the transaction at Dungannon; not long ago, the meeting at Dungannon was considered as a very alarming measure; but I thought otherwise, I approved of it, and considered the meeting of Dungannon as an original transaction. As such only it was matter of surprize. What more extraordinary transaction than the attainment of Magna Charta? It was not attained in parliament, but by the barons, armed and in the field. A great original transaction is not founded in precedent, it contains in itself both reason and precedent; the revolution had no precedent, the christian religion had no precedent, the apostles had no precedent.

In this country every man has a share in the government, and in order to act or speak they must confer. Now, did not necessity compel them to act, did not necessity compel them to speak, and will not their resolutions tend to restore the rights of their country; they resolve, "that a claim of any body of men, other than the king,

lords and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional and a grievance. After further observations, Mr. Grattan said, that he wished to become the decided friend of the duke of Portland, for removing every cause of complaint from Ireland, and that these were the terms on which he was ready to support his government.

A repeal of the 6th of George I., including a restoration of the appellat jurisdiction on the Lords of Ireland.

An abolition of the unconstitutional power of Privy Councils.

And a repeal of the Mutiny-bill.

A Judge's-bill he refrained from mentioning, as he had heard it was returned. He concluded by moving, which was unanimously adopted,

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious message to this house, signed by his grace the lord lieutenant.

“ To assure his majesty of our unshaken attachment to his majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his majesty's subjects of Ireland.

“ That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies: to assure his majesty, that his subjects of Ireland are a free people; that the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of

Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland. To assure his majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right, which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

“ To assure his majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland: an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

“ To assure his majesty, that his majesty's commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish, that all the bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his majesty, under the great seal of Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

“ To assure his majesty, that an act, entitled an act for the better accommodation of his majesty’s forces, being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

“ That we have submitted these the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

“ That we have the greatest reliance on his majesty’s wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious and constitutional councils, which we see, with satisfaction, his majesty has adopted.

“ That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive, that the proceedings of this country, founded as they are in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

“ And we beg leave to assure his majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.”

To give the British ministry time to adopt the measures necessary for granting the demands of

Ireland, the house of commons adjourned for three weeks. This some of the members considered too long; in the debate, Mr. Fitzgibbon, as also many of the hitherto most zealous opposers of the rights of Ireland, expressed himself thus: "that as he had been cautious in committing his country, so now that it was committed, he would be firm in supporting its rights." And, that as the right of making laws to bind Ireland, lay in their King, Lords, and Commons, to the total exclusion of all foreign influence, it was idle to suppose, that any appeal ought to lie from the Irish courts of law.

The attorney-general, afterwards earl Clonmel, said he was persuaded, that if after what had passed and been pressed by so many respectable gentlemen of consideration and distinction, he should remain silent, there was not a man in that house, who would not attribute it to fear, paltry fear of losing his office and situation; he had, he confessed, heretofore protracted, postponed, palliated, and endeavoured to soothe the country from declarations or acts of extremity; his sentiments had been much misrepresented to his disadvantage; but he was not surprised or offended, that the nation, eager in the pursuit of a favourite object, should have considered any man, who seemed to differ from them in sentiment, as an object of detestation and resentment. He thought it better, that every object of those British laws should be doomed to destruction, than that his country should longer even be supposed to be in a state of slavery; he therefore called the atten-

tion of the house, to bear witness, that by holding a mysterious or equivocal silence longer upon the subject of right, he should do equal injury to the interests of Great Britain and Ireland. He did, consequently, as a lawyer, a faithful servant to the crown, a well-wisher to both countries, and an honest Irishman, in the most unqualified, unlimited, and explicit manner, declare his opinion, that Great Britain had no right whatsoever to bind Ireland by any law; and that such acts as had been passed for that purpose in Great Britain, were founded in usurpation, or the necessity and confusion of the times; that he never had a doubt upon the question of right, though from motives of prudence, and a desire of peace, he had heretofore thought it necessary not to declare any opinion upon the question of right. Their conduct during the present American war, entitles them, he said, to more than they asked. Another event, which had lately happened, and made it necessary for him to speak out, was Mr. Wallace's bill, offering freedom to America. This act operated as an act of pains and penalties to the loyalty of Ireland; for if America be declared free, and Ireland left in slavery, no man of either spirit, sentiment, or property, would remain in the country an hour after America should have been declared independent. Ireland would become the absolute sink of the universe, the only part of the British dominions, which could not boast the freedom of the British constitution. As the friend of Great Britain and Ireland, he thought it necessary to express these

sentiments boldly: for if in his situation he were longer to continue silent, it might be thought in Great Britain, that there was yet a diversity of opinion in Ireland.

The English Lords and Commons, on the 17th of May, resolved, "that the act of the 6th of George I. intituled, An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, ought to be repealed; and Mr. Fox brought in a bill for that purpose.

The lord lieutenant, on the 27th of May, acquainted parliament, that Great Britain had acceded to the claims of Ireland. Mr. Grattan then moved the following Address of thanks, and assurance of the complete satisfaction with which Ireland received the boon just conceded.

"To assure his majesty of our unfeigned affection to his royal person and government; that we feel most sensibly the attention which our representations have received from the magnanimity of his majesty, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great Britain.

"To assure his majesty, that we conceive the resolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of George I., to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

"To assure his majesty, that we are sensibly affected by his virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of his faithful people, and to exercise his royal prerogative in a manner most con-

ducive to their welfare; and accordingly we shall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the desires of his majesty's people, and his own most benevolent purposes.

“ That, gratified in those particulars, we do assure his majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely on our affection.

“ That we remember and do repeat our determination, to stand and fall with the British nation.

“ That we perceive with pleasure the magnanimity of his majesty to disclaim the little policy of making a bargain with his people; and feeling with pride the confidence he reposes in the good faith, generosity and honour of the Irish nation, we answer with all humility, that his majesty entertains a just sense of our character. Common interest—perpetual connexion—the recent conduct of Great Britain—a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever decide the wishes, as well as the interest of Ireland, to perpetuate the harmony, stability, and glory of the empire. Accordingly, we assure his majesty, that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of his brilliant successes in the East and West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dearest wishes, the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain.

“ That we cannot omit expressing our gratitude to his majesty, for appointing the duke of Portland to the government of this kingdom.

“ That we are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial. We are acquainted with his character, and relying on his upright and frugal administration, make no doubt that a free people, and uncorrupt parliament, will unite to give a constitutional chief governor decided support.

“ That we have presumed to lay before his majesty our genuine sentiments on the change of our situation. His majesty will receive them as the voluntary unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.”

This Address, after some debate, was carried by 211, four only opposing it. No wonder it should; for the objections to it were nugatory. Whatever further could be done for Ireland, might and ought to have been done by the Irish parliament and people, unrestrained, as they now were, by any interference of England.

The exulting temper of the nation was manifested in the remainder of the session of parliament, and the Addresses of the Volunteers. Fifty thousand pounds was voted to Mr. Grattan, for his patriotic exertions, and £100,000, to raise seamen. The Habeas Corpus act was enacted; the Sacramental Test abolished; the Judges rendered independent; the Mutiny-bill limited; Poyning's law repealed; the Bank of Ireland established, but with an illiberality, as surprising as unjust, amid the triumphs of Ire-

land, for no catholic was allowed to fill the humblest station in it. The unrepealed English laws, affecting Ireland, received the sanction of the Irish legislature; by which the catholics were first deprived of seats in parliament, by an Irish statute. A bill, for the further relief of Roman Catholics, also received the royal assent. By it, they were enabled to purchase or take by grant, limitation, descent or devise, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, and dispose of them by will or otherwise, descendable, deviseable and transferable, as the lands of Protestants. The penalties for being present at, or celebrating mass; for keeping a horse above five pounds value; compelling them to make good losses sustained by the depredations of privateers; and the prohibitions of inhabiting the city and suburbs of Limerick; of being schoolmasters, or private tutors, were repealed. The guardianship, care and tuition of their children, was restored to them. This bill was introduced by Mr. Gardiner (lord Mountjoy), and ably supported by Mr. Walshe, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Forbes, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and Major Hely Hutchinson, whose opinions, at this day, are interesting.

Mr. Gardiner observed, that as the penal laws then stood, it was impossible for any man, who had not the statute-book by rote, to know exactly what disqualifications catholics laboured under; he therefore wished to have this single law relative to them, that their rights and their incapacities being exactly defined therein, they might upon every occasion resort to it, for the govern-

ment of their conduct. It had been said, that papists were safe from penal laws, so long as the generous and merciful disposition of their countrymen disdained to put them into execution; but no law ought to remain on the statute-book, which was not executed; if it was too bad to be executed, it ought to be expunged. He divided the indulgence, which he thought ought to be granted to Roman Catholics, into five heads: the first, respecting their enjoyment of property; the second, the free exercise of religion; the third, regarded their education; the fourth, marriage; and the fifth, self-defence. He then proceeded to consider the clauses empowering Roman Catholics to take, purchase, and enjoy. To this it was proposed by other members to add, "to have, hold, and inherit estates in fee-simple, except advowsons, and lands to which a right of making seneschals was annexed, or any burgage or borough-right, by which members might be returned to serve in parliament."

Mr. Walshe. The subject now before the committee is, in my opinion, of the first magnitude; it is a subject of the very last importance to this country, and merits a very serious discussion indeed. The question now is, whether Ireland shall stand as a powerful, as a respectable, and as a flourishing kingdom, in the eyes of all the world; or whether we shall continue in our present impotent and impoverished situation; distracted and divided among ourselves, with at least two millions of our countrymen and fellow-

subjects living in a state of absolute vassalage, incapacitated from serving themselves, or from serving their country.

The bill on your table is, for the relief of your majesty's Roman catholic subjects of Ireland. I think I may then say, with propriety, that it is a bill for the relief of at least two millions of our countrymen, loyal to the constitution, and loyal to the prince. They have proved themselves such, on some very trying and recent occasions. For I will not go back to Magna Charta, to enquire what religion the barons were of, who won that great charter of our liberties—those barons, who won that constitution, which is at once the envy and admiration of the world—let it be for the gentlemen who oppose the bill to say, that they were not Roman catholics. I cannot conceive upon what principle of sound policy, or upon what idea of constitutional liberty, the present heads of a bill can possibly be opposed.

These heads of a bill tend to a repeal of the popery-laws of this kingdom; a code of laws, I am bold to say, the most sanguinary, the most persecuting, that ever appeared in the statute books of any free country; a code of laws, the very existence of which, at this day, is, in my opinion, a reproach to the good sense of parliament.

These heads of a bill look to this great object, that of uniting in cordial affection, and in interest, all classes and all denominations of men in this country. This bill wishes, that every individual in this kingdom should be interested in its

prosperity. This bill wishes, that every man may have some property on board the bark, and that no man may stand an indifferent spectator, whether she sinks or swims. This bill has for its object, the bringing into action, nay, I may say into life, two millions of men, who, in fact, have been dead to society, who have been an absolute burden, and a clog on the industry of their native country. But above all, these heads of a bill look to this great and truly patriotic object—that of making us a people—a great, a powerful people—by uniting the sons of Ireland in one common interest, and in one common cause, for her prosperity. It is an established maxim, that the riches and consequence of a country consist in the number of its inhabitants. And yet, I am sorry to say, that Ireland, at this day, proves the truism of the maxim, by being an exception to the rule: for the Roman catholics of Ireland, in number about two millions, so far from adding either to the riches, or to the consequence of this country, are a burden and a dead weight on its industry, and must inevitably continue so, so long as the popery laws remain unrepealed.

Ireland, from its situation, should be as flourishing and as happy a country as any under the sun. Ireland is surrounded by fruitful coasts—she possesses the safest harbours—she enjoys a temperate climate, and is blessed in the fertility of her soil—and yet Ireland is, at this day, as far behind other nations, as to arts and industry, as she is beyond them in point of natural advantages.

It may be asked, why Ireland, with all those natural advantages, should be so far behind other nations in arts and industry? The answer is obvious—the popery laws are still alive! Those laws, which render torpid and useless to this country, two millions of its inhabitants. The wealth of a country must ever be in proportion to the skill and industry of its inhabitants: the sure way to make men industrious is, to let them enjoy the fruits of their industry. As industry increases, manufactures must necessarily flourish; therefore, the great object of the legislature should be, to excite industry by employing the people; not to continue laws, which render the bulk of the people a burden to the state.

The obvious interest of Ireland, at this hour, is to grant to religious dissenters, their civil privileges, which may annex them to the civil government; not to continue persecuting laws, which must necessarily estrange them from it. I would not be understood to say, that the popery-laws, when made, were not necessary to the protection of its civil constitution; but, this I will say, that the motives which then induced the necessity of those laws, have long since ceased to exist. These laws have outlived their time, and, in my opinion, a longer continuation of them, circumstanced as this country now particularly stands, must be its inevitable ruin.

It will not be denied, I believe, that the conduct of the Roman Catholics of this country, for a series of years, has been that of obedience to the laws, and attachment to the established

government. Why then continue, unnecessarily, those penal laws, which absolutely involve two thirds of our fellow-subjects—which deprive them of the rights of men, and cut them off from any benefit of a free constitution? Can any laws be more unwise, than those, which restrain the Roman Catholics, not from evil, but absolutely from doing good—laws, which absolutely prohibit industry, by tying up the hands of two millions of men from co-operating with the public, in the public service?

I will suppose, merely for argument, that the Roman Catholics are not so well attached to us from principle as could be wished, will any gentleman then say, that a continuation of those popery-laws will be a probable mode of winning the affections, or insuring the attachments of this unfortunate class of people—unfortunate indeed, when doomed to vassalage in a country of freedom, and treated as aliens in their native land?

The wisest man, who, I believe, has ever written on the subject of legislation, (I mean Baron Montesquieu) treating on the very subject now before us, that of penal laws as to religion, says, that penal laws as to religion, have never produced any other effect than that of making the objects of them more persevering: says he, “The sure way to win the zealots in any religion is, to court them by favours—by the conveniencies of life—by hopes of fortune. It is an established rule as to the changing of religion, that the invitations to the change must ever be more strong than the penalties.”

Have not the very laws we are now discussing, proved the wisdom of his judgment? Can it be presumed, that these popery-laws (if unrepealed) can produce other, or more salutary effects for the time to come, than they have produced for near a century past—that of misery to individuals, and impotency to the state.

Since, then, the iron hand of penal law has proved ineffectual, why not endeavour to wed the Roman catholic to us from motives of self-interest. The happiness of every state depends upon the common interest of the subject, not on uniformity of opinion as to this or that religion. If Roman catholics are permitted to purchase lands, they must necessarily become sincere supporters of the established government. They then become wedded to it, by the strongest of all ties, that of self-interest. The security of self-interest is the support of every government. Will it be argued, that the greater the stake a man has to lose by the subversion of that government under which he lives, the more he is to be suspected as an enemy to it? Or that the less a man is interested in the welfare of the state, the more he is to be confided in? Surely this is too absurd a doctrine to be entertained for an instant. A Roman Catholic, by purchasing lands, enters into security for his good conduct. He (if I may use the expression) enters into a kind of recognizance for his loyalty to the state.

By permitting Roman catholics to purchase, you annex their loyalty to the soil; by that means it becomes stable and permanent; whereas,

at present, the property of Roman catholics is totally personal; it is a kind of fugitive property, which may almost instantly be transferred from one country to another. If sound policy and good sense have not heretofore told us to repeal those laws, the present times, the very critical situation of the British empire, furnish a decisive reason for repealing them at this day. England has wisely repealed her popery laws.

In this liberal and enlightened age, when almost all the powers of Europe have resigned religious policy to public interest—when toleration, the darling child of benevolence and of wisdom, has been adopted in the place of persecution, that dreary offspring of blind prejudice and hoary bigotry—when reason has re-assumed her throne—shall Ireland alone continue enveloped under that dark cloud of deep-rooted prejudice and baseless apprehension? Shall she alone be blind to her own interest, while all Europe hang out a lure to the Roman catholics of this country to emigrate—to depopulate their native land? Shall we sit dormant and inactive, while the remedy is within our reach? There is no man who will voluntarily banish himself from his native country. Every man, who has the feelings of man, must have a natural affection for that country which gave him birth. Nothing but cruelty and oppression can oblige him to part it—he is wedded to it by every tie of affection, by every tie of connexion.

But if the present heads of a bill shall be rejected, can any man hesitate to say, that every

Roman catholic, who possesses the spirit of a man, and who does not prefer vassalage and slavery to liberty and freedom, will not immediately transport himself, his family, and his property, to another country; into a country where he may participate of the blessings of a free constitution, and enjoy the rights of a freeman?

Mr. Grattan.—I object to any delay which can be given to this clause; we have already considered the subject on a larger scale, and this is but a part of what the clause originally contained. We have before us the example of England, who four years ago granted Catholics a right of taking land in fee; the question is, merely, whether we give this right or not, and if we give it, whether it shall be accompanied by all its natural advantages. Three years ago, when this question was debated in this house, there was a majority of three against granting Catholics estates in fee, and they were only allowed to take leases of 999 years; the argument then used against granting them the fee, was, that they might influence elections. It has this day been shewn, that they may have as effectual an influence by possessing leases of 999 years, as they can have by possessing the fee; at that time, I do declare, I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to this country. When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burden of oppression, that England had laid upon her—when she

armed in defence of her rights, and a high spirited people demanded a free trade, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No; they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue; they did not endeavour to take advantage of your situation—they did not endeavour to make terms for themselves—but they entered frankly and heartily into the cause of their country; judging, by their own virtue, that they might depend upon your generosity for their reward. But now, after you have obtained a free trade; after the voice of the nation has asserted her independence, they approach this House as humble suppliants, and beg to be admitted to the common rights of men. Upon the occasions I have mentioned, I did carefully observe their actions, and did then determine to support their cause whenever it came before this House; and to bear a strong testimony of the constitutional principles of the Catholic body. Nor should it be mentioned as a reproach to them, that they fought under the banner of king James, when we recollect, that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a British constitution.

In the reign of Charles II. a committee, consisting of Papists, Protestants and Presbyterians, were sent from this country, to prosecute lord Stafford, we find them perfectly agreeing in the object of their mission; and, indeed, when men begin to differ upon principles of religion, it is

because they have no other great object to engage their attention; we cannot give the people of Ireland a common faith, but we can give them a common interest.

In 1799, when the fleets of Bourbon hovered on our coasts, and the nation roused herself to arms, did the Roman Catholics stand aloof? or did they, as might be expected from their oppressed situation, offer assistance to the enemy? No—they poured in subscriptions for the service of their country, or they pressed into the ranks of her glorious Volunteers.

It has been shewn, that this clause grants the Roman Catholics no new power in the state; every argument, therefore, which goes against this clause, goes against their having leases for 999 years—every argument, which goes against their having leases of 999 years, goes against their having leases at all—and every argument, which goes against their having property, goes against their having existence in this land.

The question is now, whether we shall grant Roman Catholics a power of enjoying estates, or whether we shall be a Protestant settlement, or an Irish nation? Whether we will throw open the gates of the temple of Liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we will confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the penal code remains, we never can be a great nation; the penal code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched, and now it is become a bird, it must burst the shell asunder, or perish in it.

In Holland, where the number of Roman Catholics is comparatively small, the toleration of their religion is an act of mercy to them; but, in this country, where they form the great bulk of the inhabitants, it is an act of policy—an act of necessity—an act of incorporation. The question is not, whether we shall shew mercy to the Roman Catholics, but whether we shall mould the inhabitants of Ireland into a people; for so long as we exclude Catholics from natural liberty and the common rights of men, we are not a people; we may triumph over them, but other nations will triumph over us. If you love the Roman Catholic, you may be sure of a return from him; but if you treat him with cruelty, you must always live in fear, conscious that you merit his just resentment; will you then go down the stream of time, the Roman Catholic sitting by your side un blessing and un blessed, blasting and blasted? Or will you take off his chain, that he may take off yours? Will you give him freedom, that he may guard your liberty?

In Ireland, as connected with England, the indulgence we wish to give to Catholics can never be injurious to the Protestant religion; that religion is the religion of the state, and will become the religion of Catholics, if severity does not prevent them. Bigotry may survive persecution, but it never can survive toleration. But gentlemen, who speak of the enormities committed by Catholics groaning under a system of penal laws, do not take into account the enlightening and the softening of mens' minds by toler-

ation, nor do they consider, that, as they increase in wealth, they will increase in learning and politeness.

I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness; I give my consent to it, as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of Catholics, and over our own—I give my consent to it, because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of slavery; and because, as the mover of the Declaration of Rights, I should be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more.

Sir Hercules Langrishe supported the clause, because he observed, it was plain, simple, and easily understood. We have shewn how readily Roman catholics, possessed of leases for 999 years, may, by collusion, acquire the fee; the question, therefore, ceases to be a question of policy, whether you will make them a liberal grant of property, and allow them to possess legally and openly what they may acquire in a clandestine manner. Gentlemen will also consider, that, by allowing catholics to possess the fee of lands, they for ever bar the claim of old proprietors, and interest every catholic who enjoys such possession in the support of the established government. A gentleman says, he wishes to give catholics property, but would restrain them from having power, lest they should influence elections: for my part, I entertain little apprehension from their having any power in elections, the in-

fluence arising from landed property is the only influence that can ever be injurious to the country. But the same person says, that few Roman catholics set their lands to protestant tenants, if so, then they can have no freeholders on their estates—I leave, therefore, the inconsistency of those two arguments to answer each other.

Mr. Forbes.—I will not impute to gentlemen who urge the adjournment, an intention to destroy the bill; yet it is somewhat strange they should persist in it, when every man of profession knows that the clause may be guarded by a proviso as far as may be necessary. I was at first alarmed at what was said, till I considered more attentively. I find, upon reflection, that were we to alter the clause in the manner desired, it would allow catholics to acquire estates, but would convey destruction to them—it would say, we give you power to acquire the fee of lands, but we cannot trust you with the rights appertaining to the fee, because in time to come you may destroy our constitution. If this be our opinion, let us not grant them any thing at all. By all the acts, which the tyranny of the last age devised, a Protestant was not prohibited from settling on the estate of a Catholic—the scheme of the hon. gentleman who spoke last but one, would effectually prohibit them—it would not only be oppressive to catholics, but a punishment to such protestants as should settle on their lands. The great object of the penal laws was to break the power of papists in Ireland; that object they accomplished, but they also ruined and destroyed

the country. Bishop Burnet tells us, the scheme was totally to root out and banish Catholics from Ireland, and to plant Palatines, and other foreign Protestants, in their place: but the superior wisdom of the present age, considering mens' faith as a concern purely their own, attempts to bind catholics to the state by benefits, and to obtain by generosity what we could not accomplish by force. Nothing can be more ridiculously spiteful than the attacks formerly made upon catholics. You will find upon your journals, a petition from the Protestant coal-porters of Dublin, complaining of a certain Darby Ryan, a Papist master coal-porter, for employing a number of Papists in that trade. You will find a complaint against Sir C. Phipps, for having been present at a musical entertainment, where one Christian, who had formerly been a domestic of the Pretender, performed on the violin. It was alleged, that Sir C. had listened to the tune of a song known by these words, "The king shall have his right." There was some dispute about the tune, and the house, in order to judge whether their member had been guilty of a treasonable act, ordered his accuser to whistle the tune in question, and gravely sat to determine by the music.

Major Hely Hutchinson.—From the example of a former session, and the fears of gentlemen of the best intentions, he was not so much surprised at the opposition the first clause of the bill had met with; but he hoped, that no man would object to the doing away that part of the Popery laws, which related to religion and education: a

system of laws, disgraceful, impolitic and unjust; so disgraceful, that you were ashamed to execute them; so impolitic, that you dared not do it. Those laws have remained on your statute books for eighty years, in profound and sullen silence, insulting the Roman catholic, grating his feelings, upbraiding his policy, and dishonouring the justice of the protestants of Ireland. By one law, it is enacted, that any Roman catholic, going himself, or sending any other person abroad to be educated, shall be disabled from prosecuting any suit or action at law; shall forfeit all his personal property, and the profits of all his lands during life. By another law, there is a penalty on any Roman catholic who shall keep a public school. Now, Sir, as a Roman catholic cannot receive an education at home, and dare not receive it abroad, the parliament, that passed this law, has said, we, in contradiction to the principles that have actuated other wise governments, enact by a law, that a great majority of our people are to receive no education at all. We mean to convert them from a false to a true religion, by establishing ignorance, the mother of superstition. We say to the parent, you shall not, in conformity to the dictates of God and nature, educate your child; you shall not teach him the duties of an honest man, or the obligations of a virtuous citizen, though we demand from him, that he shall respect laws he can only know, because they have trampled upon him, and venerate a constitution, that has put him out of its pale, and doomed him to perpetual ignorance. If such

have not been the consequences, if the Roman catholic has been wretchedly ignorant, if he has not been reduced to the most contemptible state that any human creature can possibly be in, your efforts have not been wanting to make him so. But those laws have been fortunately overwhelmed by the pressure of their own weight; they have had that fate which every law must have, enacted by a legislator, who, descending from his tribunal, forgetting that nature has set limits to his power, shall convert himself from a law-giver into a persecutor. The cruelty of the law has been the antidote of the poison; it has not been executed: humanity has lifted up her voice and forbid the attempt.

In short, gentlemen, you are called upon to pass this law, by the example of every other enlightened nation in Europe; who, convinced of the unavailing cruelty of religious persecution, have said to their subjects, in the words of the Roman emperor, "take the ladder, and climb up your own way to Heaven." You are called upon by the dismembered situation of the British empire, requiring the firmest union of all the remaining parts: you are called upon, by the most salutary, yet most painful of all lessons, your own experience, which tells you, that by a system of pains and penalties, you only rivetted the obstinacy, armed the pride, and oftentimes banished, the gallant Roman catholics of this country into the service of a foreign prince, to publish our infamy, and his glory, wherever he went. If a protestant should say to a Roman

catholic, why have you persevered so obstinately in a religion, certainly not so pure as mine? He might reply to him, if in your government I had found any thing but persecution and oppression, in your laws any thing but cruelty, I might not have been inattentive to your call. But how have you endeavoured to convert me—not by the voice of persuasion—but by the cruel rigour of your law, which armed every generous passion of the human breast against you. You have refused me any stake in this my native land; you forbid me to educate my child; the hand of the executioner has been raised against the man, who would unite your offspring to mine—force is the clumsy supporter of a bad cause, truth and reason despise such an assistant. It has been said by gentlemen, in the course of this debate, that what has been done, and is now doing by other nations, does not apply to the situation of Ireland; I acknowledge it does not exactly; but I will tell you what applies, and applies forcibly, the history of eighteen centuries; they tell us, that persecutions, punishments, and even death itself, have been found insufficient to conquer religious obstinacy; for this plain and simple reason, the man suffering in defence of his religion, thinks that he is securing eternal happiness hereafter; the less interest sinks into the greater. Human laws can therefore be of no avail: he glories in their rigour; he exults in his punishment—it has been well and truly said of the superstitious man, that his feet alone are on the earth, but his head is in Heaven.

Permit me now to exhort you, by that manly spirit of freedom, which taught you to demand your right from another country, not to suffer yourselves to be reproached, that, while you were clamorous for your privileges as a nation, you refused to restore a great majority of your fellow subjects to their liberties as freemen, and to their great common law rights, as members of the British constitution. Unite with the Roman catholics—you will become a great people, formidable to your enemies, respected by Great Britain—remember the old political axiom—

*“Concordia Res parvæ crescunt,
Discordia maximæ dilabuntur.”*

On the 27th of July, 1782, his excellency the lord lieutenant concluded the session with the following speech from the throne:

“My lords and gentlemen—The great and constitutional advantages you have seen secured to your country, and the wise and magnanimous conduct of Great Britain, in contributing to the success of your steady and temperate exertions, call for my congratulations, on the close of a session which must ever reflect the highest honour on the national character of both kingdoms.

“It must be a most pleasing consideration to you, to recollect, that in the advances you made towards the settlement of your constitution, no acts of violence or impatience have marked their progress. A religious adherence to the laws confined your endeavours within the strictest bounds of loyalty and good order; your claims were directed by the same spirit that gave rise

and stability to the liberty of Great Britain, and could not fail of success, as soon as the councils of that kingdom were influenced by the avowed friends of the constitution.

“ Such a spirit of constitutional liberty communicating itself from one kingdom to the other, must naturally produce that reciprocal confidence and mutual affection, of which we already begin to feel the most salutary effects. A grateful zeal and generous ardour have united this whole kingdom in the most cordial and vigorous exertions, which promise effectually to frustrate the designs of our common enemy, and to re-establish and secure the glory of the whole empire.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons—When I consider the very active and liberal part you have taken in contributing to these great and glorious events, I must as distinctly express to you his majesty’s sense of the last effusion of your generosity for the defence of the empire, as I must return you his most gracious thanks for the supplies which you so chearfully voted at the beginning of this session. His majesty’s royal example not only secures to you a most just and œconomical application of the aids you have granted him, but affords you a most solemn pledge of attentive investigation into every means which the circumstances of this country will afford to alleviate the burdens of his loyal and grateful people. To co-operate with you in carrying into effect this most benevolent disposition of his majesty, will afford me the highest gratification; and manifest to you the sentiments I shall

ever maintain, in return for the confidence you have reposed in the sincerity of my professions for your welfare.

“ My lords and gentlemen—In contemplating the services which your unremitting assiduity has rendered to the public, I must indulge myself in the satisfaction of specifying some very important acts, which will most materially strengthen the great constitutional reform you have compleated, and which will for ever distinguish the period of this memorable session. You have provided for the impartial and unbiassed administration of justice, by the act for securing the independency of judges. You have adopted one of the most effectual securities of British freedom, by limiting the mutiny-act in point of duration; you have secured that most invaluable of all human blessings, the personal liberty of the subject, by passing the Habeas Corpus act; you have cherished and enlarged the wise principles of toleration, and made considerable advances in abolishing those distinctions, which have too long impeded the progress of industry, and divided the nation. The diligence and ardour with which you have perserved in the accomplishment of these great objects, must ever bear the most honourable testimony of your zeal and industry in the service of your country, and manifest your knowledge of its true interests.

“ Many and great national objects must present themselves to your consideration during the recess from parliamentary business; but what I would most earnestly press upon you, as that on

which your domestic peace and happiness, and the prosperity of the empire at this moment most immediately depend, is to cultivate and diffuse those sentiments of affection and confidence which are now happily restored between the two kingdoms. Convince the people in your several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause of past jealousies and discontents is finally removed; that both countries have pledged their good faith to each other, and, that their BEST SECURITY will be, an INVIOABLE ADHERENCE TO THAT COMPACT; that the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, generosity, and candour of Ireland, engages your national character to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged: convince them, that the two kingdoms are now one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interests; that the danger and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one, must equally affect the other—that they stand or fall together.”

This was truly the revolution of Ireland, as Burke used to call it; not that of William, so long and so foolishly commemorated. No doubt, this memorable æra may be looked back to with pride, by an Irishman. It presents a magnificent frontispiece: a patriot parliament, a nation, a patriot volunteer army, corporations, grand juries, all with one accord, one voice, moderate but firm, calling upon proud, monopolizing England, for the restoration of Ireland's rights. What aspect could be more imposing, more

worthy of the majesty of a great and ancient people? To grace the triumphs of 1782, with an honorary institution, an order of chivalry was established, entitled, Knights of the illustrious order of St. Patrick. Alas! who could conceive, on those days of triumph and exultation, the deplorable catastrophe, that followed in a few years, when he might exclaim with the prophet, "How is the best of gold changed, yea, changed into dross!"

Hitherto, the progress of Ireland, in the acquisition of its rights, was commanding the respect of surrounding nations; and nothing more was wanting, to complete the triumph of the Volunteers, than a right use of the advantages already obtained. The revolution of 1782, was to be secured, by reforming the constitution in parliament; and, by giving the catholic population an interest in its conservation. But, unfortunately for the cause of Ireland, it was found more arduous to overcome bigotry, than the legislative supremacy, and commercial monopoly, of England. Through this unwise, unchristian disposition, parliamentary reform was lost, and eventually, all the glories of 1782. For, when the government found, that the armed convention at the Rotunda was divided on the question of catholic rights, they soon found means to disperse them.

The conduct of the Irish parliament, on that occasion, abundantly proves, that private, not public interest, obtained the consent of borough-mongers, to the demand for a free parliament.

For, in proportion as the power of the Irish parliament increased, the value of suffrages increased, and the price of boroughs. Had the Volunteers adopted the plan of buying off the boroughs, as Pitt did afterwards, the reform might, perhaps, have been carried, as the extinction of parliament was, at the expence of the poor Irish nation.

Though the efforts of the Volunteer army proved abortive in that particular, they deserve a place in history, like other memorable enterprises, that failed likewise; because history is the repository of human calamities, as well as success and prosperity. The Volunteer army of the north led the van in the public service. Without catholic emancipation, and parliamentary reform, all, that had been hitherto accomplished, rested on a tottering foundation, liable to be blown down by the first storm.

As Flood's arguments, on the question of retrenchment, in 1783, lay open some of the arts, by which the British ministry purloined away from the Irish, the benefit of late concessions, it may not prove unacceptable to the reader.

“ Notwithstanding the late hour, and the suffocation with which we are at present threatened in this house, and which will, I trust, in future be prevented by some contrivance to admit the fresh air without danger of cold, I cannot avoid offering to your consideration, a plan which will introduce a system of œconomy into the state, and thereby enable this country to avoid that abyss of poverty and wretchedness with which, through the mismanagement of the minister, and

corruption of his satellites, we are now threatened. A military reduction I now consider as affording the only solid ground for œconomy. To reduce the civil list, would be frivolous, pitiful, undeserving the name of œconomy, and therefore ought to bring contempt on such as would venture to rest solely there—not that I think the civil list ought to escape the pruning hand of this house, for every little will help; but so materially do our present expenditures exceed our income, that the whole civil list being struck off, would by no means equal them: to begin with it therefore is ridiculous; that this is the proper time for entering on this discussion no man can deny; if we wait till the committee of supply sit, we shall be told it is too late; so rapid and constant too has our extravagance been, that no time should be lost in interposing on behalf of our country. In the year 1775 you were not in debt, in the beginning of the late war you were not in debt; at the conclusion of the war you owed but £500,000, yet in the time of peace you quadruple that debt, notwithstanding the people and manufactures were burdened with new and excessive taxation. Your revenue has encreased, and your debts have kept pace with it; since the augmentation was voted, this has been regularly the course of things; let the virtue then of 1783 correct the abuses of 1762, the causes of which originated in the breach of the minister of the day—a man as subtle as he was crafty—a man, who wanting natural, substituted pecuniary influence—who, unconnected in this

country, had great connexions to oppose; thus situated, he at first carried his ideas so far, that he applied for an augmentation of 20,000 men, but this was so truly laughable, that it was scouted at; this unreasonable plan was reduced to 15,000 men; but, foreseeing that it would not be easy to carry even this point at one stroke, he artfully introduced a resolution, that 12,000 men were necessary for the defence of this country, knowing that we dare not meddle with the 3,500 which we had always paid for England; thus did we become dupes to his ambition, and were saddled with an army of officers, not privates—an army of expence, not of use—an army of the minister, not of the people.

“ I know arguments will be found, to prove that all this was expedient; and, that the great number of officers and regiments are necessary; but I will only ask, would the King of Prussia (and though I highly honour and respect the Rt. Hon. Gentleman who commands our army, it is no disgrace to set him the example of the King of Prussia) act so? No—I say, the King of Prussia, who is on all hands allowed to understand military matters as well as any individual now alive, differs widely from us in the regulation of his army: in it, the proportion of privates to officers is not as ours is, nearly double to what it is in our army; no—we know, that he has not one-fourth our number of officers, in proportion to his troops. Some regulation to this effect might also afford ground for considerable retrenchment, and for one such regulation

it should meet my support, merely in compliment to the opinion of that great man; and his opinion we may easily collect from his practice. Now if the present distressed state of our finances be traced to this source; if a faulty military establishment, encreased by a more faulty augmentation, be the cause of our enormous debt, the time of peace is surely the proper time to apply a remedy; but that this business may not depend merely upon what I say, I have it in my power to apply to the records of the house for corroborating testimony. In the year 1768, there was a committee (of the greatest consequence, if we consider the men who composed it) to take this question into consideration; I shall call for their report, in which you will see the greatest abuses exposed; you will see that our expences outran our revenues £150,000 per annum before the augmentation, and that since that time we have increased in extravagance £100,000 more per annum, making each session £500,000 increase of our debt; as, therefore, it is in this department our great expence lies, it is by retrenching this we can hope effectually to serve the nation, to prevent her from bankruptcy, and save her from ruin; and is there any man who will say this ought not to be done, or that it is not a consummation devoutly to be wished?

“ In the civil list we may indeed make some trifling retrenchments, but nothing that can essentially relieve the nation. Is there any man who will say, that 12,000 men may not be maintained as heretofore? No, nor will any man say that

what we could save by œconomy and retrenchment, should be thrown away upon a military establishment, when it might be applied to other measures infinitely more beneficial to the nation."

This attempt to retrench the expences of government was rejected. Grattan spoke and voted with government on that occasion. A motion for protecting Irish manufacturers, by duties on goods imported into England, was in like manner lost; and the public again took up their cause, by entering into a non-importation agreement.

A second meeting was held at Dungannon, by 500 delegates from 248 corps of Volunteers, September 8, 1783, to consider the important question of parliamentary reform; rightly judging, that it would avail little, to have freed parliament from the legislative supremacy of Britain, unless they could deliver it from the dominion of corruption. Colonel James Stewart having taken the chair, the following resolutions were entered into.

1. That freedom is the indefeasible right of Irishmen and of Britons, derived from the Author of their being, and of which no power on earth, much less a delegated power, hath a right to deprive them.

2. That they only are free, who are governed by no laws but those to which they assent, either by themselves in person, or by their representatives freely chosen, subject to the controul, and frequently returning into the common mass of constituents.

3. That the majority of our house of commons is not chosen by the people, but returned by the mandate of peers or commoners, either for indigent boroughs where scarce any inhabitants exist, or considerable cities or towns, where the elective franchise is vested in a few, who are thus suffered to place the highest trusts of society, against the interest and will of the many, in the hands of men who seldom act as if they considered themselves accountable for their conduct to the people.

4. That by the ancient constitution of our parliament, elections for representatives were for centuries annual, and in many instances more frequent, and the exercise of suffrage among freemen more universal.

5. That every approach to those fundamental principles tends to a renovation of, not an innovation in the constitution.

6. That the elective franchise ought of right to extend to all those, and those only, who are likely to exercise it for the public good.

7. That the present inadequate representation, and the long duration of parliaments, destroy that balance which, by our constitution, should subsist between the three estates of the legislature, render the commons' house independent of the people, procure certain majorities in favour of every administration, and threaten either an absolute monarchy, or, that still more odious government, an aristocracy.

8. That therefore the present imperfect representation, and the long duration of parliaments, are unconstitutional, and intolerable grievances.

9. That as the voice of the commons of Ireland is no less necessary for every legislative purpose, that that of either the king or lords, the people have a just and inherent right to correct the abuses of representation, whenever such abuses shall have so increased, as to rob them of their constitutional share in their own government.

10. That it is the interest of parliament itself, to effect a substantial reform, as the very existence of that assembly must become precarious, when it shall lose the confidence of the people, to whom it originally owed its creation, and from whom alone its powers are derived.

11. That we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, to seek a speedy and effectual redress of our grievances, and to co-operate with our fellow-subjects in every exertion necessary to obtain it. We call for the aid of every upright senator; of every man, whether in Ireland or Great Britain, who bears, or wishes to acquire, the title of a Freeman.

12. That we have attended with admiration, to the noble, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, of those illustrious characters, and virtuous citizens, who in England and Scotland strenuously labour to procure redress of similar grievances. May the examples of the sister nations mutually animate the inhabitants of each, to persevere with unremitting ardour, until the glorious labour be finally completed!

13. That a committee (of five persons from each county) be now chosen (by ballot) to represent this province in a grand national conven-

tion, to be held at noon in the Royal Exchange at Dublin, on the 10th day of November next, to which we trust each of the other provinces will send delegates, to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear to them most likely to render it effectual, to adjourn from time to time, and convene provincial meetings if found necessary.

Resolved unanimously, that it be an instruction to said committee, that the delegates from each county do prepare, and carry with them to the national convention, an account of all the cities, towns, and boroughs in this province: the mode of election at present in such as return members to parliament: as near as may be, the proportionate number of protestant and Roman catholic inhabitants in each; and a conjecture of their comparative properties.

That we are decided in opinion that the representatives of the people ought not in future to consent to any bill of supply for a longer term than six months, until a complete redress of the aforesaid grievances be obtained.

They further invite the Volunteers of the other three provinces, to join in the glorious undertaking, whose success would crown all their labours, and give stability and permanence to the benefits already conferred on their country.

“ To the Volunteer Armies of the provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. Fellow subjects, the transcendant events, which our united efforts have produced, present an eminent instance of the protecting hand of Heaven; whilst

the progressive virtue, and the general union of the people, naturally prompt them to revive the spirit of an unrivalled constitution, and to vindicate the inherent rights of men.

“ The most important work yet remains; which neglected, our past attainments are transitory, unsubstantial, insecure! an extension to thousands of our fellow-citizens of a franchise, comprehending the very essence of liberty, and drawing the line which precisely separates the freeman from the slave.

“ Suffer us, therefore, to conjure you, by every endearing tie that connects man with man, with unceasing zeal to pursue one of the most glorious objects that ever agitated the human mind; a restoration of virtue to a senate long unaccustomed to speak the voice of the people; a restitution of the ancient balance of our government; and a firm establishment of the first rights of nature, on the ruins of an avowed corruption, at once the bane of morals, and of liberty.

“ From a grand national convention, distinguished by integrity, and inspired with the courageous spirit of the constitution, every blessing must result. With one voice, then, the voice of united millions, let Ireland assert her claim to freedom.

“ Through her four principal assemblies let her temperate declarations flow to one common centre; and there matured into an extensive plan of reform, be produced as the solemn act of the volunteer army of Ireland: as a demand of rights, robbed of which, the unanimated forms of a free

government would be a curse, and existence itself cease to be a blessing.

“ Friends and countrymen! The eyes of an enlightened world are this instant upon us; Munster has in part already led the way; and millions of our fellow-subjects in Britain, in whom the flame of liberty still burns with lustre, behold with delight our exertions in the common cause, and in our success see the harbinger of their own!

“ Let the reflection, that Greece, the seat of liberty and of science, that Rome, the mistress of the world, now lie prostrate by the hand of tyranny, teach Ireland wisdom. To our deliberative assemblies they convey awful warning to be spirited, unanimous, and firm; lest the present wretched condition of other countries be soon the fate of our own.

“ May the Supreme Ruler of the Universe crown his other blessings by being present with us, by promoting union and the love of our country among all ranks of men, and by finally directing our exertions to virtue, liberty, and peace!”

The mode, thus proposed, was adopted. The delegates met, appointed the Earl of Charlemont chairman, entered into resolutions expressive of their sentiments, and requested Henry Flood, Esq. to introduce a bill for the reform of parliament into the house of commons.

Mr. Flood moved for leave to bring in the bill, which was rejected by a great majority. The corrupt body stickled for corruption, obsti-

nately opposing every attempt to purify the Augean stable. The people still persevered; and, as the principal objection to Flood's bill was, that it originated from an armed body, the sheriffs and chief magistrates were now called upon, to convene the inhabitants of their respective counties to discuss this important measure. For this purpose, a meeting was convened by the high-sheriffs of the city of Dublin, on the 7th of June, 1784, at which the high-sheriffs presided, and the following resolutions entered into.

Resolved unanimously, that the present imperfect representation, and the long duration of parliaments, are unconstitutional, and intolerable grievances.

That the voice of the Commons of Ireland is no less necessary for every legislative purpose, than that of either the Sovereign or the Lords; and, therefore, the people claim it as their just, inherent, and unalienable privilege, to correct abuses in the representation, whenever such abuses shall have so increased as to deprive them of their constitutional share in their own government.

That the people of Ireland have, and always had, a clear, unalienable, indefeasible right to a frequency of election, as well as to an adequate and equal representation, founded upon stronger grounds than that of any act or acts of parliament; and, that the attainment of those constitutional important objects, is the most effectual expedient for restoring and securing the independence of parliament.

That the present inadequate representation, and the long duration of parliaments, destroy that balance which by our constitution should subsist between the three estates of the legislature, render the members of the house of commons independent of the people, procure determined majorities in favour of every administration, and threaten either an absolute monarchy, or that still more odious government, a tyrannical aristocracy.

That the majority of the house of commons is not chosen by the people, but returned by the mandates of peers of the realm and others, either for indigent boroughs, where scarce any inhabitants reside, or for considerable cities and towns, where the elective power is vested in a few.

That the venality and corruption of the present house of commons, evinced by the many arbitrary acts passed in the last session, and the contempt and indignity with which they treated the applications and petitions of the constituent body, oblige us now to request the people at large to unite with us in the attainment of a more adequate representation, and in petitions to the throne for a dissolution of the present parliament.

That the strength of a nation consists in the union of its inhabitants.

Resolved (with one dissenting voice,) That a participation in general rights must ever engage mankind to operate most effectually for each other.

Resolved therefore (with one dissenting voice),

That to extend the right of suffrage to our Roman catholic brethren, still preserving in its fullest extent the present protestant government of this country, would be a measure fraught with the happiest consequences, and would be highly conducive to civil liberty.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee of 21 gentlemen be now appointed to prepare an address to the people, requesting their co-operation with us; and also, a petition to his majesty, stating our grievances, and praying a dissolution of the present corrupt parliament, in whom we cannot place any trust or confidence, and that they report the same to this body on Monday the 21st June inst.

At a future meeting, the committee having made their report, the following Address to the people of Ireland was agreed to and published.

Friends and Countrymen, Permit us, the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, with all the affection due to fellow-subjects, and that anxiety, which every citizen must feel for his native country, to address you on the most important subject that ever engrossed the attention of a free people.

Long and painfully have we endured, in common with you all, the miseries arising from the abuse of power, and the well-known defects in the present state of representation in the Commons House of Parliament—defects, tending to the total annihilation of our boasted form of government, and productive of the highest oppression to the inhabitants of this loyal and independent nation.

It is with reluctance we find ourselves compelled to enter into a detail of grievances, which being felt by all, cannot be unknown to any.— But whilst we consider it prudent to justify our proceedings to the world, we must intreat your indulgence, if we state particulars which might otherwise be thought unnecessary.

Perfectly sensible must you be, of that aristocratic influence, which has rendered the representation of the people merely nominal, and destroyed that equal balance in the three estates of the legislature, on which alone depends the existence of our glorious constitution. You have beheld the charters granted to divers boroughs in this kingdom, intitling the bodies thereby incorporated to a return of representatives, abused and perverted to the most destructive purposes: insomuch, that the intention of the Crown, in establishing these borough towns, has been frustrated by the artful practices of designing men: and persons returned to parliament from depopulated places, where scarce any inhabitants exist, or for considerable cities and towns, where the elective franchise is confined to a few. Nor is it less notorious that the proprietors of the soil, where such depopulated boroughs once stood, have dared to usurp a power of selling seats to members in the present house of commons, and, by such unwarrantable and corrupt means, have those purchasers become illegal representatives of the people.

Convinced by dear-bought experience of the many evils from hence arising, we have joined in

every measure to obtain redress, which has hitherto been pointed out to us by the complaining voice of an injured and insulted kingdom—but unhappily we have as yet found every attempt ineffectual to restore the constitution to its pure and primitive principles.

In vain did the noble assertors of liberty, composing the volunteer army of Ireland—(arrayed and embodied at their own expence, the unexampled protectors of their country against foreign foes and domestic usurpation,) adjust by their delegates, agreeable to the desire of this nation, a more equal representation, solemnly and deliberately agreed upon. In vain did the united voice of the electors of this kingdom, through every free county, city, and borough, declare itself in favour of such plan of reform, and instruct their several representatives to support the same. In vain was an attempt made by the real friends of their country to introduce such plan into parliament, and obtain it the sanction of a law. The baneful influence of corruption and venality prevented any success; and with equal folly and audacity, were the justifiable demands of the people treated with ignominy and contempt.

Had the persons thus obtruded into the parliament of this kingdom, considered it with a due degree of justice and moderation, possibly the legality of their title to a share in its legislature might have remained unexamined, or at least, uncontroverted. But when usurpation is followed by injury and insult, that nation must be com-

posed of slaves indeed, which can tamely submit, without any exertion in its defence.

But the policy of our oppressors lost sight of this principle; and, not content with the exercise of an authority unconstitutionally derived, they have extended it to the entire destruction of our most valuable rights, and our civil and commercial interests.

Hence it is, that during the last session of parliament, the most wanton and reiterated acts of oppression have been multiplied—personal liberty has been rendered insecure—protecting duties (adopted by every wise nation) refused—our chartered rights infringed—the subject unconstitutionally and illegally imprisoned—the trial by jury, in many instances, suspended—the freedom of the press (that grand palladium of our liberties) violated—an infamous power given to expose and restrain private correspondence—a large standing army kept up in the time of profound peace—that badge of slavery, the stamp-act, so disgracefully altered, as to make it a still greater grievance—and taxation unnecessarily augmented, to the general ruin of the nation.—Such are the proceedings of a parliament in which the members of the house of commons do not really represent the people, but have become the representation of an overgrown and overbearing aristocracy, raised upon the ruins of our rights and privileges; whereby the original purpose of the democratic branch of the legislature is defeated, the constitution effectually destroyed, and instead of being a shield against unnecessary

taxation, the commons are rendered the hired instrument to pillage an already impoverished and distressed people.

Thus, fellow-subjects and countrymen, is all confidence in parliament, and the dignity thereof, destroyed—the trust of representation betrayed—the instructions of the constituent body of the people disobeyed—commercial interests neglected—and, emigration consequently promoted, to the great discouragement of population, and the diminution of the national wealth; and thus doth experience evince, that a house of commons, under the undue influence of either of the two other branches of the legislature, is ever ready to betray the most sacred rights of the people; and we find, that parliaments chosen as they now are, and continuing for eight years, as they now do, will ever be composed, for the most part, of persons under the guidance of particular noblemen and others, solely aiming at, and perpetually contending for, the power and emoluments of office.

Enjoying the advantages lately held out to us by our sister kingdom, who, with equal justice and magnanimity, unequivocally acknowledged and restored to us our right of exclusive legislature, and to maintain a strict amity with whom, is not less our inclination than our interest, we have to regret that internal situation of our own country, that corruption and venality which pervades our senate, and those defects already pointed out in our legislature, which prevent our pursuing means, that, under the free enjoy-

ment of our constitution, and with the prudent direction of virtuous rulers, might render us a prosperous, happy, and united kingdom.

Failing in every other mode of redress, we have been now induced to approach the throne, by an humble petition, praying the dissolution of the present parliament; and seeking that relief from our most gracious Sovereign, which has been indignantly refused by those who assume to be the delegated servants of the people. Nor do we doubt of success, if, meeting with the approbation of our fellow-subjects (which can alone render effectual this salutary and necessary measure) we shall be supported by their warm and zealous co-operation, in bringing those national grievances to the ear of majesty.

Convinced of the necessity, we cannot, however, presume to point out any specific mode for a parliamentary reform in the representation of the people: that, in which all are equally concerned, must receive from all their approbation and support. We call upon you, therefore, and thus conjure you, that, in this important work, you join with us, as fellow-subjects, countrymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cause, to remove a general calamity; and for this we propose, that five persons be elected from each county, city, and great town in this kingdom, to meet in national congress, at some convenient place in this city, on Monday, the 25th day of October next, there to deliberate, digest and determine on such measures, as may seem to them most conducive to re-establish the consti-

tution on a pure and permanent basis, and secure to the inhabitants of this kingdom peace, liberty and safety.

And whilst we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our constitutional rights and privileges, we recommend to your consideration, the state of our suffering fellow-subjects, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, whose emancipation from the restraints under which they still labour, we consider not only as equitable, but essentially conducive to the general union and prosperity of the kingdom.

Trusting with the most perfect confidence in your concurrence and support, we entertain the strongest hopes of freeing our country from that yoke of bondage, which domestic enemies have thus imposed on it. The majesty of the people will then re-assume its proper influence in the guidance of the state; and Divine Providence, knowing the justice of our cause, will graciously assist us in obtaining those rights, to which we are entitled by the laws of God and nature.

A. Kirkpatrick, jun. B. Smith, Sheriffs.

The following petition to his majesty was also agreed to.

To the King's most excellent majesty. The humble petition of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Dublin. Most gracious Sovereign, permit us, your loyal and dutiful subjects, with every sentiment of duty and attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government, to approach the throne with the greatest respect and humility, to lay a national

grievance of the highest importance to your crown and dignity, and to the liberties and properties of your people of Ireland, at your majesty's feet.

The grievance your distressed subjects thus humbly presume to lay before your majesty, is the present illegal and inadequate representation of the people of this kingdom in parliament, illegal, because the returns of members for boroughs are not agreeable to the charters granted for that purpose by the crown; and inadequate, because there are as many members returned for each of these boroughs, by a few voters, as are returned for any county or city in this kingdom.

Born in a country, where your petitioners, from their earliest infancy, were taught to believe the laws for their government passed through a house of commons elected by the people, they conceived their liberties founded on the most firm basis; but finding laws passed, inimical as well to your Majesty's crown as their rights, (which are inseparable,) they were led into a minute inquiry of the cause, and discovering the same to proceed from the present insufficient mode of representation, and the long duration of parliament, which render even the few members, who are constitutionally elected, nearly independent of their constituents, they now most humbly beg leave to inform your Majesty, that men thus elected cease to have any weight with your people.

It is to the grand cause of aristocratic influence, (jealous, as all inordinate power must

be, of whatever may tend to shake its establishment,) and to the misrepresentations which have been transmitted to your Majesty, of your faithful subjects of Ireland, that we attribute many arbitrary and alarming proceedings in the last session of our parliament.

A bill for the more equal representation of the people (the desire of millions of your faithful subjects,) has been refused even a discussion in our parliament.

Protection has been denied to our infant trade and manufactures, which England thinks necessary to the maturity and vigour of hers.

A violent attack has been made on the liberty of the press, that supplement to the laws, and palladium of liberty; a terror only to tyrants and apostates.

Alarming restrictions on the commercial and friendly communications of your Majesty's subjects, have been imposed by the post-office act.

A general system of prodigality seems to have been adopted for the purpose of burdening our trade, and damping all spirit of industry; and emigrations consequently encouraged, and now increasing to an alarming degree.

A manifest infringement has been made on the ancient and sacred charters of the capital of this realm; and instead of the constitutional trial by jury, a novel tribunal instituted, from whose sentence there lies no appeal.

It is with infinite concern we are obliged to add, that your Majesty's ministers in this kingdom have assisted in all the measures of which

we thus humbly complain; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as your Majesty has lately thought it necessary to appeal to the British electors at large, against the power of an aristocracy; and, as your Majesty's first minister in England has virtuously declared himself friendly to the principal measure which has been here rejected, we mean a more equal representation of the people, convinced that an overbearing aristocracy is not less hostile to the liberties of the subject than to the prerogative of the crown.

We further entreat your majesty's permission, to condemn that remnant of the penal code of laws, which still oppresses our Roman catholic fellow-subjects; laws, which tend to prohibit education and liberality, restrain certain privileges, and to proscribe industry, love of liberty, and patriotism.

Deeply affected by these national calamities, we, your majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the citizens of Dublin, do therefore most humbly beg leave to supplicate your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to exercise your royal inclination to adopt with decision and effect, whatever your majesty should collect to be the sense of the people.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your several dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer. Signed by order, Alexander Kirkpatrick, Benjamin Smith.

The high sheriffs presented this petition to the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant, with an address requesting its transmittal. To which his excellency answered.

“ Gentlemen, at the same time that I comply with your request, in transmitting to his majesty a paper signed by you, entitled a petition of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Dublin, I shall not fail to convey my entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both.”

These proceedings, though seconded by other parts of the kingdom, the interposition of government frustrated. Prosecutions were commenced against those who convened the aggregate meetings. Henry Steevens Reilly, Esq. high sheriff of the county of Dublin, was sentenced to fine and imprisonment, by the court of King's-bench. After a few days confinement, on acknowledging his error, and making a public apology in that court, he was liberated, and the fine reduced.

The attentive observer will readily perceive, for what reason parliamentary reform met that desperate resistance, which ultimately defeated all the endeavours of the patriots. A free trade, and free parliament, after a serious struggle, was conceded, with reluctance. Yet, as long as the parliament remained a corruptible body, there was a fair prospect of recovering these concessions, with compound interest. Moreover, parliamentary reform taking place in Ireland, it would be no easy task for a British minister, to

resist the demands of England, for a similar reform in their own parliament; or preserve the darling instrument of power, commonly called influence.

The lord lieutenant's speech to the parliament, that met in 1785, at once soothing and insidious, is an evidence of this. After professing the utmost zeal for the prosperity of Ireland, and flattering the pride and prejudices of the commons, he notices unconstitutional proceedings, i. e. meetings, convened by the sheriffs, to consider of the propriety of petitioning for parliamentary reform.

“ My lords and gentlemen, I have his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to desire your advice and co-operation, upon those affairs of importance, which, in the present circumstances of the kingdom, require your most serious attention.

“ Whilst I lament the lawless outrages and unconstitutional proceedings which had taken place since your last prorogation, I had the satisfaction to perceive that these excesses were confined to a few places, and even in these condemned: and I have now the pleasure to observe, that by the salutary interposition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-established....

“ I am to recommend in the king's name, to your earnest investigation those objects of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not yet received their complete adjustment. In forming a plan, with a view to a final settlement, you will be sensible that the in-

terest of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be for ever united and inseparable; and his majesty relies on your liberality and your wisdom for adopting such an equitable system, for the joint benefit of both countries, and the support of the common interest, as will secure mutual satisfaction and permanency.

“ The encouragement and extension of agriculture and manufactures, and especially of the linen manufacture, will, I am persuaded, engage your constant concern. Let me likewise direct your attention, in a particular manner, to the fisheries on your coasts, from which you may reasonably hope for an improving source of industry and wealth to this kingdom, and of strength to the empire.”...

“ It is the province of your prudence and discretion to consider what new provisions may be necessary for securing the subjects from violence and outrage, for the regulation of the police, and the better execution of the laws, as well as for the general encouragement of peaceable subordination and honest industry. It will be a pleasing task to me to assist and promote your exertions for the tranquillity of the kingdom, for upholding the authority of the legislature, and supporting the true principles of our happy constitution, both in church and state.”

On the 18th of February, the grand committee for the courts of justice, was ordered to sit on the next Thursday, to which was referred the charge, and the order for attachment, against H. S. Reilly, Esq. late high sheriff of the county of Dublin.

On the 24th, this subject was introduced by Mr. Flood; but, overpowered by a great majority, he soon after resumed it, and moved that the commons should resolve, "that the practice of attachments, for contempt of court, stands on the same ground of law in both kingdoms, and ought not to be extended further in Ireland than in England."

The propriety of this resolution he eloquently enforced. "I moved yesterday," said he, "that the officer of the court of king's bench should attend on this day, with the rule book of the court, on the crown side, for the years 1761, 1762, and 1763. I conceived that it contained most useful and necessary information. I will not say, that for that reason it was denied; but it was denied. I moved that the grand committee of courts of justice should sit this day, to receive the subject: that too was refused; though certainly the most parliamentary mode of proceeding. I shall, however, go on; for every thing that passed in that committee the night before the last, makes it more necessary to enter into the present discussion.

"I do not mean to arraign the king's bench, much less the committee of this house; but there are moments, and there are cases wherein a prejudice seizes on the minds of great and wise bodies, and induces them to decide in a manner less suited to their wisdom and to their greatness, than one would have expected. The derided aggregate meeting; the dreaded reform of parliament; the inhabitants as well as freeholders,

being invited by Mr. Sheriff Reilly's notice; the question of catholic franchise; the words representation and congress strangely tortured; and the reprobated resolution of that meeting, pledging their lives and fortunes to the unknown and unformed decision of that congress, and of those representatives; all these circumstances, heightened by eloquence and prejudice, seem originally to have run away with the discretion of the king's bench, and to have had the same effect on the committee of this house, the night before the last.... It becomes necessary, therefore, to bring before you now, the constitutional question, as to the principle of attachment, without reference to any particular court of justice, or to any particular and specific case.

“ The very power of parliament has been questioned, as if we would be competent to enquire into his judgments, which ought to be our ground for doing either; or as if we could be competent to make laws, and yet have no knowledge or judgment as to the laws that are in being. But the constitution and the law say otherwise.

“ A short view of the Norman æra, will shew that the present doctrine of attachment, has no foundation but in the star-chamber. William the Conqueror overturned the whole constitution; by an arbitrary fiction, he assumed to be the proprietor of the whole soil, and divided it into 60,000 knights-fees, that he might have, in effect, an army of 60,000 knights bound to him by all the chains of the tyrannous Norman feud,

which he introduced. As to national assemblies, such as the Saxon, he held none; as to parliaments, such as we know, he held none. If he held any public councils, they were councils of barons only, and those partially and arbitrarily summoned, a fault in which he was imitated by most of his immediate successors.

“ As to the judicial power, which is our object, he cancelled, in effect, the Saxon constitution, and the county courts, and substituted a Norman court, called the *Aula Regis*, in the place of them, and compelled the people to quit their native judicature, and their native language, and to plead in the Norman language, and in this Norman judicature, before an ecclesiastic, whom he brought from Normandy to preside in that court, in the character, and with the title, of *Capitalis justiciarius*; and here the enemies of liberty take their stand.

“ They point to the ruins of the constitution, and from them they pretend to delineate its fabric, and to establish its principles on its subversion. But the right honourable member [the Attorney General] might as well tell me, that the curfew, or that the Conquest was a part of the constitution, as that the *Aula Regis* was so.

“ This court, and this justiciary, established by a tyrant to support his tyranny, soon became a tyrant, in the reigns of his successors, both to the prince and to the people, and rose to such enormity in the reign of Henry III. when Bracton wrote, whom the right honourable gentleman [the Attorney General] has quoted, that the son

of that Henry III. namely Edward I. overthrew that court, and established on its ruins, the four great courts of judicature which we now possess, and has been thence justly styled, the Justinian of England.

“ The tumultuary reigns, that were infested by the wars of York and Lancaster, are not times of precedent; if in that period any had been produced, which yet there have not. What follows? We are brought to the reign of Henry VII. and then a statute was found necessary to support the court of star-chamber. And why? Because the practices of that court could not be supported by the common law of the land. Attachments, in full extent, then began indeed. But they began in the star-chamber, and under that statute. By example, it is true, they crept into other courts; which are apt enough to favour increase of jurisdiction; but as they rose (in their culpable extent) with that statute, which was made to support the star-chamber, so also, they must be considered, as falling with that statute. What follows? That attachment is not a part of the general law of the land, but merely a law of privilege for the protection of the courts; founded on, and tolerated only by necessity, and not to be endured beyond it. It can, therefore, only extend to persons guilty of contempt to the courts, in their presence; to the officers and servants of the court; to persons abusing or resisting the process of the court; and to the sheriffs or magistrates, when they become, in effect, servants of the court *pro tempore*; by being pro

tempore actually, not constructively engaged in the service of the court.

“ Now to apply this to the case of any of those sheriffs, who have favoured county meetings for promoting a reform, except Mr. Reilly, whose case I will keep entirely out of the present question, has any sheriff a power or authority by his office, to command such meetings? Certainly not. Has any sheriff pretended to command such meetings? Certainly not. Have they summoned the county by their bailiffs? No. Have they attempted to punish any man for absence? No. Did they compel the power of the county, that is, the county armed, to assemble? No. On the face of their advertisement, was it not declared, that the meeting was desired, not commanded, at the request of others, and not by the official power of the sheriff? Certain gentlemen of the county desire the presence of the sheriff, as the first conservator of the peace. Is not this an overt act of peace, not of sedition? They desire the convenience of his county court, probably the longest and the most central room in the county; and by his notice he signifies a compliance with their desires. What is there in this, that can be tortured into a crime? Are voluntary meetings, in a free country, *prima facie*, and in themselves illegal? Certainly not. Is deliberating on a reform illegal? Certainly not. But choosing delegates to represent them in congress, it is said, is illegal. In the first place, these expressions were used in very few counties; but even where they were, I ask, is the word “ con-

gress" to become for ever, and in all senses, illegal, because the Americans used it? As to America, it has now the sanction of parliamentary authority. By definition, it is only a meeting or assembly; and, in its general use, has been more frequently employed to denote meetings for promoting peace than war. I have no partiality for the word congress; because, in my mind, Ireland is as good an authority herself, as any she can find abroad. But yet I cannot find, that there is any illegality in those syllables, or in that sound. As to representatives, I readily admit, that if by representatives it were necessary to understand, that they were persons, whose deliberations were to bind the people, and to have any coercive authority or legal obligation, the objection would be just. This House, undoubtedly, is the only representatives of the people in parliament; that is to say, to all purposes of legislation. I proposed a resolution to that effect, in lord Carlisle's government, but the parliament would not assent to it. Yet now there are, who say, that this House is not only the sole representative of the people in parliament, and for legislation, but that we can have no other kind of representation whatever, for any other purpose, or in any other capacity. Now the latter I deny. The king is the representative of the community, as to foreign states. Every man may have various representatives. A man's heir is his representative in one sense; his executor in another, his agent in a third, his attorney in a fourth, any man to whom he gives a letter of attorney

for a particular purpose, in a fifth, and so on, ad infinitum. That the people have a right to petition, no man denies. But they cannot depute or delegate that right, it is argued. It is unnecessary to debate that point, for neither the convention nor congress have petitioned, or mean to petition. What then is the fact? Each county has chosen a few nominees, or deputies, in whom they confide, to confer with others of the same description from other counties, in the capital, as the place most convenient for meeting, and for information; and during the sitting of parliament, when it is possible to be of use, not during its prorogation, when it could be of no use; and this they have done, for what? That concord may be the better obtained, in a case where any division among the people would be fatal. What these deputies or delegates resolve, has no binding force, or coercive obligatoriness, on the counties. The counties may petition in support of those resolves, or they may not; they may enforce them by all their constitutional powers, or they may reject them. In short, it only tends to unite the people, and hence is the objection to it. The enemies to reform wish to divide the people. They feel, that this mode is the best mode of uniting them. They know, that that union would be irresistible, and they therefore object to this measure, not because it is really illegal, but because it is rational and efficacious."

Mr. Flood's resolution, seconded by Sir Edward Newenham, was lost, and the intention frustrated; the House resolving, " That the

practice of attachments for contempts of court, stands upon the same ground of law both in England and Ireland and does not appear to have been extended in this kingdom beyond the same."

The next great object of discussion, in the session of 1785, though in comparison of parliamentary reform, a trifle, merits, nevertheless, some notice. The parti-coloured parliament, after having resisted the wishes of the nation, and rejected reform, thought proper, in order to allay public discontents, to bring forward something in favour of Ireland. They, in consequence, entered into a treaty of commerce with England, to adjust the terms of commercial intercourse on a basis reciprocally beneficial to both.

Though Mr. Pitt supported the cause of Irish commerce, with an appearance of warmth and zeal, and great force of argument, one would be apt, from the known duplicity of the man, to suspect, that he secretly roused the commercial jealousy of England. All the commercial towns in England blazed with jealous hatred against Irish commerce. Meetings were held, the table of the British commons was loaded with petitions, petitioners and lawyers attended at the bar, against the odious and terrible propositions of the Irish parliament, against the most distant idea of granting to the wild Irish, the benefits of their own industry, and of the bounties of heaven. There never was so much national animosity, chicanery and malignity displayed, on occasion of any commercial treaty, with a hostile power, as burst forth, on

that occasion, least Paddy should be allowed, without loss to the Bull family, to acquire the comforts of life. Nothing could set, in a clearer point of view, the gross ignorance, and narrow conceptions, of that family. Parliamentary reform they favoured; which obtained, would be every thing for Ireland. They rose furiously against commercial regulations, comparatively insignificant. Hence, the crafty minister took advantage, to make such alterations, as materially changed the object; and, under colour of commercial advantages, sought to purloin the rights lately obtained, by deceitful speeches.

How moderate the proposals, sent by the Irish parliament, were, the reader will judge, from their eleven propositions, as recapitulated by secretary Orde.

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

“ That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are

liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, produce, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either countries respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

“ That for the same purpose it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

“ That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

“ That for the same purpose, it is also proper, that, in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a

farther duty on importation to the same amount, adequate to countervail the duty on the material, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom, shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back, or compensated on exportation.

“ That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

“ That for the same purpose it is necessary farther that no prohibitions, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, flour, and biscuits; and also except where there now exists any prohibition, which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every such case the prohibition may be made reciprocal,

or the duties raised, so as to make them equal.

“ That for the same purpose, it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid, or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensation for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in case where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, for duties paid, over and above any duty paid thereon in Britain.

“ That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufactures of the other.

“ That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

“ That for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature

of drawbacks) shall produce over and above the sum of £656,000, in each year of peace, wherein the annual expence, and in the year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct."

To these, four clauses were proposed by Orde, with his own comments on them, according to his instructions from the English state jugglers, under a shew of confirming the legislative independence, and the permanence of the commercial treaty; but, evidently, to obtain, under sanction of parliamentary authority, that no final settlement had been made; and, that both might be new-modelled, or subverted, by some future, unreformed parliament, when existing circumstances should prove favourable. The first and fourth clause clearly point to this; and the whole seem the fabrication of William Pitt, the detestable enemy of Ireland.

"And whereas no law made by the present parliament can, or ought to limit or restrain the free and unquestioned exercise of the discretion of any succeeding parliaments, who must be competent equally, as in the present, to every act of legislation whatever, and to deliberate upon, enact, or decline to enact, any of the regulations or provisions to be considered as essential and fundamental conditions of this settlement.

"And whereas the continuance of the present settlement must depend on the due observance, in both kingdoms, of the several matters herein

declared to be fundamental and essential conditions thereof, according to their true intent, spirit and meaning.

“ Be it declared, that the continuance of the present settlement, and the duration of this act, and of every thing herein contained, shall depend upon the due observance, in the kingdom of Great Britain, of the several matters herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of the said settlement according to the true intent, meaning and spirit thereof.

“ Provided, nevertheless, that all the said fundamental and essential conditions shall in all times be held and deemed to be, and to have been duly observed in the kingdom of Great Britain, unless it shall have been expressly declared by a joint address of both houses of parliament of this kingdom to his majesty, that the same have not been duly observed.”

The fraud and imposture of the secretary's bills and clauses, were exposed, and ably opposed, by Henry Grattan.

Mr. Grattan.—“ Sir, I can excuse the right honourable member, who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Englishman, and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine. He might have spared himself the trouble of stating his own bill. I read it before; I read it in the twenty resolutions; I read it in the English bill, which is, to all intents and purposes, the same, and which he might read, without the trouble of resorting to his own. His comment is of little

moment; a lord lieutenant's secretary is an unsafe commentator on an Irish constitution. The former merit of the right honourable gentleman, in pressing for the original propositions, and contending against the present, which he now supports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him for his past services; they may be a private consolation to himself. No more. I differ from him in his account of that transaction. He was pledged to his eleven propositions; his offer was the propositions, ours the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his system. Here it becomes necessary to go back a little—I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779: by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whose ports were open to you, subject to your own unstipulated duties, the British plantations only excepted. By that you obtained the benefit of your insular situation, the benefit of your western situation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. What these advantages might be, no man could say; but any man, who had seen the struggle you had made, during a century of depression, could foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon a state of liberty in a young nation, must, in the course of time, produce signal advantages. The sea is like the earth, to non-exertion a waste; to industry a mine. This trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade; in this, you retained your right to trade directly with the British plantations in a variety of arti-

cles, without a reference to British duties; by this, you obtained a right to trade with the British plantations directly in each and every other article, subject to the rate of British duty; by this, you obtained a right to select the article, so that the general trade should not hang on the special conformity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or postpone the produce of foreign plantations. The reason was obvious; you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then minister insisted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade, instead of a free trade, (whereas your demand was both,) and his grant had been inadequate, unsatisfactory, and inadmissible. These points of trade being settled, a third, in the opinion of some, remained; namely, the intercourse with England, or the channel trade. A successful political campaign, an unsuccessful harvest, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward, in the year 1783, a number of famishing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary, but not being wholly resisted, nor yet adequately assisted, they laid the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, opposite, indeed, to their wishes, and fatal to their expectation; this was the system of reciprocity; a system fair in its principles, and, in process of time, likely to be beneficial, but not likely to be of any great pre-

sent advantage, other than by stopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever, and producing settlement and incorporation with the people of England; this system was founded on the only principle, which could obtain, between two independent nations, equality, and the equality consisted in similarity of duty; now, as the total abatement of duties on both sides had driven the Irishman out of his own market, as the raising our duties on the British standard had driven the Englishman out of the Irish market, a third method was resorted to, the abatement of British duty to the Irish standard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade; for, as the Englishman, with that duty against him, had beaten you in the Irish market, with that duty in his favour he must keep you out of the English; so that, under this arrangement, the English manufacturer continued protected, and the Irish manufacturer continued exposed, and the abatement of duty was no more than disarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrangement stopped here, it had been unjust, indeed; but as Ireland was to covenant, that she would not raise her duties on British manufactures, England, on her part, was to covenant, that she would not diminish her preference in favour of Irish linen, and the adjustment amounted to a covenant, that neither country, in their respective markets, would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however, the adjustment did not stop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation produce, and

here you stood on two grounds, law and justice; law, because you only desired, that the same words of the same act of navigation, should have the same construction on one side the channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwise than by supposing, that in your ancient state of dependency you were not entitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the answer to this argument was unsatisfactory, that England had altered the law; but, if England had so altered the law, it ceased to impose the same restrictions, and confer the same advantages, and then a doubt might arise, whether the act of navigation was the law of Ireland, so that you seemed entitled to the construction, or free from the act. Now it is of more consequence to England, that you should be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair construction of it. But you stood on still better ground, justice. Was it just that you should receive plantation goods from England, and that England should not receive them from you? Here, if you do not find the law equal, you may make it so, for as yet you are a free parliament.

I leave this part of the subject; equality of duty but no present equality of trade. I come to that part of the adjustment which is inequality of both; and first, that part which relates to the primum of your manufactures. When the original propositions were argued, gentlemen exclaimed, " England reserves her wool, and

Ireland does not reserve her woollen yarn," it was answered, "Ireland may if she pleases," what will those gentlemen now say, when England reserves both; the primum of her manufactures, and of yours; and not only woollen yarn but linen yarn, hides, &c.? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland, is to tell me nothing; the question is not about stopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in instances where England retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me, that this exportation is necessary for England, is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England, and therefore should have obtained at least equal terms. I own, to assist the manufactures of Great Britain as far as is not absolutely inconsistent with those of Ireland, is to me an object; but still the difference recurs, she is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part; but exacts perpetual export from you in the very article in which she retains absolute prohibition—no new prohibition—every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before—none in favour of Ireland. Ireland, till 1779, was a province, and every province is a victim; your provincial state ceased, but before the provincial regulations are done away, this arrangement establishes a principle of *uti possidetis*, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her disadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjustment, where reciprocity is disclaimed in the outset of treaty, and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to instances

of more striking inequality, and first, your situation in the East. You are to give a monopoly to the present, or any future East India Company, during its existence, and to the British nation for ever after. It has been said, that the Irishman in this is in the same situation as the Englishman; but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the British Parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the East, by an exclusive company; the Irish Parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This is not a surrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations,—not to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence shut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reasons, because they belong to certain European states, but here are neutral regions forbidden, and a path prescribed to the Irishman on open sea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of restraint; you are to have no trade at all, during the existence of any company, and no free trade to those countries after its expiration; this resembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legislature, whether you measure it by immensity of space or infinity of dura-

tion, and has nothing human about it except its presumption.

What you lose by this surrender, what you forfeit by giving up the possibility of intercourse with so great a proportion of the inhabited globe, I cannot presume to say; but this I can say, that gentlemen have no right to argue from present want of capital against future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade, because they have not yet brought that capacity into action, still less have they a right to do so without the shadow of compensation, and least of all on the affected compensation, which, trifling with your understanding as well as interest, suffers a vessel to go to the West, in its way to the East. I leave this uncompensated surrender—I leave your situation in the East, which is blank—I leave your situation in the East, which is the surrender of trade itself; and I come to your situation in the West, which is a surrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the British plantations, at their own taxes; before, you did so only in certain articles, with a power of selection, and then only as long as you pleased to conform to the condition, and without any stipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do so for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the English, West as well as East, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce, in the taxing and regulating of

which, you have no sort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete supremacy. Here you will consider the advantage you reap from that monopoly, and judge how far it may be expedient to set up against yourselves that monopoly for ever; there is scarcely an article of the British plantation, that is not out of all proportion dearer than the same article is in any other part of the globe, nor any other article that is not produced elsewhere, for some of which articles you might establish a mart for your manufactures, Portugal, for instance, capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain. This enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax. What, then, is this covenant? To take these articles from the British plantations, and from none other, at the present high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come, subject to whatever further rates and taxes the parliament of Great Britain shall enact. Let me ask you, why did you refuse protecting duties to your own people? Because they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the West India merchant, and the West India planter something more? A monopoly, where the monopolist is, in some degree, the law-giver. The principle of equal duty, or the same restriction, is not the shadow of security; to make such a principle applicable to, the objects must be equal; but here the objects are not only dissimilar, but opposite. The condition of England is great debt, and greater capital; great incumbrance,

but still greater abilities: the condition of Ireland, little capital, but a small debt; poverty, but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burdens will have opposite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and destroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away your resource, which is exemption from them; but will be a fund for Great Britain: thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppose Great Britain should raise the colony duties to a still greater degree, to answer the exigency of some future war, or to fund her present debt, you must follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you must follow, not because you wanted the tax, but lest your exemption from taxes should give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Irish taxes are to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures! You must follow because your taxes here would be no longer measured by the wants of the country or the interest of her commerce, because we should have instituted a false measure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we should have done more, we should have made English jealousy the barometer of Irish taxes. Suppose this country should in any degree establish a direct trade with the British plantations, suppose the apprehensions of the British manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the British parliament to raise certain

duties, which shall not affect the articles of their intercourse, but may stop yours; or, which shall affect the articles of their intercourse a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the same duty raise a revenue in England, and destroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an instance of the former, and every valuable plantation-import an instance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a restraint on England, or a resource to Ireland, but under this adjustment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourself to that which you must not presume to regulate. The exclusion of foreign plantation-produce would seem sufficient, for every purpose of power and domination; but to aggravate, and it would seem, to insult, the independent states of North America are most ungraciously brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland was a British colony, or North America continued a part of the British dominion; by the resolutions almost all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, subject to British duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles, but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has she to dictate to us on the subject of North America trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and surrendering her free trade, I shall not for the present stop more minutely to inquire, but I must stop to protest against one circumstance in this arrangement, which should not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to settlement

itself, and tear asunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumstance I mean, is the opening of the settlements of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779: this adjustment takes from you the power of choosing the article, so that the whole covenant hangs on the special circumstance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a revision in peace of the settlements of war; it is a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. I here ask, by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for past acquisitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers desire it? Did the addresses of the last session desire it? Did the minister, in this session, suggest it? No; I call for authority, whereby we can be justified in waving the benefit of past treaties, and bringing the whole relative situation of this country into question in an arrangement, which only professes to settle her channel trade? I conceive the settlements of the last war are sacred; you may make other settlements with the British nation, but you will never make any so beneficial as these are; they were the result of a conjuncture miraculously formed, and fortunately seized. The American war was the Irish harvest. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, constitution, and mind took form and vigour; and to that period, and to a first and salient principle, must they recur for life and renovation.—It is therefore I consider those settlements as sacred, and from them I am

naturally led to that part of the subject which relates to compensation, the payment which we are to sustain; certainly compensation cannot apply to the free trade supposing it uninvaded, first, because that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you never should have lost, had been to a great degree unjust and derogatory; secondly, because that free trade was established in 1779, and the settlement then closed and cannot be opened now; to do so were to destroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the present settlement, and to render it vain to enter into any settlement with the British minister. The same may be said of the colony trade; that too was settled in 1779, on terms then specified not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumscribed; still less does compensation apply to the free constitution of 1782. His majesty then informed you from the throne, "these things come unaccompanied with any stipulation," besides, the free constitution, like the free trade, was your right. Freemen wont pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; so we then stated to ministry. It was then thought that to have annexed subsidy to constitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had married an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither satisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which saw how much may be got by tax, and how much must be left to honour, which made a bold push for the

heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her disposition to give, had its effect, for since that time until the present most unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the side of government, and the parliamentary constitution was a guarantee for public peace.

See then what you obtain without compensation, a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extinction of the unconstitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature?

See now what you obtain by compensation—a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the parliament of Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant to make such acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the primum of those manufactures! These things are accompanied, I do acknowledge, with a covenant, on the part of England, to disarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the English language, in the act of navigation, the same construction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without molestation or diminution. One should think some God presided over the liberties of this country, who made it frugality in the

Irish nation to continue free, but has annexed the penalties of fine and infamy to the surrender of the constitution! From this consideration of commerce, a question much more high, much more deep, the invaluable question of constitution arises, in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, and all that detail, vanish, and the energies of every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to shield this nation, that, long depressed, and at length, by domestic virtue and foreign misfortune, emancipated, has now to defend her newly acquired rights, and her justly acquired reputation; the question is no less than that, which, three years ago, agitated, fired, and exalted the Irish nation—the independency of the Irish parliament! By this bill, we are to covenant that the parliament of Ireland shall subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe, respecting your trade with the British plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the United States of North America! There is also a sweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to subscribe whatever laws the parliament of England shall prescribe, respecting navigation; the adjustment subjects also your reversionary trade to the East, to the same terms. Over all these objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legislative power whatsoever. Here then is an end of your free trade, and your free constitution. I acquit the people of England; an ill-

grounded jealousy for their trade seems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquish, but when relinquished, too magnanimous and too wise to resume abdicated tyranny; they feel, in these propositions, an honourable solicitude for the freedom of Ireland, and the good faith of Great Britain, and see the darling principles and passions of both countries wounded in an arrangement, which was to compose them for ever. To a proposal, therefore, so little warranted by the great body of the people of England, so little expected by the people of Ireland, so little suggested by the minister, and so involving whatever is dear to your interest, honour, and freedom, I answer, no. I plead past settlements; I insist on the faith of nations. The objection should have been made, when these settlements were making; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this subject; assertion, national assertion, national reassertion! If three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will surrender; but, if you stand firm and inexorable, you make a seasonable impression on the people of England, you give a wholesome example to your children, you afford an awful instruction to his majesty's ministers, and make, as the old English did, in the case of their charter, the attempt on Irish liberty, its confirmation and establishment!

However, lest certain glosses should seem to go unanswered, I shall, for the sake of argument,

wave past settlements, and combat the reasoning of the English resolutions, the address, his majesty's answer, and the reasoning of this day. It is here said, that the laws, respecting commerce and navigation, should be similar, and inferred, that Ireland should subscribe the laws of England on those subjects; that is, the same law, the same legislature. But this argument goes a great deal too far: it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill should be the same; it was endeavoured to be extended to the collection of your revenue, and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an Union, an incipient and a creeping Union; a virtual Union, establishing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and reposing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an Union, where our parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary establishment, without any proportion of parliamentary representation. In opposing the right honourable gentleman's bill, I consider myself as opposing an Union in limine, and that argument for Union, which makes similarity of law, and community of interest (reason strong for the freedom of Ireland!) a pretence for a condition, which would be dissimilarity of law, because extinction of constitution, and therefore hostility, not community of interest. I ask, on what experience is this argument founded? Have you ever since your redemption refused to preserve a simi-

larity of law in trade and navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes of the act of navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable business, the American war? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other plantations, in order that Irish poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of British colonies? Have you not made a better use of your liberty, than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, stronger even than its want of foundation in reason and experiment; I hold it to be nothing less, than an intolerance of the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legislation of the Irish parliament is, incompatible with the British empire. I do acknowledge, that by your external power, you might discompose the harmony of empire, and I add, that by your power of the purse you might dissolve the State; but to the latter you owe your existence in the constitution, and to the former your authority and station in the empire; this argument, therefore, rests the connection upon a new and a false principle, goes directly against the root of parliament, and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can still think, that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, doctrine which I adjure as sedition against the connexion; but if any body of men are justified in thinking, that the Irish constitution is incompatible with the British empire, Perish the Empire! Live the Constitution!

Reduced by this false dilemma to take a part, my second wish is the British empire, my first wish and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland; but we are told this imperial power is not only necessary for England, but safe for Ireland. What is the present question? what but the abuse of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the British parliament, excluding you, and including herself by virtue of the same words of the same act of navigation? And what was the promovent cause of this arrangement? what but the power you are going to surrender, the distinct and independent external authority of the Irish parliament, competent to question that misconstruction? What is the remedy now proposed? the evil. Go back to the parliament of England; I ask again, what were the difficulties in the way of your eleven propositions? what but the jealousy of the British manufacturers on the subject of trade? And will you make them your parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the subject of their jealousy, and in the moment they displayed it; safe! I will suppose that jealousy realized, that you rival them in some market abroad, and that they petition their parliament to impose a regulation which shall affect a tonnage which you have, and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your situation, when you should be obliged to register all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you should see your own manufacturers pass you by a cypher in the constitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar

of a foreign parliament—safe! Whence the American war? Whence the Irish restrictions? Whence the misconstruction of the act of navigation? Whence but from the evil of suffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of instituting, under the idea of general protectress, a proud domination, which sacrifices the interest of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little passions of the monopolist with the sovereign potency of an imperial parliament; for great nations when cursed with unnatural sway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wisdom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power. The surrender of legislature has been likened to cases that not unfrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to suspend in particular cases their respective legislative powers for mutual benefit; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to suspend their legislative power in favour of the wine of the one, and the woollen of the other, but if Portugal had gone further, and agreed to subscribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been a treaty, but conquest; so Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raise high duties on each others manufactures, but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to subscribe British law, this is not a mutual suspension of the exercise of legislative power, but a transfer of the power itself from one country to another, to be exercised by another hand; such covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a surrender of the

government of your trade, inequality of trade, and inequality of constitution. I speak however as if such transfer could take place, but in fact it could not, any arrangement so covenanting is a mere nullity; it could not bind, still less could it bind your successors, for a man is not omnipotent over himself, neither are your parliaments omnipotent over themselves, to accomplish their own destruction and propagate death to their successors; there is in these cases a superior relationship to our respective creators—God and the community, which in the instance of the individual, arrests the hand of suicide, and in that of the political body, stops the act of surrender, and makes man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to destroy it. However though the surrender is void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a surrender in form, the other by a surrender in substance; appointing another parliament your substitute, and consenting to be its register or stamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to cloath with the forms of your law, foreign deliberations, and to preside over the disgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are equally surrenders, and both are wholly void. I speak on principle, the principle on which you stand—your creation. We, the limited trustees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpose, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people who sent us to parliament, cannot break that relationship,

counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preserve. Could the parliament of England covenant to subscribe your laws? Could she covenant that Young Ireland should command and Old England should obey? If such a proposal to England were mockery, to Ireland it cannot be constitution. I rest on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution rests; Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of government, says, that the transfer of legislative power is the abolition of the state, not a transfer. Thus I may congratulate this house and myself, that it is one of the blessings of the British constitution, that it cannot perish of a rapid mortality, nor die in a day, like the men who should protect her; any act that would destroy the liberty of the people, is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cause for a season, but another year would see old constitution advance the honours of his head, and the good institution of parliament shaking off the tomb to re-ascend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

Sir, I have stated these propositions and the bill as a mere transfer of external legislative authority to the parliament of Great Britain, but I have understated their mischief, they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the British plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on some of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, such as Great Britain laid on America! the

mode is varied, but the principle is the same. Here Great Britain takes the stamp of the Irish parliament; Great Britain is to prescribe, and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous surrender, and throw into the scale our honour, as well as our liberty. Do not imagine that all these resolutions are mere acts of regulation; they are solid substantial revenue, great part of your additional duty. I allow the bill excepts rum and tobacco; but the principle is retained, and the operation of it only kept back. I have stated that Great Britain may by these propositions crush your commerce, but shall be told that the commercial jealousy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? Are her wishes for Irish subsidy at an end? No; and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herself, and so raising on Ireland an imperial revenue to be subscribed by our parliament, without the consent of our parliament, and in despite of our people. Or if a minister should please to turn himself to a general excise, if wishing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wishing to relieve the alarms of the English manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from excises, particularly on soap, candles, and leather: he should proceed on those already registered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats, suggesting that if you refuse to raise an excise on yourself, England will raise colony duties on both.—See what a mighty instrument of coercion this bill and these resolu-

tions—stir and the minister can crush you in the name of Great Britain; he can crush your exports; he can do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by virtue of a clause in a British act of parliament that would seem to impose the same restrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner still more offensive, by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would then be an active cypher, and notorious stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have considered your situation under these propositions with respect to Great Britain: see what would be your situation with respect to the crown? You would have granted to the king a permanent money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British parliament shall please. By the resolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been so granted; the trade of the country is made dependant on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made less dependent on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this should petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer, “trade is no covenant.” If your constituents should instruct you to limit the bill of supply, or pass a short money bill, your answer, “the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant.” No more of six months money bills; no more of instructions from con-

stituents; that connection is broken by this bill, pass this you have no constituent—you are not the representative of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British parliament, and the equalizer of British duties!

In order to complete this chain of power, one link, (I do acknowledge) was wanting, a perpetual revenue bill, or a covenant from time to time to renew the bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth resolution, and this bill founded upon it, attain that object. Sir, this house rests on three pillars, your power over the annual mutiny bill; your power over the annual additional duties; your power over the collection of the revenue. The latter power is of great consequence, because a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your ancestors were slaves; and for their estates, that is, for the act of settlement, granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceased to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that parliament revived; but it revived as you under this bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil measure derived argument, energy and essence from this unconstitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a parliament, and that we held our existence, by withholding the discharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the provision for the collection was inadequate; the smuggler learned to evade the penalties, and parliament, though not neces-

tions—still and the minister can crush you in the name of Great Britain; he can crush your exports; he can do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by virtue of a clause in a British act of parliament that would seem to impose the same restrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner still more offensive, by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would then be an active cypher, and notorious stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falsify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have considered your situation under these propositions with respect to Great Britain: see what would be your situation with respect to the crown? You would have granted to the king a permanent money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British parliament shall please. By the resolutions, a great part of the additional duty would have been so granted; the trade of the country is made dependant on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made less dependent on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this should petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer, “trade is no covenant.” If your constituents should instruct you to limit the bill of supply, or pass a short money bill, your answer, “the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant.” No more of six months money bills; no more of instructions from con-

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sary for granting the hereditary revenue, became necessary for its collections. Here then we rest on three pillars: the annual mutiny bill, the annual additional supply, and the annual collection of the revenue. If you remove all these, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chair, nor this dome, but the deliberate voice resident therein that constitutes the essence of parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a parliament, with a thousand gaudy surviving circumstances of shew and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers this bill presumes to perpetuate; a perpetual repeal of trial by jury; a perpetual repeal of the great charter; a perpetual writ of assistance; a perpetual felony to strike an exciseman!

The late Chief Baron Burgh, speaking on the revenue bill, exclaimed, "you give to the dipping rule, what you should deny to the sceptre."

All the unconstitutional powers of the excise we are about to perpetuate, the constitutional powers of parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? can we make these bulky surrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of parliament, and in violation of those eternal relationships, which the body that represents should bear to the community which constitutes?

The pretence given for this unconstitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, so should be the compensation. But trade laws are to follow their nature, revenue

laws to follow their's. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the limited nature of revenue laws depends the existence of parliament; but the error of the argument arises from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a constitution, and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom. To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the surrender is made constitutional; that is, the British market for the Irish constitution, the shadow of a market for the substance of a constitution! You are to reserve an option, trade or liberty; if you mean to come to the British market, you must pass under the British yoke. I object to this principle in every shape, whether you are, as the resolution was first worded, directly to transfer legislative power to the British parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to subscribe her acts; or whether, as it is now softened, you are to take the chance of the British market, so long as you wave the blessings of the British constitution—terms dishonourable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly settlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a slavish principle, nor give it the hospitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice, tolerate and you embrace; you should guard your constitution by settled maxims of honour, as well as wholesome rules of law; and one maxim should be, never to tolerate a condition which trenches on the privilege of parlia-

ment, or derogates from the pride of the island. Liberal in matters of revenue, practicable in matters of commerce; on these subjects I would be inexorable; if the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the British constitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains, or all that she has lost of commerce, I should turn my back on the latter, and pay my obeisance to the blessings of her constitution, for that constitution will give you commerce, and it was the loss of that constitution that deprived you of commerce. Why are you not now a woollen country? because another country regulated your trade. Why are you not now a country of re-export? because another country regulated your navigation. I oppose the original terms, as slavish, and I oppose the conditional clause as an artful way of introducing slavery, of soothing a high spirited nation into submission by the ignominious delusion, that she may shake off the yoke when she pleases, and once more become a free people. The direct unconstitutional proposition could not have been listened to, and therefore resort is had to the only possible chance of destroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reversion of the British constitution, and the speculation of future liberty, as a consolation for the present submission. But would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, because he might lay it aside in the morning? or would this house substitute another, because next year it might resume its authority, and once more become the parliament of Ireland? I do not believe

we shall get the British, but I do not want to make an experiment on the British market, by making an experiment likewise on the constitution and spirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine if you shall yield for a year, you will get so easily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the British market, why accept the adjustment? And if it is, the benefit thereof may take your deliberate voice. You will be bribed out of your constitution by your commerce; there are two ways of taking away free will, the one by direct compulsion, the other by establishing a præpollent motive. Thus a servant of the crown may lose his free will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office, and thus a parliament would lose its free will, if it acted under a conviction that it exercised its deliberative function at the risk of its commerce. No one question would stand upon its own legs, but each question would involve every consideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative situation of two countries. And I beseech you to consider that situation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to surrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the British plantations, in certain articles, without reference to British duties; that you have a right to trade with the British plantations in every other article, subject to the British duties: that you have a right to get clear of each and of every part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, subject to your own un-

stipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has established her monopolies, the power of trade this, and an instrument of power and station and authority in the empire! Consider that you have likewise a right to the exclusive supply of your own market, and to the exclusive reserve of the rudiment of your manufactures. That you have an absolute dominion over the public purse, and over the collection of the revenue. If you ask me how you shall use these powers, I say, for Ireland, with due regard to the British nation; let them be governed by the spirit of concord, and with fidelity to the connection. But when the mover of the bill asks me to surrender those powers, I am astonished at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make such a sacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exerted every nerve in 1779; that free constitution, for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the service of the empire; but—our liberties! No—we received them from our Father, who is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children. But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the mischief of these propositions, are they convinced of their safety? the safety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the mischief is prominent, but the advantage is of a most enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen considered the subject; have they traced

even the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to surrender for ever? Have they traced the map of Asia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish settlements? Do they know the neutral powers of those countries, their produce, aptitudes and dispositions? Have they considered the state of North America? its present state, future growth, and every opportunity in the endless succession of time, attending that nurse of commerce and asylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare, on the part of themselves and all their posterity, that a free trade to those regions will never, in the efflux of time, be of any service to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this subject, it must be by a communication with God, for they have none with man; it must be by inspiration, for it cannot be knowledge. In such circumstances to subscribe this agreement, without knowledge, without even the affectation of knowledge, when Great Britain, with all her experience, and every means of information, from East Indies, West Indies, America, and with the official knowledge of Ireland at her feet, has taken six months to deliberate, and has now produced twenty resolutions, with a history to each, amounting to a code of empire, not a system of commerce: I say, in such circumstances, for Ireland to subscribe this agreement, would be infatuation; an infatuation, to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded, or indeed huddled, with all her posterity, into a fal-

lacious arrangement, by the influence of the crown, without the deliberation of parliament, or the consent of the people! This would appear the more inexcusable, because we are not driven to it; adjustment is not indispensable; the great points have been carried! an inferior question, about the home market, has been started, and a commercial fever artificially raised; but while the great points remain undisturbed, the nations cannot be committed. The manufacturers applied for protecting duties, and have failed; the minister offered a system of reciprocity, and succeeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer, inconsistent with the former, which offer the English do not support, and the Irish deprecate.

We can go on, we have a growing prosperity, and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cherish our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing prosperity of Young Ireland. In the mean time, we will guard our free trade and constitution, as our only real resources; they were the struggles of great virtue, the result of much perseverance, and our broad base of public action! We should recollect, that this House may now, with peculiar propriety, interpose, because you did, with great zeal and success, on this very subject of trade, bring on the people; and you did, with great prudence and moderation, on another occasion, check a certain description of the people, and you are now called upon, by

consistency, to defend the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preserve this island long, and preserve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the constitution of the country, you will command and ensure her tranquillity; for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the crown. It is not public clamour, but public injury, that should alarm you; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow subjects has been your services; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island! Make your third great effort, preserve them; and with them preserve, unaltered, your own calm sense of public right, the dignity of the parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island! Keep them unsullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary! These paths are the paths to glory; and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace: so shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the blessings of constitution and of commerce, bear attestation to your service, and wait on your progress with involuntary praise!"

The principal arguments, urged on this important question, being contained in this eloquent and convincing speech of Mr. Grattan, renders a further insertion of the debates unnecessary. Leave was given to bring in the bill, by a majority of one, 127 opposing it. So small a majority, and so formidable an opposition, caused this measure to be abandoned, after exciting the

attention of the nation upwards of seven months, to the general satisfaction of Ireland; nor was the news thereof ill received in England.

The peasantry of some counties, particularly Kilkenny, raised some disturbances at this time, about tithes; to suppress which, the catholic clergy exerted themselves, as usual in similar cases. This was doing their duty as Christian pastors, and as prudent monitors. Their endeavours failing, parliament interposed.

As during Pitt's administration, every occurrence, that offered a pretext for enlarging the influence of the crown, and undermining the Irish constitution, was greedily seized on, a bill, entitled An act for improving the police of the city of Dublin, was introduced by the solicitor general, before a thin house, during the assizes, when country gentlemen attended there. The sense entertained of this attack on liberty, by the city of Dublin, appears from the petition of the freemen and freeholders, presented to the house of commons. It stated, that the bill manifestly tended to subvert public liberty, in the most essential points; that, if passed into a law, it would give a very great additional and most dangerous influence to the crown, in matters which intimately regard not only political freedom, but the personal liberty and domestic quiet of individuals; an influence, which every honest Irishman feels to be at least as extensive as is consistent with the safety of the constitution. That it would be grievous, in point of taxation; and place the first corporation of the kingdom under the in-

fluence of the minister. In the commons, Mr. Conolly strongly opposed the principle of the bill. "It seems it would be urged," he said, "that no person has a suspicion of the bill: I suspect the principles of it, because I suspect administration—I suspect its intention, because I suspect administration—I suspect an administration, that promises this country trade, in lieu of which she gives us £140,000 in taxes—I suspect an administration, that when we ask for bread gives us a stone. And though I wish for order and regulation, still I am convinced, the profits arising from that bill may be purchased too dearly—I see, by one clause, you intend to take the arms out of the hands of the Volunteers. When I reflect on the memorable propositions of 1785, and the sensible measures proposed in 1786, it staggers my faith, and induces me to say, that surely the people ought to be consulted, when you go to alter the constitution. A bill of such magnitude, to insist to hurry it before the house, shews there is a snake in the grass, to crush which every gentleman ought attend." The bill, notwithstanding, was read a second time, the day after its introduction, and passed into a law with the utmost expedition.

Two great objects of this bill were, the disarming the volunteers, and bringing the city of Dublin under ministerial influence. The volunteers had incurred the displeasure of the English government. They must, therefore, be disbanded, and a force, more subservient to the will of the government, substituted in their place. It

was of some consequence, also, to reduce the metropolis, the seat of government and legislation, to passive obedience, like a venal borough. When we consider how quickly advantage was taken of the Right-boy disturbances, to strike this weighty blow, we might lawfully surmise, that they were excited by the emissaries of Cecil the second, whose administration was a compound of hypocrisy, fraud, and tyranny.

To plaister this wound, inflicted on the constitution, Orde brought forward a plan of public education, in the introduction to which, he observed, that there were endowed schools in Ireland, and some richly endowed; but, that the richer the endowment, the worse they answered the intention of the founder; as the master, content with his income, paid little or no attention at all, to the education of youth. This plan never took effect; and was, probably, intended, as a tub to the whale, to amuse a discontented public.

In the year 1787, the disturbances still continued and even encreased, when the parliament voted an address to his majesty, in which, they lament the outrages committed in certain parts of this kingdom, promising to use all the means in their power for suppressing of the same, and maintaining the rights of the established clergy. Mr. Connolly's opinion of these troubles, delivered in his speech on the address, coincides with that formed by myself before I saw it. "I do not rise to move an amendment of, or alteration to the resolution as it now stands. But I shall

trouble the house with a few observations on the unhappy state which it represents the kingdom to be in.

“ Now, supposing that these disturbances are as extensive as have been represented, but I hope in God they are not—supposing they are as formidable as government have represented them in their proclamations, are not the laws at present in being sufficient to restore order? They are abundantly so, if properly enforced. And hence, my suspicion is excited, when I behold administration attempting by insinuation to establish the necessity of new laws for unnecessary purposes, or for something worse. I am convinced that had administration been active, they might have checked these disturbances in embryo. I will ask, can any man entertain a doubt of it? And when they did not, what can we infer from it, but that there was some dark design in suffering them to come to maturity?

This may seem to be a reflection upon our worthy chief governor—I know him to be an honest man, and the friend of both countries, and it is not him I suspect—it is the administration. And why do I suspect administration? Because of their conduct on the propositions; when they wish to prove, and to have us believe, that the returned propositions were identically the same as the original ten, and were ready to pass them with the same alacrity and vigour, although every man in the nation was convinced that they coerced the commerce, and invaded the constitution of this kingdom.

But not to lose more time, I will ask the gentlemen on the other side of the house to explain the tendency of that paragraph in the address? My fears can do no harm; but I should be happy they were done away. I again call upon gentlemen for an explanation. [Here Mr. Connolly made a considerable pause.] No answer! then I take it, that my suspicions are justly founded, and that no answer can be given. Good God, Sir, is it consistent with sense to enact new laws, before you try whether the old ones would answer the purpose? And this is the case, for the supineness of the magistrates has been admitted on all sides. But, Sir, I consider this as a measure to intimidate the protestants of the kingdom, and to furnish a pretext for an unconstitutional police-bill. If these turbulences are not exaggerated, then government are highly censurable for not having prevented them in time; and if they are not, they are doubly so, for certain ill-founded alarms; so that in either case they are culpable in the extreme, and forfeit the confidence of the people.

The peasantry of the south, we are told, have the greatest meetings ever known; nay they are in arms, as the proclamations tell us. Well, why did not government in the infancy of insurrection suppress it? Would not any moderate man be inclined to suspect them of misconduct, and of abetting the outrages of the south, when they recollected that the protestant insurgents in 1763 were tried for high treason? What is the inference to be deduced from this fact? Just this:

that government were not so well disposed to punish. Strange, indeed, that protestants in 1763, should be indicted for high treason, and that the catholics in 1787, should be guilty of a higher crime, and only indicted simply for a misdemeanor. Let the friends of government reconcile this with the idea of "vigorous exertions." I will no longer engross the time of the house, but hope that government will, in no shape whatever, attempt to subvert the liberty of the subject, or trench on the constitution."

It is evident, that the existing laws were very sufficient to quell the disturbance in embryo; and, if they had suffered the volunteer institutions to subsist, insurgency would soon disappear. Mr. Longfield then remarked. "Since I came up to Dublin," said he, "I begin to doubt, whether I generally reside in the county of Cork or not, I hear such loud and numerous reports of violences, outrages and disorders in that country, a word of which I never heard at home, that I begin to think I have mistaken the place of my abode. But what is truly terrible in its consequence is, that by the speech from the throne I see it is taken for granted, that all those reports are true, and a scandalous imputation and reproach is thrown, not only on a great and respectable county, but on a whole province: I do, therefore, think it my duty to state to the House, what really is the fact, and they will see, that the interposition of the magistrates alone, without the aid of new or sanguinary laws, or without the interposition of the military, is sufficient to

reduce the formidable insurgents about whom such a clamour has been raised.

When I went down to the county of Cork last summer, I found no disturbance existing, though in the last session of parliament I had been told there was. I live near the town of Cloyne; my demesne bounds it. The right reverend prelate of that diocese had not then applied for any military assistance, but lived quietly secure at home, in the protection of the neighbouring gentlemen. The first thing that could be called a disturbance was of such a kind, that I was induced to think government had a hand in it. (This caused much noise in the house.) Some very respectable people of Cloyne came to me, and told me that a bailiff belonging to the high-sheriff had been sent amongst them, with notices to provide a quantity of arms and ammunition, and a number of horses, by the following Sunday, for the use of captain Right. I thought it odd enough that a sheriff's bailiff should be employed on such a business, and, as a magistrate, I sent for him. He confessed the fact of having served the notices, and said he was employed by captain Right. I desired him to give information against captain Right, which he refused, upon which I committed him to gaol, returned the bills against him, and brought persons of credit who had sworn examinations and were ready to prosecute, but to my astonishment I found that the grand jury had thrown out the bills. I spoke to Mr. Kemmis, the crown solicitor, who said he could do nothing without

an order from government, and as I was not in the habit of asking favours from government, I there let the matter drop.

This was the first disturbance I had heard of; the next was that captain Right swore some of the people in my neighbourhood to observe his regulations; yet another gentleman and I, attended by a single servant, made this formidable captain Right a prisoner, and safely lodged him in gaol. Such being the case, there ought not to be a general charge of delinquency against the county of Cork, because some of its magistrates were supine. After what I have mentioned, government sent forces down to my part of the country; two of their officers were Englishmen, one a Scotchman; the people could not be supposed to have any very great partiality for them, or they for the people, yet they lived unmolested in good quarters, and never had occasion to be called out to quell any disturbance.

A nobleman of great talents, knowledge, experience and sagacity, had the chief command of the troops sent into the province of Munster. I wish we had his report, if there was any regular way of coming at his report; you would there see that none but the lowest wretches, who groan under the most intolerable oppressions, were engaged in any disturbance. If that noble lord was here, he would make you shudder at the account of their miseries."

The attorney-general endeavoured to find another cause for it, in the wretchedness of the Munster peasantry. After detailing the progress

of the Right-boys, he said, " I am very well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry in that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords. I know, that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they have not food or raiment for themselves, the landlord grasps the whole; and sorry I am to add, that, not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords have been so base, as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. I fear it will require the utmost ability of parliament to come to the root of those evils. The poor people of Munster live in a more abject state of poverty, than human nature can be supposed able to bear—their miseries are intolerable, but they do not originate with the clergy; nor can the legislature stand by, and see them take the redress into their own hands. Nothing can be done for their benefit, while the country remains in a state of anarchy."

After stating what he considered contributed to spread these commotions, viz. the offence beingailable; the magistrates criminally neglectful and insufficient; he added: " A charge has been made against government, for suppressing informations against a sheriff's bailiff; and from this it has even wisely been inferred, that government abets the Right-boys. Now as I have the

informations in my hand, I shall submit them to the House, and whether it was possible to strain an indictment out of them.

“ This is the information of Daniel Duggan, sheriff’s bailiff, who acknowledges, that on the evening of Monday the 15th of June, returning home to Cloyne, he had occasion to stop ———. He further confessed, that he was then overtaken by two men, one of them a slender man in black clothes, who asked his name and where he dwelt; which being told, he asked if he knew Nick Dalton, John Ahern, and William Power? He said he did; on which he desired him to go and tell them, captain Right would be with them on Saturday night. He bid the man in black go himself, who said, if he did not go, he would make an example. Being therefore in dread of his life, he went to the house of Dalton, and delivered him the said message; afterwards meeting Ahern on the road, he delivered him his said message: and further sayeth not ———

The next is the information of Catherine Ahern, wife of John Ahern. She swears, that she came up to her husband, on the road between Cloyne and her house: that, on her coming up, her husband told her Duggan had a summons for him from the whiteboys: that Duggan made no reply: that deponent and her husband returned home; and that the man in company with Duggan never spoke one word.

The next information is that of John Ahern. In substance the same as Catherine Ahern’s.

Now, I am bold to say, that upon these infor-

mations it would puzzle all the crown lawyers in the three kingdoms to form an indictment, and if I had been in the place of the learned and honourable gentleman that was sent down to prosecute, I should not have hesitated a moment to have superseded the committal, and discharged the man without bail.—A man pulls out papers, which in the night, another man believes to be summonses, and for this he is to be sent to gaol, and prosecuted for high treason. The learned gentleman very properly rejected the information as insufficient; in so doing, he did honour to his judgment, and to the discernment of those who employed him, and who could not possibly have selected a man whose head and whose heart more eminently entitle him to trust and to confidence.

If any gentleman entertains a doubt concerning the facts I have referred to, I am ready to lay the proofs upon the table. But they are of too great notoriety; therefore, to detain the committee no longer, I move you, and it was agreed, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that some further provisions by statute are indispensably necessary to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more adequate and essential punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths."

The supineness of the magistrates, similar to the conduct of the northern magistrates, furnishes a clue to the authors of these disturbances. The attorney-general endeavoured to find another cause for it, in the wretchedness of the Munster

peasantry. It is true, he accuses the magistrates of inattention! But were they deprived of their commissions, or punished, in any manner, for their neglect of duty? Alas! all, who have seen that province, must agree with his melancholy picture of the deplorable misery of the Munster peasantry, starving on as rich a soil as any in the world; but this intolerable hardship was not the sole cause of their tumultuary proceedings. If that were the case, their tumults would be as incessant as their misery. Gad-fly emissaries fretted their sores, pointed out combination and rising out as the remedy, and promised the patronage of some great men unknown. Allowing, that nothing can be done for them, or the poor labourers of Ireland in general, while the country remains in a state of anarchy, to which add dysarchy, encreased ferocity of criminal law, was a wretched redress for the wretchedness he laments; or rather feigns to lament. The extremes of no government, or bad government, can administer no relief: so far Mr. Attorney-general is right.

The petition of the Presbyterian Clergy was rejected, praying for aid to establish an academy for educating their youth for the sacred function, under the superintendence and direction of the General Synod of Uster.

The speech of Mr. Ogilvie, in the debate on the commercial treaty between France and England, as affecting the latter, but, principally, as affecting the interests of Ireland, abounds with good sense and sound argument. His observa-

tions, as affecting England, may be reduced to two propositions: that the mercantile and monied interests had acquired an ascendancy in Britain, in the direction of foreign affairs, and the formation of treaties: that every state, in which these avaricious classes obtained such ascendancy, did thereby perish, instanced in Carthage and Holland. While the Hamilcars and Hannibals were at the head of the nobility and gentry, the victorious arms of Carthage menaced imperial Rome. When Hanno and the mercantile interest prevailed, their armies were beaten, their generals disgraced. Carthage fell, after a delusive peace, victim to the avarice of her mercantile and monied men. “ Nor is the present situation of Holland, a less striking example of the truth of the above observation. While the princes of the house of Orange, at the head of the nobility and landed interest, directed the government of the States, they were able, even in the infancy of their existence, not only to stem the encroaching violence of the French arms, but to tear the triumphant laurels from the brow of their haughty monarch, Louis XIV. But how dreadful has been the reverse, since their government has fallen into the hands of the democracy and the mercantile interest! They have formed leagues of friendship and treaties of commerce, with their former enemy; their fleets and armies have been neglected, their honour and dignity sacrificed to their avarice. And from the dignified situation they once held in the scale of Europe, they have dwindled into an insignificant province, under the protection of

that very kingdom whose arms they formerly resisted with success. The first part of the parallel, in both instances, applies strictly to the history of Great Britain, with respect to France; and while similar causes continue to produce similar effects, I can see no reason to expect an extraordinary interposition in our favour."

Mr. Ogilvie entertained much apprehension from the consequences of the commercial treaty with France; such as lulling Britain into a fatal security to the neglect of her fleets and armies. The event has not justified the prediction. England has lapsed into the opposite extreme, and is become more obstinately belligerent than ever.

During this session of parliament, an ineffectual attempt was made to limit the pension list. This was on the increase, as well as the national debt, notwithstanding an increase of taxes, professedly granted to equalize the revenue and expenditure. The nation was likewise amused with Orde's system of education, which came to nothing. Parliament was prorogued on the 24th of July, 1787; on the 24th of October, his grace the duke of Rutland died, and on the 16th of December, his excellency George Nugent Grenville Temple, marquis of Buckingham, succeeded to the viceroyalty of Ireland.

The session of 1788 was chiefly distinguished by the powerful but unsuccessful exertions of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, to ease the country of the burden of tithes.

The year following, 1789, his Majesty's indisposition excited public attention, and parliamen-

tary enquiry. The public councils took a different direction in the two countries. On the 5th of February, the lord lieutenant acquainted parliament, with the melancholy indisposition of his Majesty, and his inability to discharge the duties of government. The secretary to the lord lieutenant moved the house to resolve itself into a committee, on the Monday se'nnight, to take the state of his Majesty's health into consideration. This delay, for the purpose of regulating the proceedings of the Irish parliament by that of Great Britain, was opposed, as derogatory to the independence of the kingdom, and the dignity of parliament; and Wednesday appointed, by a majority of 128 to 74. The business of supply was postponed to the 12th of February. On the 11th, after a violent debate, the house of commons resolved, without a division, that an Address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to take on himself the government of the kingdom, as regent, during his Majesty's incapacity. In this, on the motion of the earl of Charlemont, the House of Lords concurred. On the 19th, both houses waited on the lord lieutenant with their Address, requesting him to transmit the same; which he positively refused to comply with, alleging his oath and official duty. Hereupon both houses resolved to send some of their own members, to present the Address to the Prince of Wales. This was followed by a vote of censure on the lord lieutenant, and short money bills. But the fortunate recovery of his Majesty terminated their vigorous proceedings in favour

of the Prince of Wales. The committee of the two houses arrived in London on the 25th, and the next day presented the following Address to the Prince.

“ To his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales. The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in parliament assembled.

“ May it please your Royal Highness, we, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, with hearts full of the most loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of your royal father, to express the deepest and most grateful sense of the numerous blessings which we have enjoyed under that illustrious house, whose accession to the throne of these realms has established civil and constitutional liberties on a basis which, we trust, will never be shaken; and at the same time to condole with your Royal Highness upon the grievous malady with which it has pleased Heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

“ We have, however, the consolation of reflecting, that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us, until the virtues of your Royal Highness have been so matured as to enable your Royal Highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his Majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your Royal Highness.

“ We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his Majesty’s present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of Prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.”

To this his Royal Highness returned the following answer.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen. The Address from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the King, my father, manifested in the Address of the two houses.

“ What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his Majesty, of their uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

If in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the king, my father, and to the inseparable interest of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must remember, and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstance which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induced me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer, trusting, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart."

On the 14th of March, the lord-lieutenant acquainted parliament, that his majesty was enabled personally to exercise the royal authority; and relied on their readiness for the usual support of government. Both houses answered by addresses of congratulation, and promises of ample support. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed, and the happy event was celebrated by public rejoicings throughout Ireland.

This appointment of the regent, unfettered, in unison with the inclination of the nation, in opposition to the orders of the British minister,

suited not the views of the ambitious Pitt, to separate the parliament and the people, to render it an object of contempt and aversion, the easier to accomplish its extinction. While the protestant, empowered to enslave, degrade and impoverish his Catholic countrymen, the majority of the nation, submitted to the commercial and legislative restrictions of Britain, a union was far from being a desideratum with the British minister. But ingenuity exhausted to prevent the further growth of popery, America in rebellion, the situation of Ireland and America was contrasted; the protestant reflected, and the thick film of prejudice was removed. Session after session, the splendid talents of enlightened members of the Irish house of commons were strenuously directed to burst the fetters of British commercial and legislative restriction; and session after session, majorities, at the nod of the minister, repelled the novel attempt. But events came to their aid. The navies of France and Spain found employment for British men of war, different from that of the blockade of Irish ports. America successfully resisted; the standing army, withdrawn from the British isles, was occupied in its subjugation; invasion was apprehended, and the Volunteers appeared. The dread of invasion dispelled, rights, withheld from the loyalty of Ireland, offered to the rebellion of America, roused a spirit of indignation in the nation. The press spoke the language of freedom. Corporations, cities, counties, volunteer corps, above all, the Volunteer Convention at Dungannon, in

union with the patriots in parliament, demanded the restoration of Ireland's rights. The minister yielded. The conduct of England, the placed and the pensioned now loudly condemned. Free trade was granted, legislative independence acknowledged, and Ireland obtained a rank among the nations of the earth. To retain these important advantages, reform of parliament alone was wanting. This the Volunteers attempted. Intolerance frustrated it. The Earl of Charlemont, and many of the Volunteers, would not admit of Catholic emancipation. Absurdly, they desired to possess the plenitude of freedom, surrounded by slaves. Unsupported by the majority of the nation, they attempted to dislodge the British minister from his strongest hold, the corruptibility of the Irish parliament. The Dublin Volunteer Convention Address for Reform was disregarded. Peace was concluded. No longer formidable, the Volunteers were slighted. Pitt became premier, and large majorities obeyed his commands. Scarcely did he guide the helm of the state, until he endeavoured to regain the legislative supremacy, so lately wrested. Commercial propositions, stated to be for the advantage of both countries, insidiously conveying the so-much desired controul over the commerce of Ireland, were submitted to the respective parliaments. The attempt was premature. Petitions, on the table of the House of Commons, expressed the general abhorrence entertained in Ireland of them. But the manufacturers of England had not entered into the views of the minister; they

feared the possibility of the trifling manufactures of Ireland interfering with their interests; their petitions, against the propositions, appeared before the Commons of England, and the measure was abandoned. Notwithstanding the able exposure of the insidiousness of this measure,* Ireland had the mortification to behold a majority marshalled for their enactment, in open defiance of the public voice. But Pitt was digging the grave of Ireland's independence. Every effort was used to separate the parliament and the people. The nightly guard of Dublin, the constitutional watch, under the controul of the parishioners, was removed; and the silent, surly policeman, accoutred à la militaire, under the direct controul of the government, substituted, at an enormous expence. Now the plans of Mr. Pitt met with a temporary derangement, the health of the sovereign was attacked, the minister's situation was considered precarious, the landed interest coalesced, and parliament and people for the last time were identified. But the stability of the British minister being again certain, the placed and the pensioned forsook the patriotic ranks. Measures of influence were adopted: places formed, peers created, resumable offices re-granted, the pension list increased, and many of those, who held place or pension at pleasure, displaced. Among the new appointments was that of John Fitzgibbon, then attorney-general, to the lord-chancellorship of Ireland.

* See pp. 239, 240, &c.

This bold, disgusting, willing instrument of Mr. Pitt's ambition, in the Irish house of commons, hesitated not to threaten his native country with a severe fine, for the insubserviency of its parliament to the mandates of the British minister. The threat, and its consequences, the masterly eloquence of Mr. Grattan thus records.* “ ‘Half a million, or more, was expended some years ago to break an opposition; the same, or a greater sum, may be necessary now:’ so said the principal servant of the crown. The house heard him: I heard him: he said it, standing on his legs, to an astonished and an indignant nation; and he said it in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on; the peerage was sold; the caitiffs of corruption were every where; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all.” Thus was the independence of the Irish parliament sapped.

All further attempts to controul the proceedings of the minister were ineffectual. A bill, rendering revenue-officers incapable of voting for members of parliament, as in England, was rejected. The inhabitants of the city of Dublin had petitioned for the abolition of the new police establishment; complaining of its expence and insecurity, and praying for the re-establishment

* In his Answer to lord Clare's speech, Dub. 1800.

of the constitutional guard, under the controul of the parishioners, founded upon the act of the 17th and 18th of his present majesty. The committee appointed to consider the police accounts, reported, that the police establishment had been attended with unnecessary expence, and ought to be changed. Their report was rejected. And a bill for the appointment of commissioners to inquire into the state of the tithes, was presented, but parliament was prorogued on the 25th of May. In June, the lord chancellor and the speaker of the house of commons were appointed lords-justices, and the marquis of Buckingham deemed it prudent to take his departure secretly.

No chief governor more disappointed the expectations of the people of Ireland. He entered into the capital, "trampling on the hearse of the duke of Rutland, and seated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity; on one side fallacious hope, and on the other many-mouthed profession; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treasury, and the other presented to the people; and, with a double tongue, speaking contradictory languages.

"This minister alights; justice looks up to him with empty hopes, and speculation faints with idle alarms; he finds the city a prey to an unconstitutional police; he continues it; he finds the country overburthened with a shameful pension list; he increases it; he finds the house of commons swarming with placemen; he multiplies them; he finds the salary of the secretary increased to prevent a pension; he grants a pension;

he finds the kingdom drained by absentee employments, and by compensations to buy them home; he gives the best reversion in the country to an absentee, his brother! He finds the government, at different times, had disgraced itself by creating sinecures, to gratify corrupt affection; he makes two commissioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother; he finds the second council to the commissioners put down, because useless; he revives it; he finds the boards of accounts and stamps annexed by public compact; he divides them; he finds the boards of custom and excise united by public compact; he divides them; he finds three resolutions, declaring, that seven commissioners are sufficient; he makes nine; he finds the country has suffered by some peculations in the ordnance; he increases the salaries of offices, and gives the places to members, to members of parliament!" Such was his entrance, and such his conduct, delineated by Mr. Grattan, in the next session.

The parliamentary opposition endeavoured by union and energy to supply their numerical deficiency. Imitating the conduct of the opposition in the British parliament, they associated under the name of the Whig Club, adopted a uniform, and had their public dinners, at which the parliamentary campaign was regulated. To insure the support of the nation, some of the most popular characters were admitted, and their resolutions and toasts regularly published. Several associations for similar political purposes, the redress of grievances, were soon after established

in Ulster and the capital, all professing to revive the decaying principles of whiggism.

This year happened the memorable revolution of France, which had such a fatal influence on the destiny of Ireland. Overturning all the established orders and ranks of a powerful kingdom, an ancient and potent monarchy, a numerous and powerful aristocracy and hierarchy, it shook all the neighbouring countries like an earthquake of the moral world.

The year following the earl of Westmoreland opened parliament on the 20th of January. The address contained nothing remarkable. The conduct of government occupied the attention of the patriots, during this short session. The increase of the pension list; the grants of pensions to members of parliament; the sale of peerages, to procure returns to parliament, &c. Mr. Grattan challenged them to go into the inquiry, which they prudently declined, alleging, that common report was not sufficient ground for inquiry.

Mr. Magee, proprietor of the Dublin Evening Post, had been a great sufferer by the persecuting fiats issued against him by the chief justice. Different individuals made affidavit of having suffered losses to the amount of £7,800 by his statements of their conduct in his paper. On these, fiats were issued, and the defendant imprisoned. On the trial of one, that of Mr. Daly, patentee of the theatre, the jury assessed the damages at £200; the fiat was issued at £4,000. To so oppressive a practice the commons were called upon to set bounds. Mr.

George Ponsonby, in a committee appointed to inquire into this subject, moved the following resolution, " That the issuing of writs from the courts of justice, in actions of slander or defamation, where the sum of damages could not be fairly ascertained, and holding persons to special bail in excessive sums, is illegal, and subversive of the liberty of the subject." It was rejected; but the discussion terminated this oppressive practice.

A place-bill, pension-bill, one for disqualifying revenue-officers from voting at elections, and a responsibility-bill, were rejected. The prostitute proved irreclaimable. All bodies in a state of putrescence are hastening to dissolution. The incorrigible corruption of the Irish parliament in a few years afterwards occasioned its extinction.

Parliament was prorogued on the 5th of April, and soon after dissolved. The elections for the new were chiefly remarkable by the spirit displayed by the corporations of Dublin. After a contest of some days, between the government candidates, aldermen Exshaw and Sankey, and the patriotic, the Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald and Mr. Grattan, the corporations marched from their halls, preceded by bands of music, and appropriate banners, and decided the election. Grattan and Fitzgerald were drawn triumphantly through the city, followed by the corporations. The guild of Merchants, on their banners, bore " no aldermanic influence—the rights of the people—the voice of the people—a ship, and may the gales of freedom fill our sails;" the Tailors

bore "virtue triumphant;" the Smiths, "the men who dare be honest in the worst of times—Fitzgerald and Grattan, the men of the people;" the Barber-surgeons, "responsibility-bill;" the Carpenters, "independence supported with virtue—Fitzgerald and Grattan;" the Chandlers, "light to the cause of independence, and obscurity to the Police institution;" the Weavers, "no bounties, but protecting duties to the manufactures of Ireland—no unconstitutional police;" the Cutlers, "the assertors of liberty—Fitzgerald and Grattan, the men of the people—freedom to those who dare contend for it;" the Hosiers, "real, not sham hosiers, who, by long perseverance, freed the corporation from corruption—shame and confusion ever attend the attempts to divide the free sons of Hibernia;" the Joiners, "independent—we despise corruption and the corrupted."

The slaves of the enslaved were now soliciting, by their acknowledged organ, the Catholic committee, a further diminution of their shackles. This committee consisted of lords and gentlemen of rank and fortune, who sate in their own right, and delegates from towns and cities. Addresses of congratulation and loyalty to every viceroy, humble applications to his secretary, and occasionally to parliament, for relief, hitherto limited their exertions. But, at the close of this year, they were emboldened, by the growing liberality of the times, to prepare a petition, praying that the situation of the catholics might be taken into consideration. They waited on the secretary, major Hobart, intreating the countenance of govern-

ment; it was denied : they then determined to apply to parliament, but not a member could be induced to present it.

The hostility of the government to further concession, was strongly marked by earl Westmoreland, in his southern tour. On his arrival in Cork, the catholics were acquainted, that an expression of their loyalty would be acceptable. An address was accordingly prepared. It concluded with a hope, that the penal code would be relaxed. But, submitted to his excellency before its formal protestation, hope, the last refuge of the wretched, was denied to the catholic! It was returned, that the clause expressive of hope should be expunged. This they refused, and no address was presented.

The session of 1791 exhibits the same measures brought forward, supported with renovated vigour, and uniformly rejected by large majorities; such is the ascendancy of a bribe over truth, justice, patriotism and eloquence.

The catholic committee continued its exertions. It met in February, and resolved that application should be immediately made, and continued, in the most submissive and constitutional manner, for a mitigation of the restrictions and disqualifications under which the catholics laboured. Twelve gentlemen were appointed to carry this into effect. They disagreed. The committee again met. Lord Kenmare, who never attended, sent his disapproval of their proceedings, and his determination not to co-operate. Lord Fingal, then in the chair, coincided with his lordship. The

committee, however, adhered to their resolutions. In April, the sub-committee reported, in substance, that they had been constantly thwarted by lord Kenmare; that the members of administration had approved of the loyal and constitutional steps they had adopted; and, that yielding to the recommendations of the friends of the catholics, they had postponed the intended application.

The catholics soon after appear to have perceived, that benefits were not in the gift of an Irish executive, an Irish parliament; that they were to be considered mere machines, impelled by the British minister; for we find Mr. Keogh delegated to the cabinet of St. James's. This discovery was rewarded, after three months solicitation, with the information, that catholics would no longer be excluded from the profession of the law, the duties of grand jurors, and that their restoration to the elective franchise would be taken into consideration.

These concessions, however, are not solely to be attributed to the rendering the subserviency of the Irish parliament manifest. The torrent of irreligion, bearing on the church of France, produced something of a counter-current in the rival nation, exciting, if not respect, at least, pity for the victims. The persecuted clergy were received with more than professions of hospitality, and supported by contributions. Sometime after an alliance was made with the pope, and English troops were sent to guard his holiness. An English secretary, in the Irish commons, lamented the decay of papal power; and Edmond Burke

employed his lately-acquired interest with the English ministry, together with all his credit and eloquence, in their behalf. The period was, in all these respects, favourable to catholic claims. The political world was in motion. The Whigs of the Capital prepared to circulate the Rights of Man; the newspapers devoted their columns to it; and the following design of a political society was circulated in Dublin.

“IDEM SENTIRE, DICERE, AGERE.

“It is proposed that at this conjuncture a SOCIETY shall be instituted in this City, having much of the secrecy, and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free-masonry—with so much secrecy as may communicate curiosity, uncertainty and expectation to the minds of surrounding Men;—with so much impressive and affecting ceremony in all its internal economy, as without impeding real business, may strike the soul through the senses, and addressing the *whole Man*, may animate his philosophy by the energy of his passions.

“Secrecy is expedient and necessary; it will make the bond of union more cohesive, and the spirit of this union more ardent and more condensed; it will envelope this dense flame with a cloud of gloomy ambiguity, that will not only facilitate its own agency, but will, at the same time, confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, the extent, the direction, or the consequences. It will throw a veil over those individuals, whose professional prudence might make them wish to lie concealed, until a manifestation of themselves becomes absolutely necessary. And lastly, secrecy is necessary, because it is by no means certain that a country so great a stranger to itself as Ireland, where the North and the South, and the East and the West, meet to wonder at each other, is yet *prepared* for the adoption of one profession of Political Faith, while there may be individuals from each of these quarters ready to adopt such a profession, and to propagate it with their best abilities, when necessary—with their Blood.

“Our Provinces are perfectly ignorant of each other;—our Island is connected; we ourselves are insulated; and the

distinctions of rank, of property, and of religious persuasion, have hitherto been not merely lines of difference, but brazen walls of separation. We are separate nations met and settled together, not mingled, but *convened*; an incoherent mass of dissimilar materials, uncemented, unconsolidated, like the image which Nebuchadnezzar saw with a head of fine gold, legs of iron, and feet of clay, parts that do not cleave to one another.

“ In the midst of an island, where manhood has met and continues to meet with such severe humiliation, where selfish men, or classes of men, have formed such malignant conspiracy against Public Good, let one benevolent, beneficent Conspiracy arise, one Plot of Patriots pledged by solemn adjuration to each other in the service of the People—the PEOPLE, in the largest sense of that momentous word. Let the cement of this Constitutional Compact be a principle of such strong attraction, as completely to overpower all accidental and temporary repulsions that take place between real Irishmen, and thus to consolidate the scattered and shifting sand of Society into an adhesive and immoveable Caisson, sunk beneath the dark and troubled waters. It is by wandering from the few plain and simple principles of Political Faith, that our Politics, like our Religion, has become Preaching, not Practice, Words, not Works.

“ A Society, such as this, will disclaim those party appellations which seem to pale the human heart into petty compartments, and parcel out into Sects and Sections, Common Sense, Common Honesty, and Common Weal. As little will it affect any speculative, unimpassioned, quiescent benevolence. It will not call itself a Whig Club, or a Revolution Society. It will not ground itself on a name indicative of a party, or an event well enough in the circumstances and in the season. It will not be an Aristocracy affecting the language of Patriotism, the rival of Despotism, for its own sake, not its irreconcilable enemy, for the sake of *us all*.

“ It will not, by views merely retrospective, stop the march of mankind, or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their ancestors. It will have an eye provident and prospective, a reach and amplitude of conception commensurate to the progressive diffusion of knowledge, and at the same time a promptitude in execution requisite in a life like

this, so short and so fragile, in a nation like this, so passive and so procrastinating. Let its name be the **IRISH BROTHERHOOD**. Let its general aim be, to make the light of philanthropy, a pale and ineffectual light, *converge*, and, by converging, kindle into ardent, energetic, enthusiastic love for Ireland: that genuine, unadulterated enthusiasm, which descends from a luminous head to a burning heart, and impels the spirit of man to exertions greatly good, or unequivocally great. For this Society is not to rest satisfied in drawing speculative plans of reform and improvement, but to be practically busied about the *means* of accomplishment. Were the hand of Locke to hold from Heaven a scheme of government most perfectly adapted to the nature and capabilities of the Irish Nation, it would drop to the ground a mere sounding scroll, were there no other means of giving it effect than its intrinsic excellence. All true Irishman agree in *what* ought to be done, but how to get it done, is the question.—This Society is likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end—what **END**?

“**THE RIGHTS OF MEN IN IRELAND**, the greatest happiness of the greatest number in *this Island*, the inherent and infeasible claims of every free nation, to rest in this nation—the *will* and the *power* to be happy—to pursue the Common Weal as an individual pursues his private welfare, and to stand in insulated independence, an imperial People.—To gain a knowledge of the real state of this heterogeneous country, to form a summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness, and when such a summary is formed, to put this *Doctrine* as speedily as may be into *Practice*, will be the purpose of this central society, or lodge, from which other lodges in the different towns will radiate.

“**THE GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER**—On the rock of this principle let this Society rest; by this let it judge and determine every political question, and whatever is necessary for this end, let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our interest, our duty, our glory, and our common religion. The rights of Men are the rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free, in order to serve Him, whose service is perfect freedom.

“Let every Member wear, day and night, an Amulet

round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the Brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious end. Let this Amulet of union, faith and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the skin and close to the heart.

“This is enthusiasm.—It is so; and who that has a spark of Hibernicism in his nature, would not feel it kindle into a flame of generous enthusiasm? Who, that has a drop of sympathy in his heart, when he looks around him, and sees how happiness is heaped up in mounds, and how misery is diffused and divided among the million, does not exclaim, Alas! for the suffering, and Oh! for the power to redress it? And who is there that has enthusiasm sufficient to make an exclamation, would not combine with others as honest as himself to make the will live in the act, and to swear,—WE WILL REDRESS IT—Who is there? Who?

“The first business of the Brotherhood will be to form a transcript, or digest, of the doctrine which they mean to subscribe, to uphold, to propagate, and reduce to practice. It is time for Ireland to look her fortune in the face, not with turbulent ostentation, but with fixed resolution to live and die Freeman. Let then those questions be agitated and answered fully and fairly, which have been wilfully concealed from us by interested persons and parties, and which appear terrible only by being kept in the dark. Always armed with this principle, that it is the duty of the people to establish their rights, this Society will carry it along with them in their course, as the Sybil did the branch of gold, to avert or to disperse every vain fear and every unreal terror.

“What are the *means* of procuring such a reform in the constitution as may secure to the People their rights most effectually and most speedily?

“What is the plan of reform most suited to this country?

“Can the renovation in the constitution, which we all deem necessary, be accomplished by the *ways* of the constitution? ‘The evil,’ says Junius, ‘lies too deep to be cured by any remedy less than some great convulsion which may

bring back the constitution to its original principles, or utterly destroy it.' Is this opinion still truer when applied to *this* country? or is it false?

"Who are the People?"

"Can the right of changing the constitution rest any where but in the original constitute power—the People?"

"Can the will of the People be known but by full and fair convention, to be constituted on the plan which will come recommended on the most popular authority?"

"What are the rights of Roman Catholics, and what are the immediate duties of Protestants respecting these rights?"

"Are the Roman Catholics generally or partially *capaces Libertatis*? and if not, What are the speediest means of making them so?"

"Is the independence of Ireland nominal or real, a barren right, or a fact regulative of national conduct, and influencing national character?"

"Has it had any other effect than raising the value of a house, and making it more self-sufficient, at the expence of the People?"

"Is there any middle state between the extremes of union with Britain and total separation, in which the rights of the People can be fully established and rest in security?"

"What is the form of government that will secure to us our rights with the least expence and the greatest benefit?"

"By the BROTHERHOOD are these questions, and such as these, to be determined. On this determination are they to form the chart of their constitution, which with honour and good faith they are to subscribe, and which is to regulate their course.—Let the Society at large meet four times in the year, and an acting Committee once a month, to which all members shall be invited. Let these meetings be *convivial*, but not the transitory patriotism of deep potation; *confidential*, the heart open, and the door locked; *conversational*, not a debating society. There is too much haranguing in this country already: a very great redundancy of sound. Would that we spoke a little more laconically, and acted a little more emphatically; and we shall do so, when our aim is at something nobler and fairer than even the sublime and beautiful of Mr. Burke;—the sublimity of Common Sense—the beauty of Common Weal.

Our Society should at first be very chaste and cautious in the selection of Members, shunning equally the giddiness of the boy, and that sullen indifference about the public good, which comes on with decline of years, looking around for those who are competent, and with respect to themselves content, yet zealous and persevering; not venal, not voracious, not confined in their manners and their morality to the pale of a profession; not idle philanthropists, who fidget round the globe with their favourite adage; not those who are bound down by obedience to that wizard word, *Empire*, to the sovereignty of two sounding syllables; but honest, honourable *Irishmen*, of whatever rank, of whatever religion, who know Liberty, who love it, who wish to have it, and who will have it. Members should be admitted only by an unanimous ballot, and perhaps once a year there should be a general re-election.

“The *external* business of this Society will be, 1st, Publication, in order to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpose to be sanctioned by the Committee, and published with no other designation of character than—ONE OF THE BROTHERHOOD.—2dly, Communication with the different towns to be assiduously kept up, and every exertion used to accomplish a *National Convention* of the People of Ireland, who may profit by past errors, and by many unexpected circumstances which have happened since the last Meeting.—3dly, Communication with similar Societies abroad, as the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolution Society in England, the Committee for Reform in Scotland. Let the nations go abreast. Let the interchange of sentiment among mankind concerning the Rights of Man be as immediate as possible. A Correspondence with distinguished men in Britain, or on the Continent, will be necessary to enlighten us, and ought to be cherished. Eulogies on such men as have deserved well of their country *until death*, should be, from time to time, delivered by one of the Brotherhood, their works should live in a Library to be formed by this Society, and dedicated to Liberty, and the Portraits of such men should adorn it. Let the shades of the mighty dead look down and consecrate our Meetings. The Athenians were accustomed to fasten their edicts to the statues of their ancestors.—Let our Laws and Liberties have

a similar attachment, taking heed always to remember what has been always too much forgotten—that *We* are to be ancestors ourselves; and as our bodies moulder down after sepulture, merely to pass into new forms of life, let our spirits preserve a principle of animation to posterity, and germinate from the very grave.

“What is the time most applicable for the establishment of this institution? Even NOW. “*Le grand art est dans l’apropos.*” Why is administration so imperious? Because the Nation does not act. The Whig Club is not a transfusion from the People. We do not thoroughly *understand* that Club, and they do not *feel* for us. When the Aristocracy come forward, the People fall backward; when the People come forward, the Aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks, and rise into timid leaders, or treacherous auxiliaries. They mean to make us their instruments. Let us rather make them *our* instruments. One of the two must happen. The People must serve the purposes of Party, or the Party must emerge in the mightiness of the People, and Hercules will then lean upon his club.

“On the 14th of July, the day which shall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this Society pour out their first libation to European Liberty, eventually the Liberty of the World, and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raised to Heaven, in his presence who breathed into them an ever-living soul, let them swear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature as men, and the right and prerogative of Ireland as an independent People. “*Dieu et mon Droit!*” is the motto of kings. “*Dieu et la Liberte!*” exclaimed Voltaire, when he first beheld Franklin his Fellow-Citizen of the World. “*Dieu et nos Droits!*”—let Irishmen cry aloud to each other. The cry of Mercy—of Justice—and of Victory. June, 1791.”

A feu-de-joye in Stephen’s-green, by the remnants of the Volunteer corps, commanded by Napper Tandy, a partial illumination, and a few public dinners, feebly commemorated the French revolution. Not so in Belfast. There the volunteer corps, infantry, cavalry and artillery, the

Northern Whig Club, and the principal inhabitants, convened by public notice, paraded the streets, displaying emblematical figures: one represented Hibernia reclining, a hand and foot in shackles, and a volunteer presenting to her a figure of liberty, supported by an artillery-man resting on a piece of ordnance, with the motto, "For a people to be free, it is sufficient that they will it." They drew up at the White Linen-hall, fired three feu-de-joie, formed a circle, adopted, and announced with cheers, the following Declaration, to be transmitted to the National Assembly.

"Declaration of the Volunteers and Inhabitants at large of the town and neighbourhood of Belfast, on the subject of the French Revolution, unanimously agreed to at an assembly held by public notice, on the 14th of July, 1791. Colonel Sharman, president.

"Neither on marble, nor on brass, can the Rights and Duties of Men be so durably registered as on their memories and on their hearts. We, therefore, meet this day to commemorate the French Revolution, that the remembrance of this great event may sink deeply into our hearts; warmed, not merely with the fellow feeling of townsmen, but with a sympathy which binds us to the human race in a brotherhood of interest, of duty, and of affection.

"A Revolution of such moment to mankind, involving so many millions, embracing so great a country, and completed in so short a time, is apt to confound and perplex by the magnitude of the object, and the rapidity of its motion. We, therefore, think it best to attach our minds upon one simple sublime Truth, where our opinions may centre, and our judgments find stability. We are men of plain, and, we hope, sound understanding.—We will disentangle ourselves from those bewitching bonds, with which an enticing and meretricious eloquence has, of late, vainly endeavoured to tie down the freedom and the strength of manhood; and neither so-

phisticated by genius, nor rendered miserable by refinement and mystery, we will think and declare our thoughts, not as Politicians, but as *Men*, as *Citizens*, and as *Volunteers*.

As *Men*, therefore, we think, that Government is a Trust for the use of the People—the PEOPLE, in the largest sense of that misapprehended word.—We think that the Public Weal is the end of Government, and that the forms of Government are merely the mutable means for obtaining this end; means that may be modelled or changed by the real Will of the Public; a Will supreme paramount to all other authority.

“As *Citizens*, we think that no people can promise unconditional obedience; and that obedience itself ceases to be a duty when the Will of the People ceases to be the Law of the Land.

“As *Volunteers*, we think that the force of the people should form the guarantee of Freedom, and that their Freedom is the only sure guarantee of public happiness.

“Here, then, we take our stand; and if we be asked what is the French Revolution to us? We answer MUCH.

“1. Much as MEN. It is good for human nature, that the grass grows where the Bastile stood. We do rejoice at an event, which seemed the breaking of a charm, that held *universal* France in a Bastile of civil and religious bondage. When we behold this mishapen pile of abuses, cemented merely by custom, and raised upon the ignorance of a prostrate people, tottering to its base—to the very level of equal liberty and common-wealth, we do really rejoice at this resurrection of human nature; and we congratulate our Brother, MAN, coming forth from the vaults of ingenious torture, and from the cave of death. We do congratulate the Christian world, that there is in it, one great nation, which has renounced all ideas of conquest, and has published the first glorious manifesto of humanity, of union and of peace. In return we pray to God, that peace may rest in their land; and that it may never be in the power of royalty, nobility, or a priesthood, to disturb the harmony of a good people, consulting about those laws which must ensure their own happiness, and that of unborn millions.—The French Revolution is therefore much to us,

“2. As IRISHMEN. We too have a country, and we hold it very dear—so dear to its *Interest*, that we wish ALL CIVIL

AND RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE annihilated in this land—so dear to us, its *Honour*, that we wish an eternal stop to the traffic of public liberty, which is bought by one, and sold to another—so dear to us, its *Freedom*, that we wish for nothing so much as a REAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL WILL, the surest guide and guardian of national happiness.

Go on then—great and gallant People!—to practise the sublime philosophy of your legislation; to force applause from nations least disposed to do you justice, and not by conquest, but by the omnipotence of reason, to convert and liberate the WORLD—a World, whose eyes are fixed on you; whose heart is with you, who talks of you with all her tongues. You are, in very truth, the HOPE of this World; of all except a few men in a few cabinets, who thought the human race belonged to them, not they to the human race; but now are taught by awful example, and tremble; and dare confide in armies arrayed against you and your cause.”

To this the ensuing answers appeared in the public papers, in the month of September.

“The Society of the Friends of the Constitution at Bourdeaux, to the Volunteers and Inhabitants of the Town and Environs of Belfast, in Ireland.

“Friends and Brethren! Yes, generous Irishmen!—receive this appellation, which we have hitherto granted, *exclusively*, to Frenchmen, true friends to our Constitution.—Receive it, notwithstanding the distance which separates us; the difference of our idioms, and of our manners. Men inspired by a love of the human kind, and the spirit of liberty, are mutually attracted, however distant their situations;—there is nothing intermediate between them, were they placed at different extremities of the globe.—The Citizens who agreed to the Declaration concluded on at Belfast, on the 14th July, 1791, are then, *all*, our *Brothers*, and our *Friends*.

“Your Address, read the 12th of this month, at one of the public sittings of our Society, and frequently interrupted by universal bursts of applause, has filled our souls with sentiments of delight; in contemplating the purity, the compass, and the energy of your maxims, respecting the natural and

political Rights of Man.—We fancied we beheld the Standard of Liberty, which philosophy at this day unfurls in every part of Europe, arrested in its progress on the rock of Ireland, to receive the new homage of an enlightened people.

“The truth of your sentiments; the depth of your reflections; the gracefulness of your expressions, recalled to our recollection those celebrated bards, those immortal poets, whom the barbarous Edward, one of the English tyrants, pursued with his most cruel persecutions, to stifle the voice of the country, of honour, and of liberty.

“France has given the signal of a bold insurrection against all prejudices; against all abuses; against all illegitimate authorities.—May it, as you desire, become general among the human race!—That day, Friends and Brethren—will arrive; when the different parts of the civilized world shall raise together their eloquent voice; which, like that of Belfast, shall assert the Rights of the People, and teach them to recover them by the Empire of Reason, and the power of the laws.

“Receive, Friends and Brethren, the congratulations and thanks of a Free People, transmitted to you through us, as their organ—for the example which you yourselves lately gave to the Universe.—We congratulate you on the talents displayed in the exposition of your principles respecting the nature and the end of Government. We congratulate you on the sagacity, the noble freedom, with which you have pointed out the influence of the French Revolution on the happiness of every people. We congratulate you on the courage with which you force tyrants to listen to expressions of that lively interest which you take in our fate; to hear the prayer which you address to God, that he may protect us with his power; to attend, above all, to the ardent vows which you have offered up for our success. In fine, we congratulate you, Brethren and Friends, on the respect which you have shewn to the National Assembly of France, by addressing to it directly your Declaration. Ah! that you could conceive the degree in which that brilliant act of admiration and respect has penetrated our souls with joy and gratitude!—that you could conceive how much all good Frenchmen are touched, honoured, filled with noble pride, when they behold the just tribute of applause, which they themselves unceasingly offer

to their regenerative Assembly, passing from mouth to mouth, from clime to clime, to that Council of Sages, who thus enjoy, beforehand, the glory with which posterity will crown it.

“ We are, with the most tender affection, Friends and Brothers, The Members of the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, at Bourdeaux. Azema, President, Chapelle, Secretary. At Bourdeaux, 14th of August, 1791, in the third year of our liberty.”

“ Clermont Department of Puy de Dome, 20th of August, third year of liberty, to the Volunteers of Ireland.

“ Brothers and Friends! The first principle of a virtuous Frenchman is that which attaches him to the destinies of his country. Its deserved recompence is the good opinion of those free men with whom humanity has stamped our cause as the cause of equality, the cause of liberty.

“ The sentiments manifested by the brave Irish Volunteers, strengthens the opinion we had already formed of the energy of that unsubdued Nation, which for three centuries successfully resisted the usurped dominion of the English Government.

“ People of Ireland, rejoice; your sufferings are nearly terminated. The torch of reason is lighted; it beams upon the whole world; one of its first rays has darted upon your island. The Irish Volunteers, glowing with the holy love of liberty, will receive and disperse it to the remotest parts of your nation, and they will preserve it with that courage which the cause requires, and your nation is famed for.

“ That veil is torn, which has for ages hid the sacred rights of the people; the chains of Europe are shattered; the last moment of despotism is at hand; let us hasten the fall of the insatiable monster; let us unite as friends, as brothers, in heart and deeds; let us wrest from our tyrants, even to the last of those powers which they have assumed; let us leave with them all that of right belongs to them, the shame, the ignominy of having usurped them; let us leave with their vile abettors those chains rivetted to their base souls by sordid interest.

“ For the accomplishment of this most salutary work, let our fortunes, let our lives be sacrificed; let us vow a reciprocal friendship and union, under the revered and indissoluble seal, the good of human kind.

“ In the certainty that our sentiments will be approved by the Irish Volunteers, as theirs are cherished by those free-men, who compose the Society of the Friends of the Constitution in Clermont, we present them our thanks, and request their association and correspondence.

“ The Members of the Committee of Correspondence, for the Friends of the Constitution in Clermont, Mouestier, President, Francois Biozat, Mabru, Secretaries.”

The formation of political societies, on the principles of the preceding prospectus, now proceeded rapidly. One was formed in Belfast, in October; another in Dublin, in November; and shortly after many others throughout the North, all under the denomination of United Irishmen. According to their constitution, the members were admitted by ballot; each member, previous to his election, was to take and subscribe the test at the close of their Declaration, page 315. A president, treasurer and secretary, committees of constitution, finance, correspondence, and of accommodation were appointed quarterly, for conducting the business of the society; and, to defray its expenses, and establish a fund, one guinea on admission, and one guinea annually, was to be paid by each member. On the 9th of December, 1792, this Society published the following Declaration.

“ In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience, when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice, when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people,

and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare; we think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

“ We have no National Government.

“ We are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, whose strength is the weakness of Ireland, and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by unanimity, decision and spirit in the people, qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland—An equal Representation of all the People in Parliament.

“ We do not here mention as grievances, the rejection of a place bill, of a pension bill, of a responsibility bill, the sale of peerages in one house, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both; not that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our constitution, and leaves to the people in their own government the shadow of a name.

“ Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called The Society of United Irishmen; and we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support and endeavour by all due means to carry into effect the following resolutions:

“ 1. Resolved, that the weight of English influence in the Government of this country is so great as to require a cordial union among All the People of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and the extension of our commerce.

“ 2. That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in parliament.

“ 3. That no reform is practicable, efficacious or just, which shall not include Irishmen of every religious persuasion.

“Satisfied as we are that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to audacious and corrupt administrations in measures which but for these divisions they durst not have attempted, we submit our resolutions to the nation as the basis of our political faith.

“We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy: with a parliament thus reformed every thing is easy; without it nothing can be done; and we do call on and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the Rights of Man throughout all sects and denominations of Irishmen.

“The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

“James Napper Tandy, Secretary.

“TEST.—I, A. B. in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights and an union of power among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country.”

At this period a division took place between the catholics. Their nobles and several of their gentry, endeavoured to induce the committee to adopt the resolution of seeking no removal of the existing tyrannic penal laws, but in the manner

and extent the legislature should deem expedient. This was resisted, as a real abandonment of their object, and negatived by ninety to seventeen. These negatived resolutions, the minority embodied into an address to the lord-lieutenant, and, with fifty-seven additional signatures, presented it on the 27th of December. The general committee published counter resolutions, severely censuring the sixty-eight addressers. These proceedings gave birth to the discussion of politics by the Irish catholics in a distinct capacity.

Meanwhile the session commenced. Mr. Grattan's speech on the address is deserving of perusal, bringing into a focus the most important transactions that occurred since the Volunteer era; incontrovertibly establishing the grievances of which the nation complained, and the United Irishmen embodied to redress. "It is now ten years (said he) since you recovered your constitution, and three since, in the opinion of some, you have lost it. Your present ministers made two attempts on your liberties; the first failed, and the second has succeeded—you remember the first—you remember the Propositions.....The second attempt was modelling of the parliament. In 1789, fifteen new salaries, with several new pensions to the members thereof, were created at once, and added to the old overgrown parliamentary influence of the crown—in other words, the expenditure of the interest of half a million to buy the house of Commons—the sale of the peerage, and the purchase of seats in the Commons—the formation of a stock-purse by the minister,

to monopolize boroughs, and buy up representation. This new practice, whereby the minister of the crown becomes the common borough broker of the kingdom, constitutes an offence so multitudinous, and in all its parts so criminal, as to call for radical reformation, and exemplary punishment. Whether the persons concerned be lord Buckingham or his secretary, or those who became the objects of his promotion, because they had been the ministers of his vices,—it was a conspiracy against the fundamental laws of the land, and sought to establish, and has established, in the place of a limited monarchy, a corrupt despotism; and if any thing rescues the persons so concerned from the name of traitors, it is not the principles of law, but its omission, that has not described by any express provisionary statute, that patricide, of which these men, in intention and substance, are guilty. They have adopted a practice, which decides the fate of our parliamentary constitution. In vain shall we boast of its blessings, and of its three estates, the King, the Lords, and the Commons, when the King sells one estate to buy the other, and so contaminates both. The minister has sent one set of men packing into the Peers, and another set of men packing into the Commons; and the first he calls the hereditary council, and the latter, the grand council of the nation, and both, that once great and august institution—the parliament. Such a condition, I say, puts the constitution of Ireland not below a republic, but any other form of genuine and healthy government—it is not mixed monarchy,

with parts happily tempered, and so forth—the cant of grave and superannuated addresses; but a rank, and vile, and simple, and absolute government, rendered so by means that make every part of it vicious and abominable—the executive who devours the whole, and the other two parts which are thus extinguished; of such a constitution, the component parts are debauched by one another. The monarch is made to prostitute the prerogative of honour by the sale of honours—the Lords by the purchase; and the Commons prostitute their nature by being the offspring not of the people, but of a traffic, and prostitute themselves again by the sale of their votes and persons.... By this trade of parliament the king is absolute—his will is signified by both houses of parliament, who are now as much an instrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Like a regiment, we have our adjutant, who sends to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young, and men thus carted as it were into this house, to vote for the minister, are called the Representatives of the people.... See its effects.”—After enumerating them, he concludes: “Sir, whenever freedom shall be properly understood, depend upon it, the gentlemen of this country will be ashamed of the condition they bear, and the questions they have made upon it—in the mean time I can account for their patience—the Irish are accustomed to be trodden upon—uniformly, says Junius, has Ireland been plundered and oppressed. It is not so in England: defective in some particulars as the constitution

of England may still be, yet with all those defects England has a constitution, and she has also maxims, as well as laws, to preserve it. They have not been blessed in England with a succession of lord lieutenants, secretaries, whose sole occupation has been to debauch the political morality of the gentlemen of the island. No minister will venture to tell the gentlemen of England, that they must be bought: no man will venture to say, that the best minister is he who buys parliament the cheapest.....The people of this country suppose, that England acceded to their liberties, and they were right; but the present ministry have sent the curse after that blessing—hear the curse! “ You have got rid of the British parliament, but we will buy the Irish—you have shaken off our final judicature; but we will sell yours—you have got your free trade, but we will make your own parliament suffer our monopolists in one quarter of the globe to exclude you; and you shall remain content with the right, destitute of the possession. Your corporate rights shall be attacked, and you shall not stir: the freedom of your press, and the personal freedom of the subject, shall be outraged, and you shall not arraign: your city shall be put under contribution to corrupt its magistracy, and pay a guard to neglect and insult her: the seats of justice shall be purchased by personal servitude, and the qualification of your judges shall be, to have borne their suffrage and testimony against the people. Taxes shall be drawn from the poor, by various artifices, to buy the rich: your bills, like your

people shall be sold; you shall see the genius of your country neglected; her patriotism dismissed from commission, and the old enemies of your constitution made the rulers of the realm."

The extent of the relief to be granted to the catholics, their early friend, and the uniform supporter of government, Sir Hercules Langrishe, set forth in the following resolutions. " 1. He would give them the practice and profession of the law, as a reasonable provision, and application of their talents to their own country. 2. He would restore to them education, entire and unrestrained, because a state of ignorance was a state of barbarity. 3. He would draw closer the bonds of intercourse and affection, by allowing intermarriage, repealing that cruel statute that served to betray female credulity, and bastardize the children of a virtuous mother. 4. He would remove those obstructions to arts and manufactures, that limited the number of apprentices, which were so necessary to assist and promote trade." The catholic committee, in addition to these concessions, petitioned for the elective franchise; the Dissenters of Belfast petitioned that the catholics should be placed on an equal footing with their protestant fellow-subjects: these petitions were rejected: the bill passed. The limits of this work not allowing room for more of the debates than what set forth historical matter with force of argument, the following extract, from the concise and elegant speech of Mr. Smyth, on the catholic question, will not displease. "From the line of my profession I have, upon several

occasions, been forced into an intimate consideration of that code of laws, distinguished by the name of popery laws; by which means I became enabled to form, and am, I think, now not altogether incompetent to deliver, a tolerably adequate opinion of their nature and their character. Sir, I never read them but with horror, nor reflected upon them but with a mingled sensation of sorrow and of shame. I hailed the relaxation of them as the auspicious dawn, and I looked, and do look, to their utter and final abrogation, as to the meridian glory of my country's welfare and prosperity.

“ Impressed with these sentiments, I could not but rejoice when the honorable baronet, who first moved this bill, introduced it into the house; and I instantly determined, if necessary, to give it my feeble, though best support; while at the same time I fondly hoped, that being, as I deemed it, in its nature highly expedient, in its concessions extremely moderate, and in its consequences likely to be eminently salutary, it would not only escape every thing like angry opposition, but pass into a law in all the dignity of unanimous and universal approbation.

“ The objects which this bill embraces are but few: it proposes to admit our Roman catholic brethren into the profession and practice of the law, in all its various departments; to enable them, also, to establish literary seminaries and academies, for the instruction and education of their own youth; and to permit intermarriages of Protestants and Roman Catholics, with some sub-

ordinate provisions, on which I mean not at present to trouble the house with my observations. As to the first and second of these measures, justice and humanity, as well as sound policy, forbid all resistance to them. We all know, that arts and sciences, like soils, are best improved by culture; nor is the prosperity of a nation more marked by the number and industry of its citizens, than the perfection of science is ensured by the multitude and competition of its students and votaries. Just Heaven, Sir, is the "ample page of knowledge" to be withheld for ever from our Roman Catholic fellow citizens? As to them, are the sacred fountains of science and of truth to be for ever dried up? Is more, much more than half the genius of the land, to be condemned to pine and languish in obscurity for ever? for ever to

"Blush unseen,

"And waste its sweetness on the desert air?"

Or is it to be for ever banished from our hospitable shores, to seek a wretched asylum in some distant land, until happily at length impelled and elevated, by its native energy, it may serve to dignify some foreign court, or to illuminate some other hemisphere? Forbid it, Heaven! forbid it, the justice and humanity of my country! forbid it, every motive, and every principle, that ought to sway the human heart, or guide the human intellect! No, Sir, we will admit our Roman Catholic brethren into the profession of the law; we will receive them with open arms; we will enable and encourage them to qualify for that important station; we will contend and struggle

with them in the honest and honourable pursuits of fortune and of fame; and, if vanquished in the strife, we will join with the surrounding world in admiring those talents, which, though we could not equal, we dared to emulate.

“ With respect to the intermarriages of Protestants and Roman Catholics, I feel assured it is a measure, that can never meet resistance within those walls. In a country, eminently distinguished by the beauty of its women, and the gallantry of its men, shall it be adjudged criminal to admire that, from whose

“ Every step is grace,

“ And every gesture dignity and love!”

Shall it be deemed a breach of allegiance, to pay homage to beauty? Shall loyalty be set at variance with nature? Shall our gracious sovereign be forced to dispute titles with the “mighty monarch of the human heart?” And shall love, in Ireland, shall love be made little less than high-treason by law? Why, Sir, the punishment of Tantalus was mercy to this. Such horrid laws find their remedy in their impotence; their cruelty defeats and destroys their effect, and they become inoperative, because they are unnatural. Where God and nature enjoin admiration and esteem, it is vain, as well as sinful, in law, to prohibit union. The instinctive passions of the human heart will force their way, in spite of every cruel effort to check or to subdue them; and when indulged, when virtuously and honourably indulged, gracious Heaven, shall all their holy joys, shall all their sacred and mysterious raptures, be, by a merciless

law, converted into pains and penalties? Shall the nuptial torch serve only to light its unoffending, yet unhappy votaries, to their temporal undoing? And shall the doating husband be forced to contemplate, in the person of his lovely wife, the fatal drag cast upon his honest ambition; the beauteous, innocent, pitiable burthen, that is to weigh him down in life, and mar his fortune and his fame for ever?

“ Away with such abominable laws! away with such savage legislation; and away, for ever away with such mischievous and such merciless policy. Let us, I conjure the house by the sacred names of charity and benevolence! let us maintain the cause, and assert the honest, virtuous claims of nature. Let us adjure all tyranny over the human heart, and vindicate and protect these amiable and irresistible attachments, which are the prime sources, not only of all domestic happiness, but also of all national strength, prosperity and glory. Let us once more throw wide the golden gates of hallowed love, and let hymeneal songs, and the sympathetic murmurs of united hearts, render “ our groves harmonious.”

“ I fear I have trespassed on the attention of the house too long, and shall therefore hasten to conclude; but before I resume my seat, let me, in the most solemn, yet in the most suppliant manner, entreat of those gentlemen, who may be apprehensive of the consequence of the present bill, that while they regard, with a steady eye, the Protestant interest, they do not overlook the Roman catholic virtue; that is, in their anxiety

to preserve what is called the Protestant ascendancy, they forget not to alleviate the Roman Catholic grievances; so that while one party shall be happy in the possession of prerogative, the other may be contented in the participation of privilege; always remembering, that kindness on the one hand will not, cannot fail of producing gratitude on the other; until, after a lengthened period of mutual harmony, cordiality and affection, that happy moment, so much, so devoutly to be wished for, by every real friend of this country, shall arrive, when the divided names of Protestant and Roman Catholic shall be heard no more, but, mellowed and melted away, shall finally lose themselves, in the more endearing, glorious and divine appellations, of friend, brother and fellow christian."

To open the trade to India, from which Ireland was debarred by the revenue laws, Mr. Ponsonby moved for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland with every country lying eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; which was refused by a great majority, and Ireland shut out from the commerce of the East, by her own corrupt parliament. A pension-bill, place-bill, and the repeal of the police-bill, met the same fate. A bill, denominated to prevent combination, rendering the labouring classes liable to the severest penalties, passed the commons without opposition; a petition from the master-carpenters prayed its enactment in the house of lords; the journeymen assembled in the Phenix-park, proceeded thence to College-green;

and presented a petition against the bill. The bill being read through, the lord chancellor rose, and said the bill before their lordships was such a system of oppression as ought not to be tolerated a moment. He was extremely sorry to see a desire prevail in this country to establish a kind of vassalage among the lower orders of working people, that would disgrace any country in Europe. Nothing could be farther from his mind, than to say any thing, that would in the remotest degree promote combination: he was convinced, that combination had done a great deal of mischief, as well to the combiners themselves as to the trade of the town, which it had injured in a very great degree; but the laws already against combination were many and severe; every man, convicted of combination by due course of law, was liable to imprisonment and public whipping: the present bill went to make every man, who should have the misfortune to offend the caprice of his employer, an outcast from society; for he had it in his power to refuse granting a certificate, and without that certificate no other person could employ him; he might indeed resort to a magistrate, but if the magistrate, on hearing the employer and the journeyman, should think proper to agree with the employer, the other had no appeal. That clause of the bill, which enacts, that if an apprentice shall run away from his master, a justice of the peace, on the simple affidavit of the master, shall commit the boy, send him to bridewell, and sentence him to be publicly whipped, his lordship warmly reprobated.

The bill he said, should have been entitled a bill for the encouragement of highway robbery and emigration, instead of a bill to prevent combination; for the immediate effect of making men outcasts of society, and depriving them of the means of procuring support by labour, must be, that they will become depredators on the subject. A bill of this tendency he hoped their lordships would not hesitate instantly to reject: he therefore moved that the chairman should leave the chair. It was carried without a division. On the termination of the session, the lord lieutenant expressed his Majesty's approbation of the wisdom that guided their proceedings, especially in the liberal indulgences to the Roman Catholics. In the speaker's address on presenting the money bills, the necessity of a protestant parliament and protestant ascendancy, is stated; thus making religion instrumental to political faction, a tool for strife and sedition, which led in some years to Irish descendancy.

The catholic body were eminently distinguished by activity and energy, at this period. To remove the prejudices of their Protestant brethren, engendered by scandalous and calumnious misrepresentations of catholic doctrine and principles, the Catholic committee, on the 17th of March, published the following declaration; accompanied by the answers of the foreign universities to the questions proposed by Mr. Pitt.

Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at

this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil or religious.

Now we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men, and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration :

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that princes, excommunicated by the pope and council, *or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever*, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious; and we declare, that we do not believe, that either the pope, with or without a general council, or *any prelate or priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle, that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*.

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any* person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief, that the pope, with or without the authority of a general council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers can

acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man.

Now we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all, *repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic Religion.*

5. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion or faith in other points respecting the Pope: however, for greater satisfaction we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess, "that the Pope is infallible," or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any other ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, *on the contrary*, we hold, that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by us can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but, that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbour's property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; *a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to all forfeited lands resulting from any rights, or supposed rights of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not established and acknow-*

ledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand. We desire further, that whenever the patriotism, liberality and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in parliament, until he shall previously take an oath to defend, to the utmost of his power, the arrangement of property in this country, as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead: now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland, Edward Byrne, Chairman, Richard M'Cormick, Secretary.

Queries proposed to foreign Universities.

1. Has the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?

2. Can the pope, or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects, from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?

3. Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?

Answers to the above Queries.

From the Sacred Faculty of Divinity at Paris.—The first

query they answer by declaring: neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, civil power, civil jurisdiction, or civil pre-eminence whatsoever, in *any* kingdom; and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason or virtue of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence by divine institution inherent in, or granted, or by any other means belonging to the pope, or the church of Rome. This doctrine the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of Paris has always held, and upon every occasion maintained, and upon every occasion has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrines from her schools.

Answer to the second query.—Neither the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any person of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or release the subjects of the King of England from their oath of allegiance.

This and the first query are so intimately connected, that the answer of the first immediately and naturally applies to the second, &c.

Answer to the third query.—There is no tenet in the Catholic church, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion. The tenet, that it is lawful to break faith with Heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty, and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries in imputing this tenet to them, &c.

Given at Paris in the General Assembly of the Sorbonne, held on Thursday the 11th day before the calends of March 1789. Signed in due form.

University of Douay.—To the first and second queries the Sacred Faculty answers—That no power whatsoever, in civil or temporal concerns, was given by the Almighty, either to the pope, the cardinals, or the church herself, and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not, in temporal concerns, subject, by the ordination of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects, by any authority granted to the Pope or the Church, from above, be freed from their obedience, or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the doctors and professors of divinity hold and teach in our schools, and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses, &c.

To the third question the Sacred Faculty answers—That there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, it is *the unanimous doctrine* of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel, &c.

Signed and sealed in due form, January 5, 1789.

University of Louvain.—The Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above stated, does it with readiness—but struck with astonishment, that such questions should, at the end of this eighteenth century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom that glories in the talents and discernment of its natives. The Faculty being assembled for the above purpose, it is agreed with the unanimous assent of all voices to answer the first and second queries absolutely in the negative.

The Faculty does not think it incumbent upon her in this place to enter upon the proofs of her opinion, or to shew how it is supported by passages in the Holy Scriptures, or the writings of antiquity. That has already been done by Bossuet, De Marca, the two Barclays, Goldastus, the Pithæuses, Argentre Widrington, and his Majesty King James the First, in his Dissertation against Bellarmine and Du Perron, and by many others, &c.

The Faculty then proceeds to declare, that the sovereign power of the state is in no wise (not even indirectly as it is termed) subject to, or dependant upon any other power, though it be a spiritual power, or even though it be instituted for eternal salvation, &c.

That no man, nor any assembly of men, however eminent in dignity and power, not even the whole body of the Catholic church, though assembled in general council, can, upon any ground or pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people; still less can

they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

Proceeding to the third question, the said Faculty of Divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers—That there is not, and there never has been, among the Catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with Heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves in matters of religion, either in public or private concerns.

The Faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same; and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion, &c.

Signed in due form on the 18th of November, 1788.

University of Alcalá.—To the first question it is answered—That none of the persons mentioned in the proposed question, either individually, or collectively in council assembled, have any right in civil matters; but that all civil power, jurisdiction and pre-eminence, are derived from inheritance, election, the consent of the people, and other such titles of that nature.

To the second it is answered, in like manner—That none of the persons above-mentioned have a power to absolve the subjects of his Britannic Majesty from their oaths of allegiance.

To the third question it is answered—That the doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith with Heretics, or with any other persons who dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets.

Signed in the usual form, March 17th, 1789.

University of Salamanca.—To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, have, as such, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence, in the kingdom of England.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope nor cardinals, nor any assembly or individual of the Catholic church, can, as such, absolve the subjects of Great Britain from

their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with its obligations.

To the third it is answered—That it is no article of Catholic faith, with Heretics, or with persons of any other description, who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Signed in the usual form, March 7th, 1789.

University of Valladolid.—To the first question it is answered—That neither pope, cardinals, or even a general council, have any civil authority, power, jurisdiction or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, in the kingdom of Great Britain; or over any other kingdom or province in which they possess no temporal dominion.

To the second it is answered—That neither pope nor cardinals, nor even a general council, can absolve the subjects of Great Britain from their oaths of allegiance, or dispense with their obligation.

To the third it is answered—That the obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the law of nature, which binds all men equally, without respect to their religious opinions; and with regard to Catholics, it is still more cogent, as it is confirmed by the principles of their religion.

Signed in the usual form, February 17th, 1789.

The circulation of this invincible refutation of the pernicious tenets and pretensions imputed to the Roman Catholics, signed by the clergy and the laity, was productive of the most beneficial consequences. The fears of the timid Protestants were removed, and the opponents of the Catholics nearly silenced.

The attention of the general committee was then necessarily directed to the charge of being incompetent to declare the wishes of the Catholic body, uttered in and out of parliament. In the debate on their petition, which was rejected, on the 20th of February, Sir Boyle Roche asked, "Who were they, who affected to be the repre-

representatives of the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Were there amongst them any of the ancient nobility, or of the gentry of Ireland? No—not one. There was, indeed, Mr. Edward Byrne, a sugar-baker, a seller of wines and other commodities, and he was the first name, and put in front of the battle. There was another, John Keogh; and who was he? Why he was a retailer of poplins in Dame-street. These men met over their porter to consider of commanding the government; they met at chop-houses, at Derham's chop-house in particular, where the former of them in his cups happened to dream that he was the Nabob of Ireland. As to the rest of them, they were so obscure, that he could neither recollect nor describe them. Were these the representatives of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry? No. Was there one respectable name amongst them? No. These fellows represented themselves, and misrepresented the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Neither the Catholic nobility, the catholic gentry, nor the catholic clergy, had any thing to do with it—and he considered it to be both an insolent and a degrading petition. As to the Belfast petition, they had moved heaven and earth, in order to foment disturbance in the country. At the same time that they were framing this petition in behalf of the Roman Catholics, they were holding a correspondence with the French National Assembly, while the Dublin petitioners were espousing the cause of a renegado, and entertaining a French democrat, who had fled from his own country, to infect this with the poison of his

principles. This same John Keogh, had distributed several thousands of Payne's pamphlet through the country, and they were circulated by the petitioners. But the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry abhorred those abominations. No imputation could be laid at their door upon this head, and therefore he hoped that all reflections would rest where they ought, upon the scum of the earth. Shame and disgrace! are such men the representatives of the catholics of Ireland? No. The Roman Catholics are not involved in their misconduct. Their sentiments are not to be collected from a meeting composed of turbulent men, shop-keepers and shop-lifters, and for this reason he trusted that the house would not go into the committee on the petition. In the year 84, he recollected another committee like the present, it was the tarring and feathering committee, which was as much the representative of the Roman Catholics, as that which now affected to speak for them."

These objections of incompetency, thus virulently urged, could not be overlooked, unless the pursuit of emancipation was relinquished. A mode was immediately adopted, whereby the sentiments of every individual of the Catholic body throughout Ireland should be ascertained, and unequivocally declared. The general committee, and the gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it, mutually regretted their division, which they saw used by their opponents as a pretext for withholding the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury.

A reconciliation was effected; and all former differences of opinion, it was agreed, should be buried in oblivion on both sides. The necessary unanimity being attained, it was determined, that delegates should be chosen in such a manner as that it should be evident they were nominated by the people. For this purpose, meetings were directed to be held in each parish throughout Ireland, for the appointment of one or two of the most respectable persons in each as electors. These electors, so appointed, were to choose from one to four of their own residents, as delegates to the general committee from each county. In addition to these, associate delegates for each county, residents of Dublin, were to be chosen, in order to keep up a regular correspondence with their colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings in the general committee, at such times as the county delegates should be absent.

The first great business, which was to engage their attention, the general committee declared to be, "An humble application to our gracious sovereign, submitting to him their loyalty and attachment, their obedience to the laws, a true statement of their situation, and of the laws which operated against them; and humbly beseeching that they may be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal participation in the benefits of the trial by jury. "We have the FIRST AUTHORITY for asserting, (they also stated,) that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious sovereign and with parliament, if our friends are

qualified to declare, that it is the universal wish of every Catholic in the nation."

The agitation which the appearance of this plan immediately produced, was most extraordinary. Wherever their adversaries were sufficiently strong, corporate or county meetings were held to reprobate the plan, and to resist the so-stiled exorbitant pretensions of the Catholics; but if defeat, or even formidable resistance was dreaded, similar resolutions were entered into by the grand juries. These breathed no common opposition. In general, they charged the committee with the intention of overawing the legislature; they drew a line of circumvallation round the protestant ascendancy, and pledged those who adopted them, as solemnly as could be done by words, to resist with their lives and fortunes every attempt to regain a right within its limits. The grand jury of the county of Louth, with the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, declared, that "the allowing Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant establishment, the continuance of the succession to the crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and finally tended to shake, if not destroy, their connexion with Great Britain, on the continuance and inseparability of which depended the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom; that they would oppose every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and that they would support with their lives and for-

tunes the present constitution, and the settlement of the throne on his Majesty's Protestant House." The freeholders of the county of Limerick, stimulated by the lord chancellor, charged the Catholics with intending to intimidate the legislature, to force a repeal of the penal laws, and to create a popish democracy for their government and direction in pursuit of whatever objects might be holden out to them by turbulent and seditious men. The grand jury of the county of Cork denominated the plan "an unconstitutional proceeding, of the most alarming, dangerous and seditious tendency; an attempt to overawe parliament," &c. The corporation of Dublin went still further; for, alluding to the possibility of government's finally acceding to the Catholic claims, it expressly said, that "the Protestants of Ireland would not be compelled, by any authority whatever, to abandon that political situation, which their forefathers won with their swords, and which is therefore their birthright:" and to this threatened resistance against the constituted authorities, it solemnly pledged the lives and fortunes of its members. That no doubt might be entertained as to the extent of what it was determined at all hazards to maintain, it gave a definition of protestant ascendancy in these words: "A protestant king of Ireland, a protestant parliament, a protestant hierarchy, protestant electors and government, the benches of justice, the army and the revenue, through all their branches and details, protestant; and this system supported by a connexion with the pro-

testant realm of England." What gave to those resolutions a still more important appearance was, that they seemed to be made with the immediate sanction of government; as the most confidential servants of the crown, and even its ministers, stepped forward to give them countenance and support in their respective counties. This authoritative interference on the part of persons high in the administration of the country, against a plan, calculated to ascertain an universal wish, formed a very striking and suspicious contrast with the assertion of the committee, that it had the first authority to declare an application would have infinite weight, if it appeared to be the wish of every Catholic in the nation. An assurance possibly given under the idea, that compliance with the requisite would be impracticable.

The charge of illegality, repeated from various quarters, determined the committee to submit the plan itself to the opinion of two eminent lawyers, the Hon. Simon Butler and Beresford Burston, Esq., whose answers, being entirely favourable, were printed, and universally dispersed throughout the country. The legality of the measure was no longer expressly questioned; the elections tranquilly proceeded, and the Catholic Convention assembled on the 2d of December, 1792.

Meanwhile the Catholics of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice, replied in a very dignified stile to the different corporations, county and grand jury resolutions. Eight gentlemen, Messrs. Randall M'Donald, John Keogh, Hugh Hamill, Edward Byrne, Thomas Ryan, Thomas

Warren, Charles Ryan, and John Ball, executed this important task.

We the Catholics of the city of Dublin, have read with extreme concern, the resolutions of different bodies of our Protestant fellow subjects, in which they express their disapprobation of the conduct of our committee, and their aversion to our claims of the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the trial by jury. But the address of the corporation of this city to the Protestants of Ireland, has filled us most peculiarly with mortification and surprise; as Irishmen, we are astonished and grieved, that the first corporation of this kingdom should have put forth a publication, teeming with false principles of government, and false statements of historic facts; as Catholics, we lament, that the same body should have misconceived and mis-stated our conduct and our objects.

We have read of what is called the right of conquest; it has also been called the right of robbery: but we do not imagine, that a doctrine, so subversive of the peace and settlement of society, and of the immutable rules of justice, that a doctrine, which in its consequences so completely warrants, and in its language so wantonly provokes resistance, would be made the foundation of the Protestant claims to the government of this country. We did not expect, that a doctrine, exploded in this island by the revolution of 1782, would be revived to our oppression. If conquest and the right of the sword could justify the stronger in retaining dominion, why did Great Britain abdicate her legislative supremacy over Ireland? or why were we all, Protestants and Catholics, actuated as one man to resist so legitimate an authority? Is that monstrous and exploded principle still to be retained for our peculiar subjection, which was felt to be false by every honest man, when applied to the subjection of his native land?

We are desired in that address to "rest contented with the most perfect toleration of our religion, the fullest security of our property, and the most complete personal liberty." They are great and important blessings, but they are not secure to any man who is a slave. They are held but by sufferance, by those who are tried without their consent, and legislated for without being represented.

We agree with the corporation in the spirit of one assertion, they "know of no power under Heaven authorized to alienate this their most valuable inheritance." Let our claims be tried by the same principle. The Catholics were the constituents of the very parliament which deprived them of their franchise, and thereby did indeed "alienate their most valuable inheritance!" and though we have acquiesced under that unjust deprivation for sixty-five years, and though we will continue to acquiesce, so long as the statute stands in its present form, we must still declare, as a political truth, that no elected and delegated legislature has a right to disfranchise its electors and delegators, who never entrusted their power to that body for the purpose of being made the instrument of its own destruction. And we further say, that, in our judgment, not even those electors could empower their representatives to enslave us, their posterity.

We are likewise told by the corporation, that "experience has taught them, that without the ruin of the Protestant establishment, the Catholic cannot be allowed the smallest influence in the state." The inclinations of our body are not to subvert any establishment in this country; if they were, we are not competent to so absurd a project: and no strength, that we might derive from the restoration of our rights, would enable us to effect it, while the King, the House of Lords, the Irish Privy Council, the English Privy Council, and the Chancellors of both countries, are unalterably Protestant. If by establishment be meant religious establishment, we must further reply, that no experience has taught them so; the Protestant religion was dominant in this country long before our ancestors lost their elective franchise. Is it only since the year 1727, that Protestantism has been the religion of the state in Ireland? If by establishment be meant the government of the country, it is equally ill-founded; *that* is instituted for the freedom and happiness of the governed; and yet this address would imply, that procuring freedom and happiness for three-fourths of this kingdom, would cause the utter ruin of our government. A greater libel against the constitution of Ireland was never uttered by its most declared enemy. It is sufficiently capacious to give liberty to every man; and the more its base is widened, and its blessings diffused, the more it will be fortified against the efforts of time

and despotism. Nor does experience warrant the assertion. Our loss of the right of citizenship is comparatively modern; and the government of this country neither required nor gained any accession of strength by our slavery. That was effected in a time of profound tranquillity, after the uninterrupted loyalty and peaceable demeanour of our ancestors had been experienced and acknowledged for thirty-six years from the capitulation of Limerick. The causes that induced this law are now almost forgotten; but if tradition be to be believed, where history is silent, it was enacted to satisfy court intrigue, not public security; to change the balance of power between Protestant families in two or three counties of this kingdom, not to give any increase of power to the Protestants at large.

It is suggested in that address, that the Revolution was established in Ireland by force, or as it is profanely called, by "an appeal to Heaven." The Revolution in England, derived its glory and its stability from this great truth, that it was founded on the people's will. Does the Revolution in Ireland rest upon a different foundation? Is it supported by a principle, which is the reverse of that, which rendered the Revolution in England the admiration of the world? No! it is not so; we must all concur in calumniating that great event, that our ancestors may also be calumniated. The Revolution in Ireland was not completed by the battles of the Boyne or Aughrim, but by the articles of Limerick. It was consented to by all, Protestants and Catholics. The consent of the Catholics was obtained to a compact, *as solemnly ratified, and as speedily broken*, as any in the records of history. By that compact, the enjoyment of all their rights was stipulated for to our ancestors, as a declaration of their consent. The restoration of those rights was therefore connected with the Revolution settlement of this kingdom.

We are also told, that those laws were enacted to "deprive the Roman Catholics of political power, in consequence of the many and great efforts made by them in support of their Popish King and French connexions." When, where, or how were those many and great efforts made? From their number and their magnitude, those who so confidently advance this assertion, cannot, we presume, be at a loss for an instance; but we defy the malice of invention to produce *one*. *Our forefathers never violated the articles of Limerick.* From

the time that they consented to the Revolution in 1691, they never made any efforts either in support of a Popish King, or French connexions, or of any other enemy to King William and his successors. Had they even done so, the fault had been theirs—why not the punishment theirs also? Or, is it intended to be insinuated to fellow-subjects who know our loyalty, that **we** are anxious to have this country “governed by an arbitrary and unconstitutional Popish tyrant, and dependant upon France;” or that *we do not desire* to “enjoy the blessings of a free Protestant government, a Protestant monarch limited by the constitution, (as settled by the Revolution,) and an intimate connexion with the free empire of Britain?” If *we do*, why is the law continued, after the reason of enacting has ceased?

We admit, that from the moment the Protestant began to make concessions, the Roman Catholic began to extend his claims. The first kindness of our Protestant brethren shewed a returning spirit of liberality and affection. Before that time we were not so rash as to raise our minds to the hopes of citizenship. But we were never guilty of the deceit imputed to us, of declaring that a little would satisfy us, and when that little was granted, of claiming more. Our own attention, as well as that of our Protestant fellow subjects, was directed to the most immediate and most practicable redress. We did not embarrass the measure by remote and extraneous considerations, but we never did, either in word or thought, *and we never will forego our hopes of emancipation*. Freemen would not believe us, if we said that we should be induced by any comparatively small alleviation of our grievances, to consent to perpetual slavery.

We lament that it is *not true*, “that the last session of parliament left us in no wise different from our Protestant fellow-subjects, save only in the exercise of political power.” That assertion is falsified by the heavy code of penal laws still in force against us, many of which infringe on that security of property, and that personal liberty, which it is alleged we possess. But it is not power, it is protection we solicit. It is not power, including in it the notion of *superiority*—it is the *equal enjoyment* of our rights that we claim.

The Corporation tell us, that they will not be compelled by any authority whatever, “to abandon that political situ-

ation, which their forefathers won with their swords, and which they have resolved with their lives and fortunes to maintain." Are we the seditious men, that would overawe the legislature and our fellow countrymen? No; our views are peaceable, and neither insult nor oppression shall make us forget our loyalty. But wherefore this untimely threat? It wears the appearance of first urging us to despair by an eternal proscription, and then of throwing down the gauntlet of civil war. We too have lives and fortunes, which we are ready to devote to the service of our country, whenever *real danger* shall require it; but we will never degrade that last and most solemn act of patriotism into an idle menace and an insolent bravado.

The great question of our emancipation is now afloat, we have never sought to acquire it by force, and we hope for it now only from the wisdom of the legislature, and affection of our Protestant brethren. But, we here solemnly and publicly declare, that we never will, through any change of time or circumstance, save the actual *restoration of our rights*, desist from the peaceable and lawful pursuit of the two great objects of our hopes—the *right of elective franchise, and an equal share in the benefit of the trial by jury.*

This meeting also embraced the opportunity it afforded, to express their gratitude to the illustrious characters, in both houses of parliament, who had supported their emancipation; also to the citizens of Belfast, the Belfast Volunteers, the freeholders of Cork, and all of their Protestant brethren, who had manifested a similar inclination. The chairman, Mr. T. Braughall, was ordered to transmit copies of this day's proceedings to the chairman of the town-meeting at Belfast; the chairmen of the different societies of United Irishmen; the different reviewing officers of Ulster, &c.

Agreeable to the resolution of the Catholic committee, the Catholic Convention prepared a

petition to his Majesty, setting forth the disabilities under which his Irish Catholic subjects laboured; praying that he would recommend to his parliament of Ireland to take into consideration the whole of their situation; and expressing their wish to be restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of their country. 'The next question was, how it should be forwarded to England. Some were for transmitting it in the ordinary mode, through the viceroy; and this government itself seemed very solicitous to procure. The measure was expressly solicited by lord Donoughmore, who, with his family, had always espoused the Catholic cause; and who was likewise among the most steady supporters of administration. He waited outside the hall, where the convention met, to know their determination; he was informed by order of the meeting, that if the lord lieutenant would promise to forward the petition, with a recommendation in its favour, it should be intrusted to him. Lord Donoughmore having carried this communication to the castle, returned with an answer, that his excellency could not, in his official situation, pledge himself to the required recommendation; a remembrance of the hostile denunciations during the preceding summer—a suspicion of the manner in which they were excited, prevailed; and it was determined that the petition should be presented to the king himself, by deputies of their own appointment. These were Messrs. Edward Byrne, John Keogh, James Edward Devereux, Christopher Bellew, and Sir Thomas

French, Bart. They were accompanied by Mr. T. W. Tone, who, though a protestant, had, in consequence of his very uncommon talents and exertions in the Catholic cause, been appointed one of the secretaries to the committee, and the secretary to the delegation.

That the friendly dispositions of their Protestant brethren might be manifested, the delegation chose to pass through the North. They were received at Belfast with the most marked affection; some of the most respectable gentlemen waited upon them at the Donegal Arms, and on their departure, their carriages were drawn through the streets, by a presbyterian populace, amidst the liveliest shouts of joy and wishes for their success. The delegates returned these expressions of affection and sympathy, by the most grateful acknowledgments, and assurances of their determination to maintain that union, which formed the strength of Ireland. On the 2d of January, 1793, the delegates were introduced to his Majesty, by the secretary of state for the home department, Mr. Dundas, and presented the petition, which the king was pleased graciously to receive.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic Subjects of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your Majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your con-

sideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it please your Majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your Majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge, which can be devised for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period, when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave with all humility to represent to your Majesty, that notwithstanding the lowest departments in your Majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your Majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military—a proscription, which disregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations, and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those, in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish throughout the kingdom a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavour, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school, for the education of our children; and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin, by the several statutes and charters now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to self-

defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions, than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishments of the pillory and whipping;—penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all Petit Juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all Petit Juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws; by which law we most humbly submit to your Majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this, their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says, that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, Trial by our Peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances;

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We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances;

but may it please your Majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your Majesty to believe, that this our prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland; for may it please your Majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences, to which those who are deprived thereof are liable; not to mention the disgrace to three-fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland, of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and of necessity from the malignant nature of the law must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords; a circumstance, which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren—a visitation and heavy curse to us, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your Majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your Majesty's Catholic subjects, operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great national advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully

as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your Majesty's honour, and the more effectual support of your service.

And, may it please your Majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and their conscience; and, preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve, a circumstance, which, we doubt not, will shock your Majesty's well known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And, may it please your Majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your Majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English Constitution by our forefathers, was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your Majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his Majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no such event as the treaty had ever taken place, your Majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your Majesty's

government in this country, as well as in their personal service, in your Majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the Constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your Majesty, permit us, most gracious Sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the Constitution, as established in three estates of King, Lords, and Commons, our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct, which has, under your Majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope, that your Majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and as we do not give place to any of your Majesty's subjects, in loyalty and attachment to your Majesty's sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the Constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majesty that service which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your Royal Person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

To this was affixed the signatures of the Most Reverend Dr. Troy and the Right Reverend Dr. Moylan, on behalf of themselves and the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by the delegates for the different districts which they severally represented.

The United Irishmen were not less actively employed. Immediately after their declaration announced their existence, the United Irishmen issued a circular letter, recommending the speedy formation of similar societies throughout the island. Soon after they published *A Digest of the Popery laws*, which exhibited the whole of that oppressive code, divested of its technical garb, made a reference to its detailed enormities easy, and effected more in bringing the system and its authors into abhorrence, than had been ever done by any other publication. This report classed the Popery laws under the general heads of Education, Guardianship, Marriage, Self-defence, Exercise of Religion, Enjoyment and Disposition of Property, Acquisition of Property and Franchises. To enable a reader, not habituated to the intricacies of statute reading, to form a judgment of the spirit of the whole system, the following simple view of the actual state of the then existing popery laws, was prefixed to a second edition of this digest.

EDUCATION.—In every well regulated community, the education of youth has been an object of the greatest notice.

The Irish popery laws have not been inoperative on this point.

Those who are acquainted with the constitution of our university need not be informed, that none, except those who conform to the established church, can be admitted to study there, and that none can obtain the degrees therein, who have not previously taken all the tests, oaths and declarations; so that papists are entirely excluded from education in the authorized establishment for learning in their own country.

No popish university or college can be erected or endowed.

No popish school can be endowed.

But, if we truly conceive the sense of the legislature, (which from the obscurity of its language in this as in other instances, is not easy,) a papist, on taking the oath of allegiance, and subscribing the declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. c. 35. does thereby *qualify* himself to instruct in learning, publicly and privately, youth of his own persuasion; but lest he should educate any protestants, and thereby have opportunity of making proselytes, the law has provided, that he shall not receive into his school any protestant, or become an usher, under-master or assistant to a protestant school-master.

Protestants and converts from popery, educating or permitting their children (not already papists, and above *fourteen* years of age) to be educated papists, shall be subject to such disabilities as papists are.

Any *convert*, if a *justice of peace*, who educates any of his children under *sixteen* years of age in the popish religion, shall, on conviction of acting as such, suffer one year's imprisonment, forfeit £100, and be incapable of being an executor, administrator or guardian.

The children of papists are deemed papists until they conform, except such as from the age of *twelve* years have been constantly bred up in the protestant religion, and received the sacrament according to the church of Ireland, who shall be reputed protestants, unless they at any time after the age of *eighteen* years declare themselves of the communion of the church of Rome, or be present at matins or vespers according to the practice of that church, in which case they shall be subject to all the penalties affecting converts relapsing to popery.

Upon this view of the law concerning education, the nation may judge of the *liberal indulgence* afforded to the *Roman catholics* by admitting them to the benefits of education.

GUARDIANSHIP.—The law concerning guardianship stands simply thus:—Papists, other than ecclesiastics, taking the oath of allegiance, and subscribing the declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. ch. 35, are thereby qualified to be guardians of their own children or of the child of a papist, but not of the child of a protestant.

MARRIAGE.—As to the law concerning marriage, it is extremely simple in its severity, as it consists of but one re-

gulation for every marriage *celebrated* by a popish priest, between two protestants, or between a papist and any person who has been or has professed him or herself to be a protestant at any time within twelve months before such marriage, shall be null and void without any process, judgment or sentence of law whatsoever; and nevertheless, the popish priest who *celebrates* such marriage shall on conviction be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy or of the statute, and suffer *death* accordingly: for, says the lawyer, the *celebration*, and not the *marriage*, constitutes his offence.—In order to obtain evidence of the fact, two justices of the peace are empowered to summon any persons whom they *suspect* to have been present at any marriage, which they *suspect* to have been made contrary to this law, as well as the parties *suspected* to be married, and such *suspected persons* and *suspected witnesses* declining to appear, or refusing to declare upon oath their knowledge of the facts, or refusing after declaration of the facts to enter into recognizance to prosecute, shall be imprisoned for three years.

It must be admitted, that the legislature has lately declared, that it shall and may be lawful to and for protestants and persons professing the popish religion to intermarry, provided the marriage be celebrated by a clergyman of the established church; but when it is considered, that, in the Roman catholic persuasion, marriage is a *sacrament*, and ought to be celebrated according to the rites and ceremonies of that church, it will be readily granted, that by establishing the legality of inter-marriages no very *liberal indulgence* was offered to the Roman catholics, the more especially as there is a saving in favour of the law that enacts, “that a protestant married to a papist, or a convert married since his conformity to a papist, shall not be entitled to vote at any election of *members to serve in parliament*, in right of being a *freeholder* or *protestant inhabitant of a borough*.”

SELF-DEFENCE.—There is another head upon which the legislature has thought proper to change the course of the common law: it is the *right of self-defence*, which is complicated with the use of *arms*. Now this right, though one of the laws of nature, and indeed the first of them, is yet so liable to so many dangerous abuses, that wise communities have found it necessary to set several restrictions upon it,

especially temporary ones, on some imminent danger to the public from foreign invasion. The method which the statute law of Ireland has taken upon this delicate article is, to get rid of all the difficulties at once, by an universal prohibition to all persons, who are not protestants, at all times, and under all circumstances, to use or keep any kind of weapons whatsoever. In order to enforce this regulation, severe penalties, without any regard to proportion, are inflicted; new modes of inquisition are enjoined; the largest powers are vested in the lowest magistrates. Any justice of the peace, or any magistrate of a city or town corporate, with or *without* information, by themselves or by their warrant, at their discretion, whenever they think proper, at any hour of the day or *night*, are impowered *forcibly* to enter, and to search the house of any papist, or of any *protestant* whom they *suspect* to keep arms in trust for a papist. This, we say, they may do at their discretion; and it seems a pretty ample power to be vested in the hands of that class of magistrates.

Besides the discretionary and occasional search, the law has prescribed one that is general and periodical. It is to be made annually, under the warrants of justices of peace and magistrates of corporations, by the high and petty constables, or any others whom they choose to authorize, with all the powers, and with the same circumstances in every respect, which attend the discretionary and occasional search.

Not trusting, however, to the activity of the magistrates proceeding officially, the law has invited voluntary informers by the distribution of considerable rewards, and even pressed involuntary into the service, by the dread of very heavy penalties.—With regard to the latter method, justices of the peace, and magistrates of corporations, are empowered to summon before them any person whatsoever, and to tender to him an oath, by which they oblige him to discover concerning all persons, without distinctions of propinquity or connexion, who have any arms concealed contrary to law, and even whether he himself has any. His refusal to appear, or appearing, his refusal to discover and inform, subjects him to *fine and imprisonment, or such corporal punishment of pillory or whipping* as the court shall in its *discretion* think proper.—Thus all persons, peers and peeresses, protestants as well as papists, may be summoned to perform this hono-

rable service, by the bailiff of a corporation of a few straggling cottages, and refusing to perform it, are liable to be fined and imprisoned, pilloried or whipped.—The punishment for the first offence in *peers* and *peeresses*, if not pilloried or whipped, is £300, and for the second offence the punishment is no less than the penalties of a person attainted in a *præmunire*, that is, “the offender shall be out of the king’s protection, and his or her lands and tenements, goods and chattels, forfeited to the king: and his or her body shall remain in prison at the king’s pleasure.”—The punishment for the first offence, in *persons of an inferior order*, if not pilloried or whipped, is (without any consideration of what their substance may be) £50, and one year’s imprisonment, and for the second offence they are subject to the penalties of a person attainted of a *præmunire*.—So far as to involuntary, now as to voluntary informers. If the punishment of the offender be a fine, the law entitles them to one half of the same.

The only exception to this law is, a licence from the lord lieutenant and privy council to keep such arms as shall be particularly expressed in the licence.—This possibility of a privilege is, by its own nature, so remote, on account of the difficulty of application in private cases to the supreme executive authority, that we do not believe there are ten persons now in the kingdom, who have been fortunate enough to obtain it.

EXERCISE OF RELIGION.—We will now say something concerning the exercise of religion.

All inhabitants of this realm must attend divine service, according to the established religion, at their parish church, upon Sunday and holiday, upon pain of ecclesiastical censures, and of forfeiting 12d. for every time of absence.

All superstitious meetings and assemblies of pilgrims at wells, and pretended sanctified places, are declared riots and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such.

Magistrates are to demolish all crosses, pictures and inscriptions, that are any where publicly set up, and are the occasion of popish superstitions.

None shall bury in any suppressed monastery, abbey or convent, not used for divine service, or within the precincts thereof, upon pain of £10 from any person present, by order of a justice of peace.

Justices of peace are to suppress all monasteries, friaries, nunneries, or other popish fraternities or societies.

A popish *secular* ecclesiastic, who registers himself pursuant to the act for that purpose, and takes and subscribes the oath and declaration prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. ch. 35, and also a popish *regular* ecclesiastic, if he be in the kingdom at the passing of the 21st and 22d Geo. 3. c. 24, and makes the oath and declaration aforesaid, and registers himself, pursuant to the act for that purpose, in six months after the passing the said act of the 21st and 22d Geo. 3. c. 24, are authorized to officiate, provided they do not officiate in any church or chapel with a steeple or a bell, or at any funeral in any church-yard, or exercise any of the rites or ceremonies of the popish religion, or wear the habits of their order, (save within their several places of worship or in private houses) or shall use any symbol or mark of ecclesiastical dignity or authority, or assume or take any ecclesiastical rank or title, or procure, incite or persuade any protestant to become a papist.

All popish *regular* and *secular* ecclesiastics, not qualifying as above, or offending against any of the aforementioned provisions, and all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be imprisoned till they be transported beyond seas, and if they should return from exile, they will thereby be guilty of high-treason, and suffer and forfeit as in case of high-treason—and whoever harbours them shall, for the first offence, forfeit £20; for the second offence £40; and for the third offence, all his lands of inheritance and freehold during his life, and all his goods and chattels.

Every popish priest who becomes a protestant, shall receive £40 yearly, from the county in which he last officiated as a Roman priest, during his residence in said county, until he shall be provided for by some ecclesiastical benefice or licensed curacy of the same or greater value.

If any person shall seduce a protestant to renounce the protestant and profess the popish religion, the seducer and the seduced shall incur the præmunire mentioned in the 16th Rich. 2.: that is, they “shall be put out of the king’s protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king’s use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council.

ENJOYMENT AND DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY.—The popery penal law, in respect to *real estates* and *chattels real*, has been in a great measure done away; and, at this day, papists, upon taking the oath and subscribing the declaration mentioned in the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. ch. 35, in the manner, and at the times and places prescribed by law, are *qualified* to enjoy and acquire *real estates* and *chattels real* nearly as fully and beneficially as other subjects may.

However there are some disabilities still remaining.

Papists are disabled to *buy or purchase any advowson*.—And the *right of presentation* of a papist to any ecclesiastical benefice, is vested in the crown.

Papists, making as aforesaid the oath and declaration mentioned in the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. ch. 35, may take, hold and enjoy any lands, tenements or hereditaments, in any *manor or borough*, the freeholders or inhabitants whereof are entitled to vote for burgesses to represent such manor or borough in parliament, which shall descend from or be devised or transferred by a *papist* seized in fee or tail, in law or in equity, of the same, at the passing of the 17th and 18th Geo. 3. ch. 49, or person deriving from a *papist* then so seized.

If any *protestant* is seised of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, in *such manor or borough*, no papist is capable of taking the same, by reason of any *descent, devise, or gift*, from such *protestant*; but the law vests the same, until his conformity, in the next protestant of the inheritable blood.

Papists, upon making as aforesaid the oath and declaration before-mentioned, are not disabled from taking any *lease* in lands, tenements or hereditaments, in any *such manor or borough*, for any term of years not exceeding 999 years certain, or for any term of years determinable on any number of lives not exceeding five, with or without liberty of committing waste, and disposing of the same by will or otherwise, as fully and beneficially, to all intents and purposes, as any other his majesty's subjects may, save that upon every such lease a rent *bonâ fide* to be paid in money shall be reserved, and save that a *maintenance* and *portion* may be granted thereout to any child of a popish parent possessed of the same, upon a bill filed against such parent in chancery, pursuant to the 2d Anne, ch. 6. which enacts, "that upon a bill filed in chancery by a child of a popish parent, professing or

desirous to profess the protestant religion, against such parent, that court may make such order for the *maintenance* of such child, not maintained by such parent, suitable to the degree and ability of such parent and age of such child, and *also* for the *portion* of such child, *to be paid at the death of such parent*, as the court shall judge fit, suitable to the degree and ability of such parent."

But if any papist *buys* or *purchases* lands, tenements or hereditaments, in *such manor* or *borough*, from any *protestant*, or any leases or terms thereof, other than for the beforementioned term of 999 years, or other number of years determinable on five lives, [a lease for a term of years is not a freehold, and does not confer the right of suffrage,] *such* lands, tenements and hereditaments, so conveyed or leased, and all collateral securities made or entered into to cover or make good the same, are discoverable, and may be sued for and recovered by a protestant discoverer.

This discoverer, so vested with this property, is enabled to find it out by every mode of inquisition, and to sue for it with every kind of privilege; not only the courts of law are open to him, but he may enter, and this is the usual method, into either of the courts of equity; he may bring bills against the parties, whom he suspects to be possessed of this forbidden property, against those whom he suspects to be their trustees, and against those whom he suspects to be privy to the transaction, and oblige them, upon oath, under the guilt and penalties of perjury, to disclose the exact nature, and just value, of their estates and trusts, in all the particulars, in order to effect their forfeiture.—In such suits, the informer is not liable to the delays, which the ordinary procedure of those courts throws into the way of the most equitable claimant; nor has the papist the indulgence, which they allow to the most fraudulent defendant, that of plea and demurrer; the defendant is obliged to *answer* the whole directly upon oath, and the old rule of "extending benefit and restraining penalty," is by this law struck out of the Irish jurisprudence, and the contrary rule is established, directing, that, upon all doubts, these penal laws should be construed in the largest and the most liberal sense against the defendant.

Until the 2d of May, 1782, papists were incapable to purchase from *protestant or papist*, any *rents or profits out of*,

or annuity chargeable on any lands, tenements or hereditaments, and at this day no papist is capable to buy or purchase from *protestant* or *papist* any *rents* or *profits* out of lands, tenements or hereditaments, in *such manor* or *borough*, or take any *annuity*, chargeable on *such lands, tenements or hereditaments*;—and all securities whatsoever for the securing of any *such annuity* are void; and any judgment had on such annuity, so far as such judgment may affect *such lands*, is also void.

In respect to the leases taken by papists, under the powers granted by the 17th and 18th Geo. 3. ch. 40., it is to be observed, that those leases, if taken at any time within the first of August and first of November 1788, were liable to be charged with maintenance and portion for the children of a popish parent possessed of the same, if a bill grounded on the 2d Anne, ch. 6, was filed for that purpose before the first of November, 1778; but if no such bill was filed before the first of November, 1778, such leases, so previously taken, and in the actual possession of the papist on that day, ceased to be liable to such charges. It must also be observed, as to those leases taken by papists under the powers granted by the 17th and 18th Geo. 3. ch. 49, that if taken at any time after the 1st of November 1778, and before the 2d of May 1782, (or since, if of lands in such beforementioned manors or boroughs) they were, and do now continue to be, liable to be charged with such maintenance and portion.—As to leases of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, (save in such beforementioned manors or boroughs,) taken by papists after the 1st of May 1782, they are within the provision of the statute of the 21st and 22d Geo. 3. ch. 24, “which enables papists, upon making as aforesaid the oath and declaration beforementioned, to take and dispose of lands, tenements and hereditaments, and any interest therein, as fully and beneficially as other subjects may,” and are, therefore, not liable to such charges.

To conclude our observations on the subject of *real* property, we have only to take notice, that the law directs that *debts* and *incumbrances* affecting the *real* estates of *papists*, shall, within six months, be enrolled in the court of exchequer, in some public office belonging to and appointed by such court for that purpose, and that in default of such enrollment, such

debts and incumbrances shall not charge the *lands* in the hands of a *protestant*.—The *auditor-general's office* is the place appointed for that purpose by the court of exchequer.—The intent of this law was to prevent *pocket incumbrances* only—*judgments* are of sufficient notoriety, and, it is decided, that they are not within the view of the legislature, and that copies of them need not be enrolled in the auditor-general's office.

ACQUISITION OF PROPERTY.—Whatever effect the relaxing laws may have had upon *real estates* and *chattels real*, the *goods* and *personal chattels* have not been affected by those laws in any respect, save that no maintenance or portion can be granted out of such property to any child of a popish parent, upon a bill filed against such parent, pursuant to the 2d *Anne*, ch. 6; in other respects, the penalties of the law affecting such property, remain as they did before the relaxing laws were passed.

If the *wife* of a papist conforms in his life time, she shall, if she survives him, and be unprovided for by dower, or by some settlement on his *real estate*, receive such proportion of the *goods* and *personal chattels* whereof he shall die possessed or intitled unto, as the court of chancery, on a bill to be preferred by her, grounded on the 8th *Anne*, ch. 3. may think reasonable, not exceeding one *third* part after debts and funeral expences, notwithstanding any will or voluntary disposition by him to the contrary, or the *statute of distributions*.—The legislature, in this instance, has presumed, that the husband omitted to make provision, for no other reason than that of her religion.—If, therefore, a wife chooses to balance any domestic misdemeanors to her husband, by the public merit of conformity to the protestant religion, the law will suffer no proofs of such misdemeanors to be brought to invalidate its presumption; she acquires a provision, totally independent of the favour of her husband, and this in a great degree deprives him of that source of domestic authority, which the common law has left in families, that of rewarding or punishing, by a voluntary distribution of his effects, what in the opinion of the husband, was the good or ill behaviour of his wife. And yet it is to be observed, that though the law meant a favour to the conforming wife, yet, by a strange inaccuracy, in repealing as to her the provisions of the *statute of distributions*, it has deprived her of an advantage, to which

she would have been intitled under that statute, in case her husband died intestate and without issue; as in such case, by that statute, she would be intitled, as against his collateral relations, to a *moiety* of the clear surplus of his *personal* estate, after payment of debts and funeral expences.

The *child* of a papist, on conforming to the protestant religion, may file a bill in chancery, grounded on the statute of the 8th *Anne*, ch. 3, against the parent, and compel such parent, by the process of that court, to confess, upon oath, the quantity and value of the *goods and personal chattels* of such parent, over and above debts contracted *bonâ fide* for valuable consideration before the conformity.—Upon this conformity, the court is empowered to seize upon and allocate for the *immediate maintenance* of such child, any sum not exceeding one *third* of the said *goods and personal chattels*.—This *third*, as we said, for *immediate maintenance*; but as to *future establishment* upon the death of the parent, no limits whatsoever are assigned by the statute; the chancellor may, if he thinks fit, take the whole of such property, money, stock in trade or agriculture, out of the hands of the possessor, and secure it in any manner he may think expedient for that purpose, the act not having any sort of limit with regard to the quantity of property which is to be so charged, nor having given any sort of direction concerning the means of charging or securing it.—But the policy of the legislature was not yet exhausted, because there was a possibility, that the parent, though sworn, and otherwise compellable, might by *false representations* evade the discovery of the ultimate value of *such* property on the *first* bill; new bills may be brought at any time, by any, or by all the children, for a further discovery.—*Such* property of the parent is to undergo a fresh scrutiny, and in consequence of this scrutiny a new distribution is to be made; the parent can have no security against the vexation of reiterated chancery suits, and continual dissection of *such* his property, but by doing what must be confessed is somewhat difficult to human feelings, by fully and without reserve abandoning *such* property (which may be his *whole*) to be disposed of at the discretion of such a court, in favour of such children.—Is this enough; and has the parent purchased his repose, by the total surrender for once of *such* effects? Very far from it: the law very expressly

and carefully provides that he shall not; for as in the former case, a *concealment* of any part of *such* effects is made the equitable ground of a *new* bill—so here any *encrease* of them is made a second ground of equity; for the children are authorised, if they can find that their parent has, by his industry or otherwise, acquired any property since their first bill, to bring others compelling a fresh account, and another distribution of the increased substance, proportioned to its value at the time that the new bill is preferred.—They may bring such bills *toties quoties*, upon every improvement of *such* property by the parent, without any sort of limitation of time, of the number of such bills, or the quantity of encrease in the estate, which may justify the bringing them; in short, the law has provided, by a multiplicity of regulations, that the parent shall have no respite from the persecution of his children, but by totally abandoning not only all his present *goods and personal chattels*, but every hope of encrease and improvement of *such* property.—It is very well worth remarking, that the law has purposely avoided to determine any age for these emancipating conversions; so that the children, at any age, however in all other respects incapable of choice, however immature, or even infantine, are yet considered as sufficiently capable of disinheriting their parents, if we may be allowed the expression, and to subtract themselves from their direction and controul. By this part of the law, the value of Roman Catholics in their *goods and personal chattels*, is rendered extremely limited, and altogether precarious, the paternal authority in such families undermined, and love and gratitude, dependence and protection, almost extinguished.

FRANCHISES.—There only remains upon our plan, to say something concerning *franchises*.

No person shall hold any *ecclesiastical office* or *employment*, without making a *declaration* against *transubstantiation*, at the times and places, and in the manner prescribed by the law.

No person, without making a *declaration* against *transubstantiation* and *receiving the sacrament according to the church of Ireland* at the times and places and in the manner prescribed by the law, shall hold any *office* or *employment*, *civil* or *military*, except the office of high constable, overseer

of the poor, church-warden, surveyor of the highways, or any like inferior civil office, or the office of forester or keeper of a park, chase, warren, game, or bailiff of a manor of lands, or any like private office.—The office or employment is void, and the penalty for executing it, a disability to sue in law or equity, to be guardian, executor or administrator, to take a legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office, and a forfeiture of £500.

Papists are not entitled to vote at *vestries*, (held for other purposes than *paving* and *lighting*,) unless they happen to be the church-wardens, in which case they vote, except for the *repairing and building of churches*.

Papists are not to be *parochial watchmen* in times of *tumult and danger*—the lord lieutenant, the judge of such times, may, when he shall judge necessary, issue proclamations for the finding of protestants, and none other, to be *parochial watch*.

Though *papists* may, by taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance prescribed by the 13th and 14th Geo. 3. c. 35, *qualify* to be called to the bar, yet they are expressly excluded from being *king's council*.

And though *papists* may in like manner qualify to be *attorney, solicitor, or notary*, yet to be an *advocate, proctor, or six clerk*, the necessity of a *declaration against transubstantiation* still remains.

No person shall be capable of acting as a *sub-sheriff* or *sheriff's clerk*, who has not been a *protestant* for *five years* immediately before such acting, under penalty of being subject to such disabilities as *papists* are.

No *peer, or member of the house of peers*, shall vote or make his proxy in such house, or sit there during any debate, nor shall *any member of the house of commons* vote or sit in the house of commons, during any debate after the speaker is chosen, until such peer or member shall take and subscribe the *declaration against transubstantiation*. The penalty is a disability to hold or execute any office ecclesiastical, civil or military, to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or make a proxy in the house of lords, to sue in law or equity, to be guardian, executor or administrator, or to take any legacy or deed of gift, and a forfeiture of £500.

No *papist* is intitled to vote at the *election of any member*

to serve in parliament, or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate.

No *papist* shall serve on, or be returned to serve on, any *grand jury*, unless it shall appear to the court, that a sufficient number of protestants cannot be had for that service.

In *all trials of issues* on any of the *popery laws*, the *prosecutor* or *plaintiff* may challenge any *papist* returned as juror to try the same.

And in *actions between protestants and papists*, challenge of a *papist* returned as a juror, shall be allowed.

No *papist* shall serve as a *juror* upon trials for *enlisting persons in foreign service*.

Papists to serve on *juries* must have £10 per annum, clear freehold except in counties of cities and towns.

King's and university professorships of physic are not open to *papists*.

Persons *apprenticed*, under the direction of *authorized establishments for education*, are invariably to be apprenticed to *protestants*.

No *six clerk, officer or deputy-officer* of any of the four courts, or of any court of record, ecclesiastical or admiralty, shall take any *papist* to be *apprentice or clerk*.

The importance of this publication was duly appreciated by the Catholic Committee, who voted £500 to its author, the Hon. Simon Butler. Its effects, and the successful exertions of these societies, in removing the prejudices of the North-erns, became evident at the ensuing celebration of the French Revolution, by the volunteers and inhabitants of Belfast. The objects to be proposed to this meeting, having been the subjects of a year's general and public discussion, were perfectly well understood. These were, to express a decided approbation of the French Revolution, and to adopt its principles, as far as they were applicable to Ireland, through the means of parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation.

The assembly consisted not only of the volunteers and inhabitants of the town and vicinity of Belfast, but of a very considerable number of distant volunteer companies, together with a great concourse from a wide circuit of the north. A number of principal catholics and others from Dublin, attended this meeting by previous agreement, that they might witness the spirit with which the dissenters were animated.

The day's proceedings commenced by a review of the volunteer corps, after which they returned to town, and commenced a grand procession through the principal streets, bearing standards, with appropriate devices and mottoes, and proceeded to Linen-hall street, where the whole fired three feude-joye, and then entered the White Linen-hall, where a chair was raised in the centre of the area, round which the volunteers and principal inhabitants assembled. John Crawford, Esq. reviewing-general, having been called to preside, Mr. Sinclair rose: he said he was deputed to propose two addresses to the assembly for their consideration; one to the National Assembly of France, the other to the People of Ireland. Infamous calumnies, he said, had gone abroad relative to them, which had been industriously circulated by interested men, but which he would not take up the time of the Assembly to refute. The papers, themselves, when read, would save him that trouble; and he would venture to say there was not an individual present, who claimed the noble title of a freeman, that would hesitate in giving his approbation.

To the National Assembly of France.

It is not from vanity or ostentation, that we, the citizens of Belfast, and citizen-soldiers of that town and neighbourhood, take the liberty of addressing the representative majesty of the French people.—We address you, with the rational respect due to a title elevated far above all servile and idolatrous adulation, and with that affectionate fraternity of heart which ought to unite man to man, in a mutual and inseparable union of interests, of duties, and of rights; which ought to unite nation with nation, into one great republic of the world.

On a day, sanctified as this has been, by a declaration of human rights, the germ of so much good to mankind, we meet with joy together, and wish well to France, to her National Assembly, to her People, to her Armies, and to her King.

May you, legislators, maintain, by the indefatigable spirit of liberty, that constitution, which has been planned by the wisdom of your predecessors, and never may you weary in the work you have undertaken, until you can proclaim with triumphant security, it is finished! Manifest to an attentive and progressive world, that it is not the phrenzy of philosophy, nor the fever of wild and precarious liberty, which could produce such continued agitation, but that imperishable spirit of freedom alone, which always exists in the hearts of man, which now animates the heart of Europe, and which, in the event, will communicate its energy throughout the world, invincible and immortal!

We rejoice, in the sincerity of our souls, that this creative spirit animates the whole mass of mind in France. We auspicate happiness and glory to the human race, from every great event which calls into activity the whole vigour of the whole community; amplifies so largely, the field of enterprize and improvement, and gives free scope to the universal soul of the Empire. We trust that you will never submit the liberties of France to any other guarantees than God, and the right hands of the People.

The power that presumes to modify or to arbitrate with respect to a constitution adopted by the people, is an Usurper and a Despot, whether it be the meanest of the mob, or the ruler of empires; and if you condescend to negotiate the

alteration of a comma in your Constitutional Code, France, from that moment, is a slave. Impudent Despots of Europe! Is it not enough to crush human nature beneath your feet at home, that you thus come abroad to disturb the domestic settlements of the nations around you, and put in motion your armies, those enormous masses of human machinery, to beat down every attempt that man makes for his own happiness? It is high time to turn these dreadful engines against their inventors, and, organized as they hitherto have been, for the misery of mankind, to make them *now* the instruments of its glory and its renovation.

Success, therefore, attend the ARMIES of France!

May your soldiers, with whom war is not a trade, but a duty, remember, that they do not fight merely for themselves, but that they are the advance guard of the world: nor let them imagine, that the event of the war is uncertain. A single battle may be precarious, not so a few campaigns.—There is an omnipotence in a righteous cause, which masters the pretended mutability of human affairs, and fixes the supposed inconsistency of fortune. If you will be free, YOU MUST; there is not a chance that one million of resolute men can be enslaved; no power on earth is able to do it; and will the God of justice and of mercy?—Soldiers! there is something that fights for you, even in the hearts of your enemies. The native energies of humanity rise up in voluntary array against tyrannical and preposterous prejudice, and all the little cabals of the heart give way to the feelings of nature, of country, and of kind.

Freedom and prosperity to the PEOPLE OF FRANCE! We think, that such revolutions as they have accomplished, are so far from being out of the order of society, that they sprung *inevitably* from the nature of man, and the progression of reason; what is imperfect, he has the power to improve; what he has created, he has a right to destroy. It is a rash opposition to the irresistible will of the public, that, in some instances, has maddened a disposition, otherwise mild and magnanimous, turned energy into ferocity, and the generous and gallant spirit of the French into fury and vengeance. We trust that every effort they now make, every hardship they undergo, every drop of blood they shed, will render their constitution more dear to them.

Long life and happiness to the KING of the FRENCH! not the Lord of its soil and its servile appendages, but the King of Men, who can preserve their rights while they entrust their powers. In this crisis of his fate, may he withstand every attempt to estrange him from the Nation; to make him an exile in the midst of France, and to prevent him from identifying himself as a Magistrate with the Constitution, and as a Frenchman with the People.

We beseech you all as Men, as Legislators, as Citizens, and as Soldiers, in this your great conflict for liberty, for France, and for the world, to despise all earthly danger, to look up to God, and to connect your Councils, your Arms, and your Empire to his Throne, with a chain of union, fortitude, perseverance, morality and religion.

We conclude with this fervent prayer: that as the Almighty is dispersing the political clouds, which have hitherto darkened our hemisphere, all Nations may use the Light of Heaven: that, as in this latter age, the Creator is unfolding in his creatures, powers which had long lain latent—they may exert them in the establishment of universal freedom, harmony and peace: may those who are free, never be slaves! may those who are slaves, be speedily free!

To the People of Ireland.

We, the volunteers and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Belfast, assembled to commemorate this great day, embrace with earnestness the opportunity which it affords, at once to express our zeal and affection for the cause of liberty in France, and our undisguised opinions on subjects of the last importance to our native land.

Trained from our infancy in a love of Freedom, and an abhorrence of Tyranny, we congratulate our brethren of France, and ourselves, that the infamous conspiracy of Slaves and Despots, against the happiness and glory of that admired and respected nation, and against the common rights of man, has hitherto proved abortive.

Fixing our view steadily on the great principle of Gallic emancipation, we will not be diverted from that magnificent object, by the accidental tumults or momentary ebullitions of popular fury; we will not estimate the wisdom of her legi-

slators, by the transports of a mob; nor the spirit of her armies, by the cowardice of a regiment; nor the patriotism of her people, by the treachery of individuals; nor the justice of her cause, by the number of her enemies. We judge with other views, and on other principles.—We see, with admiration, France extending the land-marks of human knowledge in the great art of government, and opening to the world new systems of policy and of justice. We see her renounce all wars on the principle of conquest. We see her propose an universal brotherhood, and an eternal peace, among the nations. We see her, even now, when forced into arms and bloodshed, by the unjust and unprincipled machinations of her enemies, separating, as far as possible, the innocent subjects from the guilty despot; respecting, amidst the horrors of war, the property of individuals; and exempting from interruption, the peaceful traffic of the merchant. It is from views like these, that we estimate that stupendous event, the Revolution, which we daily commemorate; not from accidental irregularities, which, while we condemn them, we are compelled to pity, as feeling that they spring not merely from a spirit of licentiousness, but from a sense of injury working on a sanguine people, still galled with the recollection of recent tyranny and oppression, and jealous of liberty, but just recovered, and scarcely yet secure.

Such are our sentiments on the subject of the French Revolution;—we come now to the state of our own country.

Impressed as we are with a deep sense of the excellence of our constitution, as it exists in *theory*, we rejoice that we are not, like our brethren in France, reduced to the hard necessity of tearing up inveterate abuse by the roots, even where utility was so intermixed as to admit of separation.

Ours is an easier and a less unpleasing task; to remove with a steady and a temperate resolution, the abuses, which the lapse of many years, inattention and supineness in the great body of the people, and unremitting vigilance in their rulers to invade and plunder them of their rights, have suffered to overgrow and to deform that beautiful system of government, so admirably suited to our situation, our habits, and our wishes. We have not to innovate, but to restore. The just prerogatives of our Monarch we respect, and will maintain. The constitutional power of the Peers of the realm,

we wish not to invade. We know, that in the exercise of both, abuses have grown up; but we also know, that those abuses will be at once corrected, so as never again to recur, by restoring to us, **THE PEOPLE**, what we, for ourselves, *demand as our right*, our due weight and influence in that estate, *which is our property*, the **REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT**.

Thoroughly impressed with the unjust and ruinous inequality of that representation, with the consequent corruption, which pervades all ranks in the state; with the destruction of the morals, the sacrifice of the commerce, and the hourly and imminent danger to the liberty of the country, we will inflexibly persevere in the pursuit of that great remedy for all our political evil, a parliamentary reform; a reform temperate, equal, just, which shall restore lustre to the Crown, dignity to the Peerage, and their due weight and influence to the People of Ireland.

But while we thus state our sentiments on the subject of reform, we feel it incumbent upon us to declare, as we now do, that no reform, were even such attainable, would answer our ideas of utility or justice, which should not equally include all sects and denominations of Irishmen. We reprobate and abhor the idea, that political inequality should result from religious opinions; and we should be ashamed, at the moment when we are seeking liberty for ourselves, to acquiesce in any system founded on the slavery of others.

We have now declared our sentiments to the world.—In declaring them we spurn, with equal disdain, restraint, whether proceeding from a mob or a monarch; from a riot or a proclamation.

We look with a mixture of abomination and contempt, on the transactions, which, on the last anniversary of the French Revolution, degraded the national character of England; when neither the learning, the piety, the public spirit, nor the private nature of a Priestley, could protect him from the savage fury of the vilest of an ignorant and bigotted rabble, before whom the religion of the country was dishonoured, the name of the Sovereign insulted, and all law and order levelled in the dust, to the disgrace, not less of the integrity of the magistrates, who were the fomenters, than of the spirit of the people, who were timid witnesses of the ravage and destruction.

As little should we respect any attempt, under colour of authority, to fetter down our minds, or prevent the publication of our grievances, and our determination to seek redress.

In the pursuit of reform, that great measure, indispensable to the freedom, the happiness, and the glory of our country, we will inflexibly persevere, and for its attainment we rely with confidence on the steadiness, the public spirit, and the zealous co-operation of our countrymen.

These addresses were carried with acclamation. A collateral resolution, in favour of admitting the Catholics to the rights of citizenship, on the preceding 14th of July, was withdrawn, from an apprehension that the minds of those present were not yet fully prepared for it; but now, such was the rapid progress of the spirit of religious liberty, the idea, that political inequality should result from religious opinions, was reprobated and abhorred, and a declaration issued, not to acquiesce in any system founded on the slavery of others. A banquet, songs and toasts, concluded this last Belfast commemoration of the French Revolution; the greatest harmony prevailed, and the meeting separated, satisfied as to the present, and sanguine as to the future issue of the popular exertions.

In order to counteract the effects of the grand jury resolutions, a great number of meetings of different towns and districts, were likewise held throughout the province of Ulster, during the winter of 1792. At all of them it was declared, that a radical reform in the representation of the people, was the only remedy for the many existing grievances. Some few, with Londonderry at their head, expressed themselves as favourable to

the gradual admission of the catholics into this basis of reform; but the great majority followed the example of Belfast, and declared for the immediate and unqualified extension of the right of suffrage to the whole catholic body.

These declarations, from different assemblies, having testified some slight disagreement on one of the great questions, it was proposed to call a convention of the province, as had twice before been done, and on one occasion marked with success. Dungannon, the former place of meeting, and even the fifteenth of February, its anniversary, were deemed auspicious, and were therefore selected. It was also judged fit, that the delegates should be appointed on the plan then pursuing by the catholics.

The volunteer corps were at this time continuing to increase, and extend rapidly through the north. In Belfast, particularly, a very numerous town-meeting was held, and attended by even the most moderate and opulent inhabitants. Resolutions were there passed, urging, in the strongest manner, a complete re-establishment of the volunteer institution, and determining to form a military fund.

New military associations were also forming, even in Dublin, unequivocally avowing republican principles, by their emblematic devices, a harp without a crown, surmounted by a cap of liberty. These were to be armed and habited in green uniforms, and they stiled themselves, after the volunteer militia of France, National Guards. Their first muster in Dublin, was to have taken

place in the middle of December. Government appeared alarmed; false rumours of conspiracies and assassinations were circulated; an insurrection was said immediately to take place. It was reported from the Castle, that the first places to be attacked were, the custom-house, the post-office, and the gaol of Newgate; and that the signal of insurrection was to be, the pulling down of the statue of king William with ropes! Additional troops were marched into Dublin; field-pieces were annexed to each battalion; troops of cavalry, accompanied by magistrates, patrolled the streets every night; and on the 8th of December, a proclamation appeared, stating, that "ill-affected persons have entered into illegal and seditious associations, in the county and city of Dublin, to withstand lawful authority, and violently and forcibly to redress pretended grievances, and to subvert the established constitution of this his Majesty's realm; and with a view to carry into effect these their seditious purposes, have, by colour of laudable associations heretofore formed in this kingdom by his Majesty's loyal subjects, for repelling foreign invasion and maintaining peace and good order, publicly declared their intention to appear in arms to avow their approbation of tumult and disorder, and to encourage the citizens of Dublin to follow their evil example, and have also conspired together to raise, levy and muster, within the county and city of Dublin, a number of armed men, to parade in military array, with various devices, and ensigns of disaffection to his Majesty and the constitution,

and have actually ordered uniforms and accoutrements to be made and provided for such persons as they shall be enabled to seduce from their allegiance, to enter into the said illegal associations; and whereas these dangerous and seditious proceedings tend to the disturbance of the public peace, the obstruction of good order and government, the great injury of public credit, and the subversion of the constitution, and have raised great alarms in the minds of his Majesty's loyal subjects. Now, we, the lord lieutenant and council, being determined to maintain the public peace, against all attempts to disturb the same, and being desirous to forewarn all such persons as might unadvisedly incur the penalties of the law in this behalf, by concurring in practices of a tendency so dangerous and alarming, do hereby strictly charge all persons whomsoever, on their allegiance to his Majesty, to abstain from committing such offences. And we do charge and command the lord mayor, magistrates, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other peace officers within the county and city of Dublin respectively, to be careful in preserving the peace within the same, and to disperse all seditious and unlawful assemblies; and, if they shall be resisted, to apprehend the offenders, that they may be dealt with according to law." This had the expected effect. Republicanism had not taken root in the capital: the National Guards, conscious of wanting public support, did not muster; a few appeared in the streets, and three at the appointed parade, Rowan, Tandy, and Carey; shortly after, the uniforms prepared for

it were seized, and this new military association extinguished.

This, however, did not prevent an attempt to re-embody the old volunteer corps, now nominally existing, who had been favourably alluded to in the proclamation. For this purpose, on the 14th, the following Address was issued by the United Irishmen of Dublin. This became the subject of a criminal prosecution: an ex-officio information was filed against the secretary; after a trial of ten hours, on the 29th of January, 1794, Mr. Rowan was found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be imprisoned two years, and until the fine was paid, and to give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in £2000, and two sureties in £1000 each.

The Society of United Irishmen at Dublin, to the Volunteers of Ireland, William Drennan, Chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

Citizen soldiers,

You first took up arms to protect your country from foreign enemies and from domestic disturbance. For the same purposes, it now becomes necessary that you should resume them. A proclamation has been issued in England, for embodying the militia, and a proclamation has been issued by the lord lieutenant and council in Ireland, for repressing all *seditions* associations. In consequence of both these proclamations, it is reasonable to apprehend danger from abroad, and danger at home. From whence but from apprehended danger are those menacing preparations for war drawn through the streets of this capital, or whence, if not to *create* that internal commotion which was not *found*, to shake that credit which was not *affected*, to blast that volunteer honour which was hitherto *inviolable*, are those terrible suggestions, and rumours, and whispers, that meet us at every corner, and agitate at least our old men, our women and children. What-

ever be the motive, or from whatever quarter it arises, alarm has arisen, and you, VOLUNTEERS OF IRELAND, are therefore summoned *to arms* at the instance of government, as well as by the responsibility attached to your character, and the permanent obligations of your institution. We will not, at this day, condescend to quote authorities for the *right* of having and of using arms, but we will cry aloud, even amidst the storm raised by the witchcraft of a proclamation, that to your *formation* was owing the peace and protection of this island, to your *relaxation* has been owing its relapse into impotence and insignificance, to your *renovation* must be owing its future freedom and its present tranquillity. You are therefore summoned to arms, in order to preserve your country in that guarded quiet, which may secure it from external hostility, and to maintain that internal regimen throughout the land, which, superseding a notorious police or a suspected militia, may preserve the blessings of peace by a vigilant preparation for war.

Citizen soldiers, to arms! Take up the shield of freedom, and the pledges of peace—peace, the motive and end of your virtuous institution. War, an occasional duty, ought never to be made an occupation. Every man should become a soldier in the defence of his rights; no man ought to continue a soldier for offending the rights of others. The sacrifice of life in the service of our country is a duty much too honourable to be entrusted to mercenaries, and at this time, when your country has by public authority been declared in danger, we conjure you by your interest, your duty, and your glory, to stand to your arms, and in spite of a police, in spite of a fencible militia, in virtue of two proclamations, to maintain good order in your vicinage, and tranquillity in Ireland. It is only by the military array of men in whom they confide, whom they have been accustomed to revere as the guardians of domestic peace, the protectors of their liberties and lives, that the present agitation of the people can be stilled, that tumult and licentiousness can be repressed, obedience secured to existing law, and a calm confidence diffused through the public mind in the speedy resurrection of a free constitution, of *liberty* and of *equality*,—words which we use for an opportunity of repelling calumny, and of saying, that, by liberty we never understood unlimited freedom, nor by equality the

levelling of property, or the destruction of subordination.—This is a calumny invented by that faction, or that gang, which misrepresents the king to the people, and the people to the king, traduces one half of the nation, to cajole the other, and by keeping up distrust and division, wishes to continue the proud arbitrators of the fortune and fate of Ireland.—Liberty is the exercise of all our rights, natural and political, secured to us and our posterity by a real representation of the people;—and *equality is the extension of the constituent, to the fullest dimensions of the constitution, of the elective franchise to the whole body of the people*, to the end that government, which is collective power, may be guided by collective will, and that legislation may originate from public reason, keep pace with public improvement, and terminate in public happiness. If our constitution be imperfect, nothing but a reform in representation will rectify its abuses; if it be perfect, nothing but the same reform will perpetuate its blessings.

We now address you as Citizens, for to be Citizens you became Soldiers, *nor can we help wishing that all soldiers, partaking the passions and interest of the people, would remember that they were once citizens, that seduction made them soldiers,—“but nature made them men.”* We address you without any authority, save that of reason, and if we obtain the coincidence of public opinion, it is neither by force nor stratagem, for we have no power to terrify, no artifice to cajole, no fund to seduce.—Here we sit,—without mace or beadle, neither a mystery, nor a craft, nor a corporation. In four words lies all our power,—UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE; *yet we are confident, that on the pivot of this principle, a convention,—still less—a society,—less still, a single man, would be able, first to move and then to raise the world.* We, therefore, wish for catholic emancipation without any modification, but still we consider this necessary enfranchisement as merely the portal to the temple of national freedom. Wide as this entrance is, wide enough to admit three millions—it is narrow, when compared to the capacity and comprehension of our beloved principle, which takes in every individual of the Irish nation, casts an equal eye over the whole island, embraces all that think, and feels for all that

suffer. The catholic cause is subordinate to our cause, and included in it, for, as UNITED IRISHMEN, we adhere to no sect, but to society, to no creed but christianity, to no party, but the whole people.—In the sincerity of our souls, do we desire catholic emancipation, but *were it obtained to-morrow, to-morrow would we go on, as we do to-day, in the pursuit of that reform, which would still be wanting to ratify their liberties as well as our own.*

For both these purposes, it appears necessary that provincial conventions should assemble preparatory to the convention of the protestant people. The Delegates of the catholic body are not justified in communicating with individuals, or even bodies of inferior authority, and therefore an assembly of a similar nature and organization, is necessary to establish an intercourse of sentiment, an uniformity of conduct, an united cause, and an united nation. If a convention on the one part does not soon follow, and is not soon connected with that on the other, the common cause will split into the partial interest; the people will relax into inattention and inertness; the union of affection and exertion will dissolve, and too probably some local insurrection, instigated by the malignity of our common enemy, may commit the character and risque the tranquillity of the island, which can be obviated only by the influence of an assembly, arising from, assimilated with the people, and whose spirit may be as it were knit with the soul of the nation,—unless the sense of the protestant people be on their part as fairly collected and as judiciously directed, unless individual exertion consolidates into collective strength, unless the particles unite into mass, we may perhaps serve some person, or some party for a little, but the public not at all. The nation is neither insolent nor rebellious nor seditious. While it knows its rights it is unwilling to manifest its powers. *It would rather supplicate administration to anticipate revolution by a well timed reform, and to save their country in mercy to themselves.*

The 15th of February approaches, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country as the birth-day of new Ireland—Let parochial meetings be held as soon as possible. Let each parish return delegates. Let the sense of Ulster be again declared from Dungannon on a day auspicious to union, peace and freedom, and the spirit of the north will again become

the spirit of the nation. The civil assembly ought to claim the attendance of the military associations, and we have addressed you citizen soldiers, on this subject, from the belief that your body, uniting conviction with zeal, and zeal with activity, may have much influence over our countrymen, your relations and friends. We offer only a general outline to the public, and meaning to address Ireland, we presume not at present to fill up the plan or pre-occupy the mode of its execution. We have thought it our duty to speak: answer us by actions; you have taken time for consideration. Fourteen long years are elapsed since the rise of your associations, and in 1782 did you imagine that in 1792 this nation would still remain unrepresented? How many nations in this interval have gotten the start of Ireland! How many of our countrymen have sunk into the grave!—*January 25, 1793.*

The immediate approval and adoption of the principles of this address, by the remnants of the Dublin Volunteer corps; and some symptoms of rejoicing they had manifested, at the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the battle of Jemappe; and the aristocratic rage, then prevalent, against French principles, afforded the favourable opportunity for dispersing them, and introducing in their place, another description of men, new-modelled and armed, under the novel name of yeomanry. The experiment was tried on the Goldsmith's corps. Previous to their hour of assembling, at their usual parade, in St. Michael-a-Pole's, Ship-street, on the 27th, a body of foot entered the Castle from the Barrack, two pieces of cannon were prepared in the ordnance-yard, and a company of the Royal Irish Artillery. The Volunteers, as soon as they had mustered, were surrounded by horse and foot; the magistrate entered, and ordered them to lay down their arms. The order was obeyed. Their arms were

piled on the parade, thence conveyed to the Castle, and the members dismissed, through the ranks of the military, to their respective homes. This completed the dissolution of the Independent Irish Volunteers, once the pride, the ornament, and the bulwark of Ireland, and the admiration of surrounding nations!

The important session of 1793 commenced on the 10th of January, with the following speech from the throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I have his Majesty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to express his satisfaction in resorting to your councils in the present situation of affairs.

"His Majesty feels the utmost concern that various attempts should have been made to excite a spirit of discontent and disturbance, and that appearances should have manifested themselves in any part of this kingdom, of a design to effect, by violence, an alteration in the constitution.

It is an additional ground of uneasiness to his Majesty, that views of conquest and dominion should have incited France to interfere with the government of other countries, and to adopt measures with regard to his Majesty's allies, the States-General, neither conformable to the law of nations, nor the positive stipulations of existing treaties, especially when both his Majesty and the States-General had observed the strictest neutrality with regard to the affairs of France.

Under these circumstances, I have ordered, by his Majesty's commands, an augmentation of the forces upon this establishment.

By the advice of the privy-council, measures have been taken to prevent the exportation of corn, provisions, and naval stores, arms and ammunition. The circumstances which rendered these measures necessary, will, I trust, justify any temporary infringement of the laws, and will induce you to give them a parliamentary sanction.

It will afford his Majesty the greatest satisfaction, if, by a temperate and firm conduct, the blessings of peace can be continued; but he feels assured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the security and interests

of his dominions, and to fulfil those positive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown and the general interests of the empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I have no doubt of your readiness to grant such supplies for the public service, as the honour and security of his Majesty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the protestant charter-schools, and other public institutions, which have so repeatedly been the objects of your care, will, I doubt not, engage your accustomed regard and liberality.

"I am to recommend to you, in his Majesty's name, to adopt such measures as may be most advisable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity; and, for this purpose, to render more effectual the law for establishing a militia in this kingdom.

His Majesty has the fullest confidence that you will, on all occasions, show your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his Majesty's cordial co-operation and support: and I have it in particular command from his Majesty, to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's subjects in support of the established constitution; with this view, his Majesty trusts that the situation of his Majesty's Catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and, in the consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament.

I am truly sensible of the repeated testimony which I have received of your approbation, and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by strenuously exerting the power, with which I am entrusted, for the maintenance of our excellent constitution in church and state, as the best security for the liberty of the subject, and the prosperity of Ireland.

The sentiments of the earl of Westmeath, on

moving the usual address, clearly pourtray the aristocratic feelings, not only of Ireland, but of Europe. "In times like these," said he, "when a considerable portion of Europe is desolated and destroyed by the wild speculations and wicked exertions of desperate and designing enthusiasts, who, not satisfied with making their own country the theatre of anarchy, murder, famine, and desolation, are endeavouring to spread the flagitious effects of their abominable and impracticable doctrines to other countries; who, not content with deluging their own land with the blood of their fellow-citizens, are straining every nerve to destroy the peace, to disturb the harmony of surrounding nations, and to carry the devastation of fire and sword, throughout all the kingdoms of the earth; who regardless of all laws divine and human, have with an impious and sacrilegious hand, torn the crown from off the head of the mildest monarch that ever swayed the French sceptre; and as if the murder of their Sovereign and his family were insufficient to allay their inordinate thirst for Royal blood, have publicly—but I hope vainly sworn—the annihilation of all Kings.

In times like these, my lords, I say, it is peculiarly incumbent upon all who prefer loyalty to rebellion, religion to atheism, industry to idleness, and real liberty to the most abject slavery that ever vilified or disgraced mankind, to unite in the most ardent effusions of loyalty to his majesty, and the most strenuous exertions in defence of the constitution. The insidious and desperate

attempts of busy incendiaries have not been left untried in Ireland; but, I trust, my lords, that the manly and decided conduct of our present chief governor, for whose continuance in the government we cannot be too thankful to his majesty, seconded by the united efforts of all who love and venerate the constitution, will teach those factious and seditious meddlers, that it is in vain they attempt to tamper with the loyalty, or shake the fidelity of the Irish nation; and if yet there should exist within the land any man or set of men, so desperate as to wish to subvert the constitution under which they live, that the law has the power to reach them and to devote them to that punishment which such crimes so well deserve. It is needless for me to expatiate on the peculiar felicity which we all enjoy in being governed by a prince whose objects are the prosperity and happiness of all his people; his public and private virtues are too strongly written in our hearts to make a repetition of them necessary, but if any thing could increase our veneration for him, or add to the many proofs we have experienced of his parental care of his people, it would be the gracious recommendation which he has given to his parliament, in the speech from the throne, to strengthen and cement the union of all classes and descriptions of our fellow-subjects, and to consider the wishes of our Roman Catholic brethren with wisdom and liberality. I trust, my lords, that the loyalty and moderation of that body will prove them well worthy his majesty's goodness and the liberality of parlia-

ment; and I sincerely wish that the parliament may, by gratifying all moderate and reasonable wishes of so considerable and so loyal a portion of the community, disappoint the factious views, and frustrate the machinations of those whose object is popular commotion, for the purpose of reducing all orders and distinctions in society to the level of their own insignificance. He concluded with moving an address echoing the speech.

The lord chancellor alone differed from these sentiments with respect to the Catholics, accusing them of having deceived the Sovereign, by a petition fraught with falsehood and exaggeration; entering into a history of the penal laws, he endeavoured to justify their enactment, and prove his assertions. The Catholics immediately rebutted this charge, and republished their petition with notes, specifying the statutes, sections and clauses, on which the alleged falsehoods and misrepresentations were grounded, and distributed copies of it to the members of both houses of parliament. This refutation appears to have been conclusive, as his lordship did not attempt to reply to it.

In the commons, the effects of his majesty's recommendation were not less apparent. The leading features were, favour to the Catholics, and hostility to the reformers. Mr. Grattan, moving an amendment to the address, sketched with his usual ability, the present state of the country. "Our situation," said he, "is certainly alarming, but by no means surprising—it is the

necessary, natural and obvious result of the conduct of his majesty's ministers; the persons who had opposed our liberty in 82, were made our ministers—afterwards the country forgave them, but they never forgave the country; they attempted to put down the constitution, and now they have put down the government. We told them so—we admonished them—we told them that their driving system would not do—we had no objection to their private characters, or their humble, natural relationships of life, but that they were absolutely, totally, radically, disqualified to govern.

Don't they remember in 90 we warned them.—They said we were severe—I am sure we were prophetic—again in 91 we repeated our admonition—told them, that a government of clerks would not do—that a government by rank majorities would not do—that the government of the treasury would not do—that Ireland would not be long governed by the trade of parliament. We mentioned this when lord Buckingham ran away from this kingdom, and lord Westmoreland succeeded in his offices. We told them that a nation who had rescued her liberties from the giant of old England, in 82, would not long bear to be trodden on by the violence of a few pigmies whom the caprice of a court had appointed ministers.

I remember the beginning of the last session, I had the honour of submitting to this house some observations on this head; and my honourable friend also, in the course of the session, as

sured you, that your system of government was infatuation; we have now to lament the effects of that infatuation, and though I allow foreign revolutions have had a certain effect on domestic discontent, yet the causes of that discontent were laid by ministers who might have seen the state of foreign politics, and have foreseen the forcible influence of that state on domestic disorders. We are now, by a course of mal-administration, brought back to that condition of discontent and jealousy, which in 82 produced an interposition from the king; we then laboured under the ill effects of a bad constitution—we now labour under the ill effects of a bad government.

The periodical sales of the house of commons, the public declaration of those sales, the increase of twenty parliamentary provisions, and what was more, the acknowledgment that such increase was a political expedient to buy the members; the repeated declarations that the best minister for Ireland was, he who bought the house of commons cheapest—the sale of divers peerages, for money to be laid out by the minister in procuring for his followers seats in the house of commons; the sale of the functions in one house, for buying votes in the other, as was the case of the barren-land bill; the patronage of all kind of abuses and peculations, as in the case of the police—the rejection of every constitutional bill, place bill, pension bill—responsibility tending to assimilate our constitution to that of Great Britain. The arguments advanced for the rejection of the two former, by a law officer of the crown, who said,

that the government in Ireland should be stronger than that of Great Britain, and who, in the application of that argument, could only mean that the parliament of Ireland should be more abandoned. These things and many more, taken separately, or altogether, have totally, and universally, deprived of all weight, authority, or credit, the parliament of Ireland.

I am sure our ministers meant to go no further; they only meant an attack on the constitution, but they have undermined the throne; it is impossible in a constitution with parts connected as ours, to put down the authority of parliament, without involving the monarchy; and while our ministers only intended to free the throne from the checks and limits of a parliament, they have deprived it of its best support, the poise and authority of a parliamentary constitution.

Permit me to consider the conduct of our ministers, in its particular reference to that oppressed part of his majesty's subjects—the Catholics. I don't mean now to go into their claims. I retain my former conviction in their favour, but if I were their enemy I could not approve of their treatment; our ministry begins by offering them a personal incivility, so they state in their published debate. I am not a judge of the fact, but they are of the impression. They were so critically and equivocally situated with respect to political and civil rank, that even courtesy from a lord lieutenant's secretary would have been a compliment, and slight is an insult: they

are the only part of his majesty's subjects so situated—the Catholics will soon be in that situation no longer—after offending the Catholics by manner, the next unadvised step of the ministry, was, to attack them by artifice, and accordingly they endeavoured to detach and divide the landed interests of the Catholics from the body at large, which was an attempt to destroy the subordination of the common people, and to set population adrift from the influence of property, and lest there should remain still some influence over their minds, the ministry make some blind and imperfect overtures to the Catholic clergy, to detach them also from the claims of their flock, which was to detach their flocks from them and to leave that flock entirely destitute of all principle whatsoever of subordination either to landlord or ecclesiastic. I am not a friend to superstition or subjugation, and yet there is a certain degree of moral influence, which the pastor may safely have over his flock, and the landlord over his tenantry, without which I fear you would extinguish the soul of subordination—however, the minister endeavours to leave the Catholic, over whom the state cannot have by connection any ascendancy, free from any controul or check, either of the church or their own aristocracy—and it is a strong presumption in favour of that body, thus set adrift as it were by design, that it recovered the principles of union, and has preserved the principles of subordination, and should have left its enemies without even a pretence to oppress them. The next im-

politic step taken by our minister was the institution of a paper war on the subject of religion—the declarations as you will find in the Catholic report of the transaction—managed, procured or sanctioned by government, led to counter declaration, and finally discussion at large, on the broad principle of philosophy, which ministry knew was against them, and in an appeal to the people who, from interest, must have been against them likewise: the ministry embitter this paper war, by its own rhetoricians and scribblers, and publish notoriously from the castle such personal invectives against respectable Catholics, such contumelious stuff! You must recollect it, written, published, and spread by the Castle, against the pretensions and persons of the Catholic body; such invectives as must have roused the spirit of indignation as well as liberty, to vindicate their fame and fortunes against a scandalous and opprobrious government.

The next unfortunate error in this business was, a declaration from a right honourable gentleman, high in confidence, that on a certain event government would suppress the Catholics with the force of both countries. I incline to believe the threat was unauthorised; nor do I pretend to say it was unconditional; it was on a certain event, or supposition, that these men committed something which government might call a great offence; but who had a right to suppose such a body of men would commit an act which will justify his majesty's ministers to levy war on so vast a portion of his people—a liege subject, liv-

ing within the peace of the king, to suppose him a rebel in order to threaten him with arms, is to tell him he is not a subject, but a slave. Without discussing any further objections to such language, it is sufficient to say, that the direct and obvious tendency of such a menace was to make the Catholic body attribute to the successes of France that safety and privilege which should have appeared to proceed from benignity of the king, and the justice of parliament. I say the tendency of such a declaration; but the effect of it has been, I believe, only to manifest his majesty's gracious and signal interposition in manifesting his paternal love to his loyal subjects, and affording them protection against his ministers.

The next unfortunate error of our ministry was their interference with grand juries against the Catholics, because they were giving the protestants false hopes, at the same time that they were exciting against the Catholics false fears. They took the lead in fomenting a religious war—they began it—they acted in the mongrel capacity of country gentlemen and ministers—they acted against Catholics as country gentlemen, and encouraged the protestants as ministers. They had, I understand, informed the British ministry, that the influence of the crown could not induce a majority to vote against the Catholic pretensions, and then they themselves take a leading part to make that difficulty in the country, of which they complained of, in their dispatches. To the country gentlemen they say, will you bear that

these men shall get the elective franchise, and to the British minister, you see these country gentlemen, and the consequences of this conduct is, that the Irish ministry become parties against the people, and have a personal and country interest to exclude them, not as Catholics but as enemies.

Among other instances of the intolerance of ministers, is something of a religious war in an address from the corporation of Dublin to the other corporations of the kingdom. I consider this publication as the act of the Castle—the act of their city delegation—the composition of their city agents. The city has been a long time the object of their mischief; whenever the city is left to herself, she will ever speak with moderation and propriety,—and her mistake in this address has been, to have resigned her better understanding to the intrigues and interference of the Castle. I shall observe on this publication so far as to say, that, according to the sentence it pronounces, the doom of the catholic, in all times to come, is perpetual exclusion from the franchise of the constitution; and, according to the law that publication advances the title of the protestant to his lands and privileges—is the right of conquest.—If then the three millions of Catholics should, with the assistance of twenty-six millions in France, rebel and dispossess you of your properties and charters, they have in the city publications an authority—they have the law of conquest—and they have your excuse for appealing to the law of conquest, because they have the sentence of the corporation—nothing

else to relieve them from the doom of slavery!

The result of this interposition of the Irish government in this religious war—the consequence of having poured their angry ingredients into the cup of religious fury, has been, that as far as relates to Irish government, they have totally lost the confidence of the catholics—they have lost the confidence of one part of his majesty's subjects by their corruption, and of the other, by their intolerance.

In such a situation of domestic discontent and foreign revolution, what measures have they taken?" After enumerating the measures adopted, and denying their efficacy, he recommended two remedies; "first," said he, "settle the great question with your Catholic brethren; settle it on principles of liberty, of unanimity, and of extensive freedom.

What is the other remedy? It is a word you will find in the books. The lawyer peruses the description daily. It is a parliament; a free and independent parliament, chosen by the people. Whether the people have that at present, I need not debate; but I repeat it, the radical cure is a free and independent parliament, chosen by the people.

I shall amend the address—that part of it which relates to his majesty is cold and impolitic; his interposition to heal our religious animosities, is an act of distinguished wisdom—as such it should be marked, particularly at a time when attempts have been made on the thrones of princes—at such a time I would mark to the Catholics

the king as the deliverer of his people. I would distinguish him from his ministers. I would mark that monarch, who had rescued his people from the hands of those ministers,—that, however we may abhor their proceedings, we shall, if necessary, unite, to rally in support of the throne, keeping pure of leaning to any French politics, or any wishes in favour of that nation, now on the eve of a war with a country, with whom we are by the crown, by the law, by interest, and by every political tie, for ever to be connected.

I move you, that an amendment be made, by inserting after the word “constitution,” the following words: “We admire the wisdom which at so critical a season has prompted your majesty to come forward to take a leading part in healing the animosities of your people on account of religion; we shall take into our immediate consideration the subject graciously recommended from the throne; and at a time when doctrines pernicious to freedom and dangerous to monarchical government are propagated in foreign countries, we shall not fail to impress your majesty’s Catholic subjects with a sense of the singular and eternal obligations they owe to the throne, and to your majesty’s royal person and family.”

The secretary of state, Mr. Hobart, replied, although the right honourable gentleman has been pleased to express in strong terms his disapprobation of the conduct of this house, I should not think it respectful to the gentlemen who compose it, for me to enter into their justification.

With regard to that part of his speech which concerns me personally, and particularly with regard to my treatment of the Catholics, I must observe that he has mentioned that the impression he received was conveyed to him from the publication of the debates in William-street—

Mr. Grattan—interrupting—I did not say he had done so, but that they had accused him of having done so; for I was not a judge of the fact, though they were of the expression.

I am happy, resumed Mr. Hobart, that the right honourable gentleman has called upon me, as it affords me an opportunity of explaining my conduct with regard to the Catholics, and I trust the gentlemen of this house will do me the justice to believe, that I am incapable of treating any description of his majesty's subjects with disrespect.—When the Catholics in the session of 1790, applied to me on the subject of the petition, they desired to have it supported in parliament, I certainly gave them no encouragement, because I did not consider myself warranted in so doing, but if my declining to hold out expectations of relief at that time was any proof of disrespect, I am inclined to believe that the right honourable gentleman was equally guilty of it; and I know, that although they applied to many other members of this house to present their petition, not one was found who would comply with their wishes. Subsequent to this period, a relaxation of the popery laws passed in Great Britain, and expectations were then entertained, that similar measures might be adopted here;

with that view I had communications with several of the Catholics, and I did then recommend it most strenuously to them, to adopt a conciliating line of conduct, as the only ground upon which they could hope for indulgence from parliament. Whether this advice was likely to forward their objects, I leave to the house to judge; but I must explicitly say, that the opinion I gave was not to any particular description of the Catholics, but to all, as I could prove to the right honourable gentleman, by naming them to him—which I was ready to do. Was this conduct pursued by me with a desire to sow discontent?—No; it was with the best intentions towards their interests.—What dispatches the right honourable gentleman may allude to, I cannot possibly know; nor shall I act so inconsistently with my duty as to discuss the lord lieutenant's dispatches here—but I may venture to say, that if he had last year represented to the British ministers that the house of commons would not then grant the elective franchise, he would not have made a false representation. As to the grand juries, I am not to defend the conduct of others; but I must say, after what has fallen from the right honourable gentleman, with respect to the manifesto of the metropolis, that I approved of it as little as he seems to have done.—In reply to the charge of our not having called the parliament at an early period, when that measure had been resorted to by Great Britain, I must state to the right honourable gentleman, that having called out a part of the militia at an unusual season, the

parliament was bound to meet under the statute, in fourteen days. Had parliament been summoned here at a shorter notice than twenty-five days, I believe it would have given rise to much disapprobation.—As to French emissaries, I do not believe there are any here at present, although their doctrines have been industriously disseminated, and I should apprehend that the aliens bill may drive many of them to this country.

Before the embargo was laid, parliament had been called, therefore the right honourable gentleman's charge upon that head is removed. The privy council sat twice upon the subject; the first time in consequence of applications from merchants of Cork and Waterford, declaring an apprehension of scarcity; upon examining into the fact, it was found that there was no cause to apprehend scarcity, consequently no embargo was laid; but in a fortnight after, advice from the English ministers, whose situations gave them the best opportunities of judging of the imperial concerns of the empire, declared the probability of a French war, and suggested the expediency of this measure.—Another cause of complaint against ministers is, that when Mr. Edward Byrne summoned his convention, they did not summon parliament. I only appeal to gentlemen, whether they would have thought it decent in ministers to have called parliament together at an unusual period, for such a cause? As to the amendment, he would say, that from all that part which affords expressions of gratitude and attachment to the king, it would ill become him

to dissent; but the Roman Catholic question being an object of great importance, he never would be inclined to take upon a sudden any determination relative to it. Let it be well weighed, and he had no doubt that the decision which would follow would be such as so great and important a subject required, and conformable to the general interests of the kingdom.

The Attorney General said, as it was a matter of great importance to the welfare of the kingdom that the address should pass unanimously, he would, if he might be permitted, take the liberty of requesting the right honourable gentleman to withdraw the amendment for the present, and move it upon the report to-morrow, as by that time he might, perhaps, think proper to alter some expressions in it, which at present made it unacceptable. It was, he repeated, of infinite importance that parliament should act with unanimity at the present crisis: the question was not now whether ministers were good or bad, qualified or unqualified, but whether parliament would set the example to all ranks of honest men to unite against sedition, and in support of the constitution, to unite against all attempts, foreign and domestic, to rally round the throne; and if it must fall—to fall with it. Allow me, said he, to state to the house, that there is a degree of sedition in the north of this kingdom, so audacious as publicly to speak of the necessity of putting down kings, and the very name of royalty. Gentlemen complain of the supineness of government; what would they have said, had they seen

a thousand ruffians, taken from the very lowest of the people, armed and bearing ensigns of disloyalty through the metropolis? a harp without a crown, a bloody dagger plunged in a reeking heart; yet this would have been the case, had not the vigilance and firmness of government prevented them.

Those who endeavoured to excite this sedition, did it under a pretence of redressing grievances, and reforming the constitution; but let no man presume to say he will attempt to reform the constitution by force of arms; if any does, let the united voice of parliament tell him, we are not to be intimidated—tell him, that we will defend the constitution, and, if it must perish, we will perish with it.

We are assured, said he, and we hear it with indignation, that jacobin clubs are formed in this country, upon the model of those in France; but how must it shock religion and humanity, to see sedition carried even to greater excess; to see ministers of the gospel preaching the bloody principles of French reformation, from those pulpits erected for teaching the mild and benevolent doctrines of Christianity. It is proceedings such as these, that have sunk public credit; that have obstructed trade; that have left the labourer and artisan without employment; and, through them, if not checked and controlled by the unanimous voice of parliament, the nation will soon return to the poverty and distress from which, for some years, it has been rapidly emerging.

The part of the speech, which recommends

attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics, had his most hearty approbation; and he hoped whatever should be done might be so done, as to promote union of sentiment amongst all his Majesty's subjects.

After some further debate, Mr. Grattan withdrew his amendment.

Four days afterward the question of reform was introduced by Mr. Ponsonby, and supported by Mr. Conolly. After some observations thereon, Mr. Grattan moved, "that a committee be appointed to enquire whether any, and what abuses have taken place in the constitution of this country, or the administration of its government, and to report such temperate measures as may appear most likely to redress the same." The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that though the question of parliamentary reform had been postponed in England, he did not disapprove of its introduction here, attended as it was, with propriety, temperance and decorum... Whenever the subject was brought forward, they would enter fairly into its merits, and whatever the decision might be, he trusted that it should procure strength to the constitution and that tranquillity to the nation, which were so much desired. The right hon. W. B. Conyngham considered, that parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation ought to go together, and a trial be made, whether a great reform might not be made in the constitution; and promised the gentlemen pledged every assistance in his power. Lord Kingsborough was happy to see two such respectable gentlemen the

originators of the measure, whose support it formerly had not: whenever brought forward, it should have his warmest approbation. Mr. M. Beresford said, the resolution, as it now stands, shall have my decided negative...I voted against a parliamentary reform in 1783, when a bill had been attempted to be obtruded on parliament by an-armed convention; and perhaps I will again vote against it, if any ready-made plan should be dictated by a similar association; but I never voted against the principle of a parliamentary reform, and I declare that I never will. My only doubt is, whether we should proceed on the subject by committee, or by commissioners chosen from ourselves, to investigate the business, and to make a report. The latter mode would not be so speedy, but it would be much more effectual. The opposition arrogated too much to themselves, if they thought that the want of their place, pension, and responsibility-bills, had caused the disturbances in the country. They were produced by far different causes. The people were only unanimous in the demand of a parliamentary reform. It was the pen of Paine, and the sword of Dumourier, that had carried confusion into Great Britain and Ireland. The discussion of parliamentary reform will, I hope, be conducted with such temper, as to render it effectual. I trust, also, that all things will be forgotten; that there will be a general amnesty; that no persons will be questioned how they have obtained their seats, or others how they have transferred their influence. The measure would tend more than any

thing else to quiet the country. I hope to see all legislators employed upon the subject; for if it was adopted in one country, it must in the other.

Sir Lawrence Parsons.—If ever there was an occasion when truth and reason alone should dictate to every man who speaks, it is the present. Our oldest members tell you, that they never remember so awful a crisis for Ireland. For my part, I have thought with the deepest anxiety, both by night and by day, upon the present state of this country, and the result of my reflections is, that a reform in parliament is absolutely necessary to the very being of the state. When you are conferring favours on the catholics, do not neglect the protestants: let there be one great act, bearing freedom to the whole people; one great charter of liberty for all Ireland; one solemn covenant, in which we shall all be united, and in the attainment of which every sect and religion shall be interested; and let this be, a reform in parliament. If this crisis is favourable to liberty, shall it be wasted in merely giving liberty to catholics? No: give liberty at once to all Ireland, and this will be the most glorious era for your country, though it now appears the most awful. The Attorney-general pledged himself to a parliamentary reform, on no other principle than that of property.

Sir H. Cavendish.—Sir, I desire to know what a parliamentary reform is? I have read many books upon the subject, and have conversed with many persons, and yet none of them could give me a satisfactory answer to the question. All the

people, I declare, have it in their heads. A short time since I went into a shop, to buy an article of manufacture; I objected to the quality, and the answer the shopkeeper gave was, "Give us a parliamentary reform, and you shall have better." It was the common conversation in the streets; and the labourer cried to his fellow, "Paddy, we are going to be happy, they are going to give us a parliamentary reform." Men and women talked upon the subject, and children lisped out parliamentary reform. The first thing which they should determine was, who are to elect, and who to be elected; care should also be taken, that the house of commons should be composed of gentlemen. The Hon. Robert Stewart said, that, without the smallest disinclination to the catholic bill, but with every wish for its final success, it should be postponed, until the deliberations and determination on a parliamentary reform, that first and great object of all our electors, should be brought to a conclusion. The Hon. D. Browne had not a doubt, that the people of Ireland are not fully represented; but doubted the expediency of parliamentary reform at that time. In Leinster, Connaught and Munster, the situation of the catholics is complained of as a grievance; but this great body of the people confined themselves to complaints of their own situation; they have neither complaints to make of, or encomiums to lavish on, a constitution of which they have no part. Where then does this complaint come from? from the town of Belfast. What is the proceeding, and who are the people of that town, that

send us this measure? Military associations, that join with their schemes of reforming the constitution of Ireland, an approbation of the proceedings of France; that declare they will keep the constitution of king, lords and commons, provided they are not put to any trouble in settling those bodies in the manner most pleasing to themselves; if they are, they will dismiss them all; they call on every man, who cannot serve their cause, which they call the cause of this country, with his person, to forward it with his money. For this purpose, a military chest is established, for the declared purpose of buying arms and ammunition. In a very animated debate in that town, the Rev. Mr. Kilburn informs us, that lords are a grievance, and ought to be dismissed, because wisdom is not hereditary; that kings and lords ought to be dismissed, because they were two to one against the people; which proceedings ought to be reprobated by parliament.

Mr. Sheridan begged leave to say, that nothing less than a reform in the representation would restore peace to the country. Do we not all know, said he, in what manner many are brought into this house? are there not many among us, who could not find the way to the place they represent? who at times cannot recollect the name of it? I do not much relish anecdotes on serious subjects, but there is one, which is very true and apposite. By a curtesy of the house of commons in England, members of the Irish parliament are admitted to hear the debates; a friend of mine, then a member, wishing to avail himself of the privilege,

desired admittance; the door-keeper desired to know what place he represented—what place? why I am an Irish member! Oh, dear Sir, we are obliged to be extremely cautious, for a few days ago, Barrington, the pickpocket, passed as an Irish member. Why then, upon my soul, I forget the borough I represent, but if you get me Watson's Almanack I'll shew you.

Mr. Corry professed himself friendly to a reform, and moved the house to resolve, in lieu of Mr. Grattan's motion, "that this house will, on this day three weeks, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the representation of the people." To this Mr. Grattan acceded, and it passed in the affirmative without a division.

The apparent sincerity with which ministers concurred in approving and discussing this measure, is one of the features of Pitt's machiavelian policy, who alternately wheedled the protestant ascendancy and the catholics, the friends to reform and the oligarchy, whispering one thing to one, the opposite thereof to another, until he agitated and convulsed the nation by his double-working policy, alternately acting on the hopes and fears of each adverse party, until his grand object, the union, was effected.

The expectations of the Irish, however, at this time, were very high, that the invaluable boon, parliamentary reform, would be conceded; as will be seen from the following Address from the Friends of the Constitution, Liberty and Peace, from their meeting at the King's-arms tavern,

Fownes's-street, the Duke of Leinster in the chair.

To the People of Ireland.

In the present eventful and auspicious crisis of affairs, we feel a sensible pleasure in offering our congratulations to our countrymen.

In our first address we declared it to be one of the peculiar excellencies of our constitution, "that its abuses might be corrected without violating its essence, or even slighting its forms."—The events now passing before our eyes, verify that tribute of applause, which we paid to the inherent virtue of our constitution.

The claims of three-fourths of the subjects of this country, supported by the wishes of the whole, have reached the throne. The monarch has announced himself the father of his people, by recognizing those claims, and he has anticipated your demand of a REFORM, by recommending to parliament the adoption of such measures, as might unite all his subjects in an attachment to the constitution of their country.

Under the influence of this benignant suggestion, even the body which is the object of Reform, has become the organ of its own reformation, without sedition, without violence, without disturbing public order, or convulsing public opinion; the faction, which affected to govern us, has been subdued, and rational and peaceful freedom is placed within our grasp. The wise and gracious interposition of our Sovereign has added a further sanction to the loyalty of Irishmen; it has forbidden the constitutional medium of political benefits to remain any longer closed against the people. The corrupt mist, which obtruded itself between us and our Sovereign, is now dispelled; the unconstitutional influence, which debauched the parliament from its constituents, is now for a moment dormant. We call on the Irish people to seize this fortunate crisis of unrestrained communication, and to state, in the free language of freemen, the nature and extent of their demands.

The intervention of the people to legislate, or by their own mere act to make, or to reform a constitution, is, we admit, the death of establishment, and we have already warned you against the miseries of anarchy. But the inter-

position of the people to declare their wishes to the legislature, is at all times their constitutional right, and when the question vibrates to the frame of the constitution itself, it becomes not only their right, but their exclusive interest, and their bounden duty. The proudest parliament must be pleased to learn the sentiments of the nation on any measure sincerely adopted to gratify the nation; and, if it were possible to conceive you indifferent to the success of such a measure as is now depending, the reproach of those who have said you are too corrupt to be free, might be considered as no calumny; and it would, perhaps, be the duty of a patriotic citizen, to diminish the operation of your vices, by circumscribing the sphere of your privileges. We cannot entertain so degrading a sentiment respecting our fellow-citizens; their temperate and firm exertions co-operating with the virtue, wisdom, and talents of their patriotic leaders, gave them a constitution. They have a right equally strong, and are called upon by a duty equally cogent, to protect and to reform that constitution. For the purpose, therefore, of empowering and stimulating the parliament, of instructing and admonishing the Irish government, and of manifesting to our Sovereign the loyalty and gratitude of his subjects,

We earnestly recommend it to you, to assemble in your respective counties, to declare your sense of the *necessity* of an *immediate, radical, and effectual reform* in the representation of—the people—to lay before the throne your gratitude for his Majesty's gracious interposition on behalf of his Catholic subjects, to state your acknowledgments for what has been done in parliament, and your anxious wish that it may proceed, *without intermission*, in accomplishing the great work it has undertaken. But, whilst we feel the utmost confidence in the affection and justice of our Sovereign, and whilst we place all due reliance on the wisdom and liberality of parliament, the public sentiment must not slumber.

We must give information to our real, and take away excuse from our pretended friends; we must strengthen the sincere, and animate the luke-warm; and, above all, we must deprecate half-measures: and let the government of this country know, that no *palliative* will be suffered to feed and keep alive the present morbid system of representation. We do again recommend the formation of societies, for the pur-

pose of investigation and conference. The difficulties of this arduous business will the less obstruct its progress, when the talents of the nation are every where exerted in surmounting them; and we doubt not, that the united exertions of the people of Ireland, will, even within this session, with the co-operation of parliament, accomplish Reform, which, for ages, may withstand the decay of time, and the inroads of corruption. Signed by order, &c. R. Griffith, Sec.

Even the peaceable free-masons, who studiously avoid political and religious controversy, yielded at this time to the sacred impulse of brotherly love and patriotism; as appears from the sentiments, truly evangelical, addressed by the lodge of Dungannon to all the masons in Ireland.

To the Free and Accepted Masons of Ireland.

Brethren—Affected only by the sacred influence of those holy bonds which unite us to you and our brethren encircling the globe, we address you. Reluctantly do we speak on political subjects. Convinced that “unanimity is the strength of society,” we view with abhorrence the insidious attempts that have been in our native land made, to introduce discord where harmony should reign, to call up the spirit of the first-born Cain, and make brother draw the murderous sword against brother: “divide and govern,” is a maxim as old as tyranny itself. We will not be divided as masons; for, holding sacred the right of private judgment in all matters whatever, the virtuous brother, however he may differ from us in religious or political opinions, shall ever be received with the cordial embrace of fraternal fellowship. We will not be divided from our countrymen; our interests are in common with theirs. Whilst we view with pleasure the rapid progress of liberty in France, supported by reason and philosophy, and founded on the grand principles of our institution; whilst we glory in the reflection, that our illustrious brother Washington, and the masons of America, were the saviours of

their country, and the first founders of the temple of liberty, are we to see the Irish masons made the tools of corruption, and they to be instruments for oppressing their already borne-down countrymen? Brethren, in embracing the duties of masons, we have not relinquished any of our rights as men; we are, from our souls, sincerely loyal; but ours is not the loyalty of slaves, it is that of masons; masons, who know their rights, and are determined to die or be free. We are no advocates for passive obedience and non-resistance; fealty to our Sovereign does not require us to support corruption. So long as the vices of man render government necessary, it ought to be framed for the good of nations, not for oppression to the many, and the aggrandizement of a few. Ah! how could any of you, whose benevolence should be as extensive as the habitations of man, behold two-thirds of your countrymen miserable, oppressed, and naked, literally feeding on potatoes and point, labouring under sanguinary penal laws, taxed without being represented, unable in sickness to procure assistance, obliged in herds annually to desert their hovels at the approaching ravages of the hearth-collectors, who, merciless, too often rob their bed of heath of its only covering. Could you behold these, and say, the people are happy, rich and prosperous? Could you behold almost the whole of what are called the nation's representatives, arbitrarily appointed by a few individuals, for a long number of years, and not accountable for their conduct; places and pensions multiplied for the purposes of corruption, and often bestowed on man without principle, and woman without virtue; the privileges of the crown infringed, the honours of the peerage sold, innumerable taxes wrung from the people, and the nation involved in debt for the purpose of corrupting parliament, no responsibility required from the great officers of the state, the subject deprived of the trial by jury, in consequence of the game and revenue laws, fiats and attachments? Could any of you, generous brethren, behold these and numerous other grievances, and declare yourselves enemies to those who will attempt to reform the system of iniquity which occasions them? We believe, that the people not having their due weight in the legislature, is the cause of all our grievances; and that a real, radical reform in the representative branch thereof, can alone secure the interest,

and preserve the peace of Ireland. To this object alone our views are directed; knowing that reform can alone prevent the horrors of a revolution, the blame of which must fall on the heads of those who drive the people to despair. Brethren, equally contemning the high and low vulgar, we are taught to regard him alone, who is virtuous, as exalted to the level of man. The profane and vicious are only savages; to be virtuous, it is necessary to be free, for slavery and vice are inseparably connected. Respecting those sacred truths, we wish we may be branded with infamy, if we ever cease most strenuously to co-operate with all our fellow-subjects in their endeavours to eradicate vice and slavery from the land. Taking our wives and children in our hands, we feel all nature stirring within us, and the God of nature's voice calling on us to save them. One word more, brethren, "a people aspiring to be free, should be able to protect liberty."—Be peaceable, but powerful. Let every lodge in the land become a company of citizen-soldiers. Let every volunteer company become a lodge of masons.

Countrymen of all denominations, we address you; our mysteries are not orgies held for plotting against your liberty. Among the apostles there was one Judas. The slaves among us are few: join our lodges; this will give you confidence in each other, and will secure you against private persecution on account of your struggles for freedom. No one who dares to oppress the least among us, need ever expect support from the rest.—Signed by order, W. Richardson, Sec.

An aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was also convened by the high-sheriffs, on the 24th of January, to take into consideration the state of the representation, and give instructions to their representatives thereon. The resolutions adopted by this meeting, declared the house of commons not to be freely chosen by the people; and that, being influenced by emoluments and pensions, it did not speak the sense of the people. These resolutions having been published in the *Hibernian*

Journal, the printer, Mr. M'Donnell, was ordered to attend at the bar of the house of commons for a breach of privilege. When questioned as to his defence, he said the resolutions were sent to him authenticated under the signature of Henry Hutton, one of the high-sheriffs of the city; and that the sheriff had authorised him to say he had signed them, as chairman of the meeting, and was ready to avow the fact, if called upon. After a long debate, the printer was ordered into custody, where he was kept for a few days, and then discharged; but no notice was taken of the sheriff, who was attending, dressed in the insignia of his office, and ready to justify his conduct.

An address to the nation from the United Irishmen again appeared, accompanied with a plan of reform, recommending measures to insure its success, the formation of a national convention, &c. &c. The importance annexed to them, will be ample apology for their insertion.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the Irish Nation.—William Drennan, Chairman—Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Secretary.

On the 9th of November, 1791, was this Society founded. We and our beloved brethren of Belfast began that civic union, which, if a nation be a society united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation; and, at a time when all wished, many willed, but few spoke, and fewer acted, we, Catholics and Protestants, joined our hands and our hearts together, sunk every distinctive appellation in the name of *Irishman*, and, in the presence of God, devoted ourselves to universal enfranchisement, and a real representation of all the people in parliament. On this rock of right our little ark found a resting place; gradually, though not slowly, throughout the country other stations of safety appeared, and

what before was agitated sea, became firm and fertile land. From that time have the body and spirit of our societies increased, until selfish corporations, sunk in conscious insignificance, have given way to a grand incorporation of the Irish people.

Knowing that what the tongue is to the man, the press is to the people; though nearly blasted in our cradle by the sorcery of solicitors of law and general attorneys, we have persisted with courageous perseverance to rally round this forlorn hope of freedom, and to maintain this citadel of the constitution at the risk of personal security, property, and all that was dear to us.

We have defended the violated liberty of the subject against the undefined and voracious privilege of the House of Commons, treating with merited scorn the insolent menaces of men inflated with office.

Not a man so low, that, if oppressed by any assumption of power, civil or military, has not met with our counsel, our purse and our protection; not a man so high, that, if acting contrary to popular right, or public independence, we have not denounced at the judgment-seat of justice, and at the equitable tribunal of public opinion.

We have addressed the Volunteers, deliverers of this injured land! Have we done wrong? If we have, tear your colours from the staff, reverse your arms, muffle your drums, beat a funeral-march for Ireland, and then abandon the corpse to fencibles, to militia, to invalids and dismounted dragoons. If we have done wrong, and we swear by the revolution of Eighty-two that we have not, go on with the zeal of enterprising virtue, and a sense of your own importance, to exercise that right of self-defence which belongs to the nation, and to infuse constitutional energy into the public will for the public good.

O Ireland! Ireland! country to which we have clung in all our misfortunes, personal, religious, political; for whose freedom and happiness we are here solemnly united; for whom, as a society, we live; and for whom, as men, if hard necessity commands it, we are ready to die; let us conjure you not to abuse the present precious moment, by a self-extinguishment, by a credulous committal of your judgment and senses to the direction of others, by an idle and idiot

gaze on what may be going on in parliament. In receiving good offices from all, distinguish between sound Hibernicism and that windy patriotism, which is now puffing and blowing in the race of popularity. *Trust as little to your friends as to your enemies, in a matter where you can act only by yourselves. The will of the nation must be declared before any reform ought to take place.* It is not, therefore, any class however numerous, any society however respectable, any subaltern assembly, that have either right or competency to express that authoritative will. *Nothing less than the people can speak for the people. This competency resides not in a few freeholders shivering in the corner of a county-hall, but only in the whole community, represented in each county, (as at present in Antrim,) by parochial delegation, and then from each county by baronial delegation, to provincial conventions, the union of which must form the awful will of the people of Ireland.* Let us therefore conclude, by conjuring the county meetings now assembling to follow the example of Ulster, and by appointing delegates to a convention of their respective provinces, to unite their scattered and insulated wills into one momentous mass, which may have authority sufficient to make a declaration of rights in behalf of the nation.

A Plan of an Equal Representation of the People of Ireland in the House of Commons, prepared for Public Consideration by the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

I. That the nation, for the purpose of representation solely, should be divided into three hundred electorates, formed by a combination of parishes, and as nearly as possible equal in point of population.

II. That each electorate should return one representative to parliament.

III. That each electorate should, for the convenience of carrying on the elections at the same time, be subdivided into a sufficient number of parts.

IV. That there should be a returning officer for each electorate, and a deputy returning officer for each subdivision, to be respectively elected.

V. That the electors of the electorate should vote, each in

the subdivision in which he is registered, and has resided as herein-after specified.

VI. That the returning officers of the subdivisions should severally return their respective polls to the returning officer of the electorate, who should tot up the whole, and return the person having a majority of votes, as the representative in parliament.

VII. That every man possessing the right of suffrage for a representative in parliament, should exercise it in his own person only.

VIII. That no person should have a right to vote in more than one electorate at the same election.

IX. *That every male of sound mind, who has attained the full age of twenty-one, and actually dwelt, or maintained a family-establishment in any electorate for six months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the election, (provided his residence, or maintaining a family-establishment be duly registered,) should be entitled to vote for the representative of the electorate.*

X. That there should be a registering-officer, and a registry of residence, in every subdivision of the electorate; and that in all questions concerning residence, the registry should be considered as conclusive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation should commence and close on the same day.

XII. That the votes of all electors should be given by voice, and not by ballot.

XIII. That no oath of any kind should be taken by any elector.

XIV. That the full age of twenty-five years should be a necessary qualification to entitle any man to be a representative.

XV. That residence within the electorate should not, but that residence within the kingdom should be a necessary qualification for a representative.

XVI. *That no property qualification should be necessary to entitle any man to be a representative.*

XVII. That any person having a pension, or holding a place in the Executive or Judicial Departments, should be thereby disqualified from being a representative.

XVIII. *That representatives should receive a reasonable stipend for their services.*

XIX. That every representative should, on taking his seat, swear that neither he, nor any person to promote his interest, with his privity, gave, or was to give, any bribe for the suffrage of any voter.

XX. That any representative, convicted by a jury of having acted contrary to the substance of the above oath, should be for ever disqualified from sitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. *That parliaments should be annual.*

XXII. That a representative should be at liberty to resign his delegation, upon giving sufficient notice to his constituents.

XXIII. That absence from duty for should vacate the seat of a representative.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin to the People of Ireland.

People of Ireland—We now submit to your consideration a plan for your equal representation in the House of Commons. In framing it, we have disregarded the many overcharged accusations, which we hear daily made by the prejudiced and the corrupt against the People, their independence, integrity, and understanding. We are, ourselves, *but a portion of the People*; and that appellation, we feel, confers more real honour and importance, than can, in *these times*, be derived from places, pensions, or titles. As little have we consulted the sentiments of administration or of opposition. We have attentively observed them both, and, whatever we may hope of some members of the latter, we *firmly believe, that both those parties are equally averse from the measure of adequate reform. If we had no other reason for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament, in the last session, under the auspices of opposition, might convince us of the melancholy truth.* Thus circumstanced, then, distrusting all parties, we hold it the right and the duty of every man in the nation to examine, deliberate, and decide for himself on that important measure. *As a portion of the People,* (for in no other capacity, we again repeat it, do we presume to address you,) we suggest to you our ideas, by which we would provide to preserve the popular part of the legislature uninfluenced by, and independent of the other

two parts, and to effectuate that essential principle of justice and our constitution, that every man has the right of voting, through the medium of his representative, for the law by which he is bound: that sacred principle, for which America fought, and by which Ireland was emancipated from British Supremacy! If our ideas are right, which we feel an honest conviction they are, adopt them; if wrong, discussion will detect their errors, and *we, at least*, shall be always found ready to profit by, and conform ourselves to, the sentiments of the People.

Our present state of representation is charged with being unequal, unjust, and by no means calculated to express *your* deliberate will on any subject of general importance. We have endeavoured to point out the remedies of those evils, by a more equal distribution of political power and liberty, *by doing justice*, and by anxiously providing, that your deliberate will shall be, at all times, accurately expressed in your own branch of the legislature. If these are not the principles of good government, we have yet to learn, from the placemen and pensioners that flit about the Castle, in what the science of politics can consist. But we know they are; and, we are bold to say, that the more a government carries these principles into effect, the nearer it approaches to perfection.

We believe it will be said, that our plan, however just, is impracticable in the present state of this country. If any part of that impracticability should be supposed to result from the interested resistance of borough proprietors, although we never will consent to compromise the *public right*, yet we, for our parts, might not hesitate to purchase the *public peace* by an adequate compensation. At all events it rests with you, countrymen, not with us, to remove the objection. If you do not wish the accomplishment of such a reform, it will not take place; if you do, we cannot believe, that Ireland is *yet* sunk to that state of misgovernment, in which it may be truly said, that although the great body of the people seriously feel the justice of a measure, and are seriously determined on its attainment, it is, nevertheless, impracticable.

To you, among our countrymen, for whose welfare we have peculiarly laboured from the first moment of our institution, and the contemplation of whose prosperity, will more

than compensate us for the sufferings we may have endured, for the calumnies with which we are aspersed, and for those which the publication of this unpalatable plan will call down upon us: *to you, the poorer classes of the community, we now address ourselves.* We are told you are ignorant; we wish you to enjoy liberty, without which no people was ever enlightened. We are told you are uneducated and immoral; we wish you to be educated, and your morality improved, by the most rapid of all instructors—a good government. *Do you find yourselves sunk in poverty and wretchedness? Are you over-loaded with burdens you are but little able to bear? Do you feel many grievances, which it would be tedious, and might be unsafe to mention? Believe us, they can all be redressed by such a reform, as will give you your just proportion of influence in the legislature, AND BY SUCH A MEASURE ONLY.*—To that, therefore, we wish to rivet all your attention. Let those men, who wrangle about preserving or acquiring power, catch at popularity by their petty regulations to check the progress of these growing evils; do you deliberate, in the retirement of your hearts, upon their only adequate remedy. Desist, we entreat you, from those disturbances, which are a disgrace to your country, and an injury to yourselves; which impair your own strength, and impede your own cause. *Examine peaceably and attentively, the plan of reform we now submit to you. Consider does it propose to do YOU justice? Does it propose to give YOU sufficient protection?* for we have no fears but that the rich will have justice done to them, and will be always sufficiently protected. *Hang this plan up in your cabbins; think on it over and over again; do not throw it by in despair, as being impossible to be carried into effect,* FOR NOTHING, WE HOPE, IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT IS JUST.—January 25, 1793.

The existence of war with France was shortly after announced. Messages from the lord lieutenant, on the 13th of February, acquainted parliament, that war was declared against his Majesty and Holland, by the assembly then exercising the powers of government in France; that he had taken the necessary steps to maintain the honor

of his crown, and the rights of his people; and that his Majesty relied on their firm and effectual support, and on the exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war, &c. Addresses of the most zealous co-operation, were unanimously voted, in defence of his Majesty's crown and rights.

The provincial convention of Ulster assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February. Antrim, Down, Donegall, Londonderry, Monaghan and Tyrone, were fully represented, and the delegates chosen directly by the whole people; but several districts in Armagh, Cavan and Fermanagh, had failed to meet, or appoint delegates. After two days deliberation, this body came to a decision in favour of the absolute necessity of a radical reform, including the unqualified and immediate admission of the catholics. A resolution was also entered into, declaring, in very pointed terms, the protest of that province against the war with France; and another expressing disapprobation of the militia establishment, as tending to supersede the volunteers.

Meanwhile the catholics having found it necessary to make the extent of their wishes fully known to the Irish administration, the sub-committee deputed some of their body to wait on major Hobart, and acquaint him, that the object and expectations of the catholics were, the entire repeal of the popery laws. This declaration the secretary received with perfect politeness: but without implicating his responsibility by an indiscreet reply. Some days after, a second interview on the

same subject having been judged necessary, the sub-committee, feeling that it was called upon to be precise and specific, desired its deputies to read to Mr. Hobart, on its part, the same declaration reduced to writing. When this was accordingly done, Mr. Hobart addressed himself to Mr. Keogh, one of the deputation, and asked, did he not think, that if government went for the elective franchise, and the repeal of the catholic laws relating to juries, with some minor circumstances then stated, enough would be done.— Mr. Keogh replied, that as one of the deputation, he could only answer, it would not content the catholics, and that there he had no right to deliver any opinion. “ But it is your private opinion I request to know?” rejoined the secretary.— “ Why then,” said Mr. Keogh, “ if I was to give my private opinion, I should say, they are substantial benefits.” “ It is not in government’s power,” directly answered the minister, “ to grant more.” Some vague discourse was then carried on with others of the deputation, as if it was possible to negotiate on the footing of partial emancipation. When this conversation was reported to the sub-committee, it was exceedingly irritated, and, hoping to retrieve what was past, instantly sent a new deputation, consisting of different members, to reiterate the declaration in stronger terms: but the secretary had taken his ground.

Accordingly on the 4th of February he obtained leave to bring in a bill, for giving to the catholics the elective franchise; the right of being grand and petty jurors in all cases; of en-

dowing a college and schools; of carrying arms, if possessed of a certain property qualification; of holding subordinate civil offices; and of being justices of the peace: it also repealed all the remaining penal laws respecting personal property.

The progress of this bill through parliament was by no means rapid. It was presented on the 18th, ordered to be printed, and read a second time on the 22d. On the second reading, Mr. Knox, after insisting that all apprehensions from catholic power must be unfounded, declared his intention to move, that Roman catholics should be admitted to seats in parliament. On the question for committal, the Provost declared, that if, in what he was going to say, he could effect the abolition of any one religious prejudice, he should consider it the happiest moment of his life. Then having combated the apprehensions entertained of the power of the Catholics, Protestants, he said, should not be any longer jealous or suspicious, as the causes of jealousy and suspicion were completely removed; the Roman catholics had, for a century, been uniformly loyal and peaceable; they had done nothing, under all the restraints laid upon them, to disturb the established government, and surely this conduct deserved some return. During fifty years experience that he had had of the confidence of those in the government of affairs in this kingdom, he never heard of any rising or intended rising amongst those people; for the excesses of the lower orders he did not consider as insurrection. Lord Chesterfield, when he came over here as lord-lieutenant, was much

prejudiced by what he had heard in England of Roman catholics; but when he came to converse with, and to observe them, he changed his opinion. The commons, on the alarm of a rebellion actually existing in England, wished to strengthen the hands of government by violent measures against Roman catholics; they were opposed by the immediate friends of government in that house; and when the lord lieutenant was urged, by representations of the dangers of popery, he declared that he “knew of but one dangerous papist in the whole country, a very beautiful young lady of that persuasion.” What could have inspired him with this confidence, but a retrospect of their conduct for fifty years before? He then took an historical review of the subject, insisting, that all the misfortunes of this country had arisen from the disunion of its inhabitants; that as soon as their nation had become united, all the great objects of liberty were attained; and that the emancipation of the catholic had always been the earnest of Irish liberty.

“I would have you,” said Mr. Grattan, at the conclusion of an animated appeal on behalf of the oppressed, “at this time, distrust that religious vanity, which tells you, that these men are not fit for freedom; they have answered that vanity in a strain of oratory peculiar to the oppressed. It is the error of sects, to value themselves more upon their differences than their religion; and in these differences, in which they forget the principles of their religions, they imagine they have discovered the mystery of their salvation; and to this sup-

posed discovery they have offered human sacrifices: what human sacrifices have we offered? the dearest, the liberties of our fellow-subjects. Distrust again that fallacious policy, which tells your power is advanced by their bondage; it is not your power, but your punishment; it is liberty without energy, you know it; it presents you with a monopoly, and the monopoly of others, not your own; it presents you with the image of a monster in a state when the heart gives no circulation, and the limbs receive no life; a nominal representative, and a nominal people: call not this your misfortune, it is your sentence, it is your execution. Never could the law of nature suffer one set of men to take away the liberty of another, and that of a numerous part of their people, without feeling a diminution of their own strength and freedom; but, in making laws on the subject of religion, we forget mankind, until their own distraction admonishes statesmen of two truths, the one, that there is a God; the other, that there is a people. Never was it permitted to any nation; they may perplex their understandings with various apologies, but never long was it permitted to exclude from essential, from what they themselves have pronounced essential blessings, a great portion of themselves for periods of time, and for no reason, or what is worse, for such reason as you have advanced. Conquerors, or tyrants proceeding from conquerors, have scarcely ever, for any length of time, governed by those partial disabilities; but a people so to govern itself, or rather, under the

name of government, so to exclude one another, the industrious, the opulent, the useful, that part that feeds you with its industry, and supplies you with its taxes, weaves that you may wear, and ploughs that you may eat; to exclude a body so useful, so numerous, and that for ever, and, in the mean time, to tax them ad libitum, and occasionally to pledge their lives and fortunes! For what? For their disfranchisement. It cannot be done. Continue it, and you expect from your laws what it were blasphemy to ask of your Maker. Such a policy always turns on the inventor, and bruises him under the stroke of the sceptre or the sword, or sinks him under the accumulation of debt, and loss of dominion. Need I go to instances? What was the case of Ireland, enslaved for a century, and withered and blasted with her protestant ascendancy, like¹a shattered oak, seethed on a hill by the fires of its own intolerance. What lost England America, but such a policy? An attempt to bind men by a parliament, wherein they are not represented; such an attempt as some would now continue to practise on the catholics, and involve England. What was it saved Ireland to England but the contrary policy? I have seen their principles of liberty very far by yourselves. I have heard addresses from counties and cities here, on the subject of the slaves, to Mr. Wilberforce, thanking him for his efforts to set free a distressed people. Has your pity traversed leagues of sea, to sit down by the black boy on the coast of Guinea; and have you forgot the man at home by your side, your

brother? Come, then, and by one great act cancel this code, and prepare your mind for that bright order of time, which now seems to touch your condition." The bill was then committed for the 25th, three only dissenting.

The hon. Mr. Knox, agreeable to the notice he had given, after showing how effectually his measure would counteract republican principles, moved "that the committee be empowered to receive a clause to make it lawful for persons professing the Roman catholic religion to sit and vote in parliament." This was seconded by major Doyle, supported by Mr. Blake, of Ardsfry, and Mr. M. Smith, who briefly stated the inadequacy of the bill without this clause. "That only would be liberal, he said, which would make the catholics contented and happy; and that only it would be wise to grant, which might be granted with safety to ourselves. Liberality and wisdom, in this case, are coincident; for that only would be wise which should make the catholics happy; since their content was the essence of our safety. The bill, he was sorry to say, fell far short of the point of wisdom and of liberality. It granted the elective franchise, but it withheld the representative franchise; and by thus granting a part, and withholding a part, it neither satisfied the catholic desire, nor secured the protestant safety. It only holds the cup of liberty to their lips, then withdraws it, and tells them, we did not mean they should taste it. The man, who could say the catholics ought to be contented with the bill, knew little of the human heart, and felt nothing of its

finest energies. Liberty must be enjoyed in whole, not in part; she must shine with a full orb, and her least obscuration was scarcely less felt than her total eclipse. Every good is great or little from comparison; relative depression is, therefore, slavery—protestant ascendancy is catholic misery. What, then, it might be asked, did the catholics want? he would answer in one word—Liberty: what many of the most brilliant characters of antiquity had died for, and without which no honorable man would wish to live. He would be understood to mean, however, only that chastised liberty, which was founded on, and regulated by law; not that political mania, which had so strongly seized a neighbouring country, and produced there such melancholy effects. He refuted the assertion, that the catholics should be admitted to the elective franchise, agreeably to the principles of the constitution; but that they ought to be excluded from the senate. The constitution, he showed, required, that they should be admitted as well to the one as to the other. The duties of parliament required all the wisdom, all the talents, and all the integrity of the land; what then could be said of a law, which excluded three-fourths of that wisdom, integrity and ability, from the senate-house? He did not allude to their numbers by way of intimidation; it was an argument to their pity and to their justice, not to their fears. In a good cause, no number would be too great to contend with; but surely three millions of men were too, too many to be excluded from the benefits of freemen. If the

clause proposed was rejected, the bill would confer nothing but a *conge d'elire*, and would be alike insulting to the catholics and protestants. The house could not grant what would give union, if they did not grant all the privileges of the constitution. To assert they could, would be to contravene the first principles of reason; but let them place the catholics on equal ground with their fellow-subjects, and then nothing internal nor external could injure the peace or the security of the country. The adoption of the clause would raise the country to rank, splendour and dignity, among nations." This was more than the minister chose to effect: the detaching the catholics from the friends of reform, was the object of his concessions. The clause was resisted, and negatived by a majority of 96, 69 voting for it, and 163 against it.

In the debate of the 27th, the bill was violently opposed by the ascendancy phalanx, and several fruitless attempts made, to limit the elective franchise. On the 7th of March, the bill was read a third time, passed, and ordered to the lords.

During its progress through the house of lords, few alterations were made in it; but the loyalty of the catholic body was acknowledged. Lord Portarlington said, he was one of the committee lately appointed by their lordships to enquire into certain alarming events of late prevalent in this country, and if he was not fully convinced, that the catholic body had no concern whatever in the disturbances created by some of their com-

munion in the north, he should never give to this bill the support he now gave it, by voting for its committal. On the 20th of March, the bill was read a third time, passed, and returned to the commons; and on the 9th of April received the royal assent. The state of the catholics since remaining unchanged, the perusal of this act will make the reader acquainted with the extent of the relief it conveyed, and the qualifications necessary for obtaining such relief.

“Whereas various acts of parliament have been passed, imposing on his Majesty’s subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion, many restraints and disabilities, to which other subjects of this realm are not liable; and from the peaceable and loyal demeanour of his Majesty’s Popish or Roman Catholic subjects, it is fit that such restraints and disabilities shall be discontinued: be it therefore enacted, by the king’s most excellent majesty, &c. that his Majesty’s subjects, being Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or educating any of their children in that religion, shall not be liable or subject to any penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, or incapacities, or to any laws for the limitation, charging or discovering of their estates and property, real or personal, or touching the acquiring of property or securities effecting property; save such as his Majesty’s subjects of the Protestant religion are liable and subject to; and that such parts of all oaths as are required to be taken by persons in order to qualify themselves for voting at elections of members to serve in parliament; and also such parts of all oaths required to be taken by persons voting at elections for members to serve in parliament, as import to deny that the person taking the same is a Papist, or married to a Papist, or educates his children in the Popish religion, shall not hereafter be required to be taken by any voter, but shall be omitted by the person administering the same; and that it shall not be necessary, in order to entitle a Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to vote at an election of members to serve in parliament, that he should at, or pre-

vious to his voting, take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any statute now in force to the contrary of any of the said matters in any wise notwithstanding.

“ II. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that all Papists or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, who may claim to have a right of voting for members to serve in parliament, or of voting for magistrates in any city, town corporate, or borough, within this kingdom, be hereby required to perform all qualifications, registries, and other requisites, which are now required of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, in like cases, by any law or laws now of force in this kingdom, save and except such oaths and parts of oaths as are herein before excepted.

“ III. And provided always, that nothing herein before contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to repeal or alter any law or act of parliament now in force, by which certain qualifications are required to be performed by persons enjoying any offices or places of trust under his Majesty, his heirs and successors, other than as herein after is enacted.

“ IV. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to give Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, a right to vote at any parish vestry, for levying of money to rebuild or repair any parish church, or respecting the demising or disposal of the income of any estate belonging to any church or parish, or for the salary of the parish clerk, or at the election of any churchwarden.

“ V. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act shall extend to, or be construed to affect any action or suit now depending, which shall have been brought or instituted previous to the commencement of this session of parliament.

“ VI. Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall extend to authorize any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to have or keep in his hands or possession, any arms, armour, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns, or fire-arms, or to exempt such person from any forfeiture, or penalty inflicted by any act respecting arms, armour, or ammunition, in the hands or possession of any Papist, or respecting Papists having or keeping such warlike stores; save and except Papists, or persons of the Roman Catholic

religion, seized of a freehold estate of one hundred pounds a year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds or upwards, who are hereby authorized to keep arms and ammunition as Protestants now by law may; and also, save and except Papists or Roman Catholics possessing a freehold estate of ten pounds yearly value, and less than one hundred pounds, or a personal estate of three hundred, and less than one thousand pounds, who shall have at the session of the peace in the county in which they reside, taken the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by an act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his present Majesty's reign, entitled *An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him*; and also in open court, swear and subscribe an affidavit, that they are possessed of a freehold estate, yielding a clear yearly profit to the person making the same, of ten pounds, or a personal property of three hundred pounds above his just debts, specifying therein the name and nature of such freehold, and nature of such personal property, which affidavits shall be carefully preserved by the clerk of the peace, who shall have for his trouble a fee of six-pence, and no more, for every such affidavit; and the person making such affidavits, and possessing such property, may keep and use such arms and ammunition as Protestants may, so long as they shall respectively possess a property of the annual value of ten pounds, and upwards, if freehold, or the value of three hundred pounds, if personal, any statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“VII. And be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to hold, exercise, and enjoy all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, in this kingdom; and to hold or take degrees, or any professorship in, or be masters, or fellows of any college, to be hereafter founded in this kingdom, provided that such college shall be a member of the University of Dublin, and shall not be founded exclusively for the education of Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, nor consist exclusively of masters, fellows, or other persons to be named or elected on the foundation of such college, being persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, or to hold any office or place of trust in,

and to be a member of any lay-body corporate, except the college of the holy and undivided Trinity of queen Elizabeth, near Dublin, without taking and subscribing the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, or abjuration, or making or subscribing the declaration required to be taken, made, and subscribed, to enable any such person to hold and enjoy any of such places, and without receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, any law, statute, or by-law of any corporation to the contrary notwithstanding; provided that every such person shall take and subscribe the oath appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his Majesty's reign, entitled, An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him; and also the oath and declaration following, that is to say:

" I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do profess the Roman Catholic religion. I A. B. do swear, that I do abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is unlawful to murder, destroy, or any ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretence of being an heretic; and I do declare solemnly before God, that I believe, that no act in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence, or colour, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. I also declare, that it is not an article of the Catholic faith, neither am I thereby required to believe or profess, that the Pope is infallible, or that I am bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope or any ecclesiastical power should issue or direct such order, but, on the contrary, I hold, that it would be sinful in me to pay any respect or obedience thereto; I further declare, that I do not believe that any sin whatsoever committed by me can be forgiven at the mere will of any Pope, or any priest, or of any person whatsoever; but that sincere sorrow for past sins, a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt, and to atone to God, are previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness, and that any person, who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining thereby any remission of his sins incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament; and I do swear, that I will

defend to the utmost of my power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country as established by the laws now in being; I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present church establishment for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead; and I do solemnly swear, that I will not exercise any privilege, to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant government in this kingdom.—So help me God.

“VIII. And be it enacted, that Papists, or persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, may be capable of being elected professors of medicine, upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dunn, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“IX. Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to enable any person to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, lord high chancellor or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal of this kingdom, lord high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, chief justice of the court of king's bench, or common pleas, lord chief baron of the court of exchequer, justice of the court of king's bench or common pleas, or baron of the court of exchequer, judge of the high court of admiralty, master or keeper of the rolls, secretary of state, keeper of the privy seal, vice-treasurer, or deputy vice-treasurer, teller and cashier of the exchequer, or auditor-general, lieutenant or governor, or custos rotulorum of counties, secretary to the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, prime sergeant, attorney-general, solicitor-general, second and third sergeants at law, or king's council, masters in chancery, provost, or fellow of the college of the holy undivided Trinity of queen Elizabeth, near Dublin; post-master-general, master, and lieutenant-general of his majesty's ordnance, commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, generals on the staff, and sheriffs, and sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom; or any office contrary to the rules, orders and directions made and established by the lord lieutenant and council in pursuance of

the act passed in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of king Charles the Second, entitled, An act for the explaining some doubts arising upon an act, entitled, An act for the better execution of his Majesty's gracious Declaration for the Settlement of this Kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and for making some alterations of, and additions unto the said act, for the more speedy and effectual settlement of this kingdom, unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declarations, and performed the several requisites, which by any law heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

“ X. Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing in this act contained shall enable any Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, to exercise any right of presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice whatsoever.

“ XI. And be it enacted, that no Papist, or person professing the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending divine service on the Sabbath-day, called Sunday, in his or her parish church.

“ XII. Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained, shall be construed to extend to authorize any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, to celebrate marriage between Protestant and Protestant, or between any person, who hath been or professed himself or herself to be a Protestant, at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, and a Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, and that every Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, who shall celebrate any marriage between two Protestants, or between any such Protestant and Papist, unless such Protestant and Papist shall have been first married by a clergyman of the Protestant religion, shall forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds to his majesty, upon conviction thereof.

“ XII. And whereas it may be expedient, in case his majesty, his heirs and successors shall be pleased so to alter the statutes of the college of the holy and undivided Trinity near Dublin, and of the university of Dublin, as to enable persons professing the Roman Catholic religion to enter into

or to take degrees in the said university, to remove any obstacle which now exists by statute law; be it enacted, that from and after the 1st day of June, 1793, it shall not be necessary for any person upon taking any of the degrees usually conferred by the said university, to make or subscribe any declaration, or to take any oath, save the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ XIV. Provided always, that no Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall take any benefit by or under this act, unless he shall have first taken and subscribed the oath and declaration in this act contained and set forth, and also the said oath* appointed by the said act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his Majesty's reign, entitled, An act to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him, in some one of his Majesty's four courts in Dublin, or at the general sessions of the peace, or at any adjournment thereof to be holden for the county, city, or borough wherein such Papist or Roman Catholics, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit or dwell, or before the going judge or judges of assize in the county wherein such Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, doth inhabit and dwell in open court.

“ XV. Provided always, and be it enacted, that the names of such persons as shall so take and subscribe the said oath and declaration, with their titles and additions, shall be entered upon the rolls, for that purpose to be appointed by said respective courts; and that the said rolls once in every year shall be transmitted to, and deposited in the rolls office in this kingdom, to remain amongst the records thereof, and the masters or keepers of the rolls in this kingdom, or their lawful deputy or deputies, are hereby empowered and required to give and deliver to such person or persons so taking and subscribing the said oaths and declaration, a certificate or certificates of such person or persons having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, for each of which certificates the sum of one shilling and no more shall be paid.

* See the form of this oath, p. 96.

“XVI. And be it further provided and enacted, that from and after the first day of April, 1793, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist or Roman Catholic, or person professing the Roman Catholic or Popish religion, shall at any time be capable of giving his vote for the electing of any knight or knights of any shire or county within this kingdom, or citizen or burgess to serve in any parliament, until he shall have first produced and shewn to the high sheriff of the said county, or his deputy or deputies, at any election of a knight or knights of the said shire, and to the respective chief officer or officers of any city, borough, or town-corporate, to whom the return of any citizen, or burgess to serve in parliament doth or shall respectively belong, at the election of any citizen or burgess to serve in parliament, such certificate of his having taken and subscribed the said oaths and declaration, either from the rolls office, or from the proper officer of the court in which the said oaths and declaration shall be taken and subscribed; and such person being a freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant so producing and shewing such certificate, shall be then permitted to vote, as amply and fully as any Protestant freeholder, freeman, burgess, or inhabitant of such county, city, borough, or town-corporate, but not otherwise.”

The question of parliamentary reform met not equal good fortune. The speech of Mr. Grattan deserves, nevertheless, its place, as an able historical document, stating the corruption of the representation, and giving the history of that corruption,—delivered on the 8th of February. Mr. Grattan.—“I will not say that this is the most important subject that was ever agitated in this house—I do remember, in 1782, another subject of equal, if not superior, moment. The question then was, whether Ireland should be governed by the parliament of another country, and the present is, whether she should enjoy a parliament of her own? As the subject of par-

liamentary reform is now posted, it is impossible for government to retreat from it. Their declarations the fourth day of the session—the words of the lord lieutenant's secretary—the liberal grants of the house, have established the necessity of acceding to a reform in parliament, and have sealed the doom of every rotten borough in the kingdom; hence I collect two things; that parliament should be reformed—that the reform must take place this session. Here let us appeal to gentlemen conversant with the disposition of the people; do not they think so? Are they not convinced of it—do not they know—have they not declared, that their constituents do now expect a reform of parliament, and that it is a measure not more necessary for their freedom than their felicity? Having mentioned the state of the question, I will advert to the state of your representation—it is short. Of three hundred members, above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten persons; several of your boroughs have no resident elector at all, some of them have but one; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the representatives in the house of commons are returned by less than one hundred persons! This is not that ancient, that venerable constitution of king, lords and commons. It is not even an aristocracy. It is an oligarchy. It is not an oligarchy of property, but of accident; not of prescription, but of innovation. Here again I appeal to the conscious conviction of every man who hears me; and I assert two propositions, which can neither

be denied nor defended : first, that the majority of the representatives are chosen by individuals ; second, that a great proportion of them are afterwards endowed by the crown. And it follows, that, in our present state of representation, the house of commons cannot be supposed to be the organ of the people.

In defence of such a state, three arguments are advanced : first, its antiquity—antiquity ! an establishment you would imagine that took place in Saxon times, in the age of the Confessor, or after the English intercourse with Ireland, at the time of the charter of John, or the reign of Edward—No ! James the First was the king who made above forty of those private boroughs. In the year 1613, the members returned to parliament were two hundred and thirty-two ; since which time sixty-eight members have been added, all by the house of Stuart ; one by Anne, four by James the Second ; most of the remainder by Charles the First, with a view to religious distinctions, and by Charles the Second with a view to personal favour. If you look to antiquity, therefore, the boroughs stand on bad ground. The form of your constitution was twelve counties, established in the reign of king John. Henry the Eighth added one ; Mary two ; and Elizabeth seventeen. Since which time your counties received no addition whatsoever, though between the year 1613 and the present, the borough interest has received an addition of sixty-eight members ; which is more than double the whole of the county representation.

bers to parliament to pay the state, they could not pay the members. The argument, therefore, can stand no examination; neither the test of property, nor population, nor antiquity. These boroughs have been established by accident, by humour, by ignorance, and by favour, without any regard to property, population, or any one principle of the constitution. The second argument in their favour is, that they have worked well; that the constitution has flourished under rotten boroughs. I beg leave to consider the operations of the constitution on the public welfare and on private property.

As to public welfare, I acknowledge many beneficial acts, wholesome regulations, and one great revolution; but may I be suffered to think, that the redemption of this country had been more speedily established, the good of this country more uniformly pursued, and with less intervals of inconsistency, if parliament had been constituted more according to the principles of the constitution. As it is constituted, to me its ordinary operation appears defective, its raptures successful, and its relapses disgraceful.

You have certain committees, committees of courts of justice; have they acted? Committees of trade; have they acted? What was the case of the East India trade? Committees of grievances; have they acted? It appears to me, that the functions of the house of commons would be discharged with more benefit to the public, and more honour to itself, under a constitution by representation, than a constitution by boroughs.

I have had opportunities to speak to the growth of the expences of government. I have shown, without the probability of contradiction, that in seven years you have, in those expences alone, exceeded your estimates in the sum of £163,000. I did not form my comparison with the actual expence of 1784; if I had, the excess had been greater, particularly with regard to the civil establishment, which was, in the year 1784, £174,000, and the excess, therefore, £33,000, not £17,000, as the right honourable gentleman was pleased to mention. But I mentioned a progress of expence still more striking, that since the year 1769, you have increased your annual charge, including debt, more in proportion than Great Britain, notwithstanding the American war and all her armaments. But the evil effects on private fortunes of this species of representation are more sensibly felt, and more readily understood; those who have contested boroughs, those who have repeatedly obtained seats in this house for boroughs, may find in their mortgages an answer to the admirers of the present system. I may aver, without fear of contradiction, that the expences of election and returns of parliament are so ruinous, that no private fortune can support them; that the expence for obtaining returns for a borough, except under the gift of a patron, are so great, as no private fortune can sustain; that these expences increase with the powers of the constitution. I have heard that seats in this house, forty years ago, were obtained for £600. I have heard that they now cost £3,000, and

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you know these expences are ultimately paid by the public. Hence arises what we often lamented, the trade of parliament, a trade in which the dealer does not make $\pounds 6$ per cent. by his money, with all the other sacrifices of honour, &c. I wish to lay the axe at the root of this trade, in which the political morality, as well as the freedom of the country, are intimately concerned. I shall be told, there have been exceptions to this expence; I feel it, but I feel, also, that the expence is the rule, and the saving an exception. The property of boroughs, the sale of boroughs, the sale of honours, sale of votes, private embarrassments, and public servility, all will be corrected by the reform of parliament; and the constitution under its defective state, so far from working as well as gentlemen have flattered themselves, has been attended with a growth of public expence, equalled only by an accumulation of private difficulties. The third argument in support of the present system is, that gentlemen cannot agree about a better. We agree in what we condemn; we cannot well differ in the principle on which we are to reform. We agree, I apprehend, that twelve burgesses should not return two members to serve in parliament. That is, we agree in the destruction of close boroughs. We agree on the principle which is to conduct your compasses, a mass of propertied people, the precise number only a subject of discussion; but we agree, that we are to look to a mass of people having property. How far we are to go, and what geographical line, whether the circle of a county,

or any lesser circumscription, may be a subject of discussion, but not of discord.

We cannot differ about the propriety of residence, of extending the franchise to freemen by birth, marriage, or the exercise of a trade for a certain time. Perhaps we shall not differ on the propriety of extending the right of voting to landholders having a certain valuable interest; a universal registry; elections to be limited in time, and to be carried on in different places at once; an oath to be taken by the candidate, and to be repeated at your bar, by the member:

“That he has not been at any expence whatsoever, nor paid any sum whatsoever, to procure his return, by himself or others.”

These, with some other regulations, when added to an internal reform, which should exclude officers of the revenue, and a long et cetera, which my friend will explain, and which will reduce the influence, by excluding all pensioners for years, and placemen, except such as are in higher departments, show, I think, that the subject, however it may have been supposed to be involved in difficulties, yet contains the principles of concord.

These broad principles carried into execution, must insure you that constitution, temperate at once and pure, founded on the true principles of property, with population, including what is well understood by the words, “constitutional public,” giving to every farmer a sort of station in his country; and to every landlord an interest to give an encouraging lease. Thus, the reform of

parliament may be a good system of agriculture, as well as of liberty. These principles, I say, carried into execution, may produce that steady calm in the minds of men, which results from the sense of a good constitution, and the benefits of an honest representation. Mr. Grattan then read three resolutions, and moved the first:

“Resolved, That the representation of the people is attended with great and heavy charges and payments, in consequence of elections and returns of members to serve in parliament, and that said abuses ought to be abolished.

“Resolved, That of the three hundred members elected to serve in parliament, the counties, and counties of cities, and towns, together with the university, return eighty-four members, and that the remaining two hundred and sixteen are returned by boroughs and manors.

“Resolved, That the state of the representation of the people in parliament requires amendment.”

These resolutions were opposed by Sir John Parnell, the chancellor of the exchequer, who proposed instead of them, but in the form of an amendment, “that under the present system of representation, the privileges of the people, the trade and prosperity of the country, have greatly increased; and, that if any plan be proposed, likely to increase those advantages, and not hazard what we already possess, it ought to be taken into the most serious consideration.” After a long debate, this resolution was carried by a majority of 153 to 71.

On the 19th of July, Mr. George Ponsonby, in the name of his brother, presented a bill for the more equal representation of the people in parliament. The former gentleman, with his con-

nexions, had ever since the regency dispute joined the opposition; and by their influence, as well as by his own abilities, he had acquired as much consideration and importance as could be conferred by a party, which adhered neither to government nor the people. The outline of the plan proposed by this bill was, that three representatives should be appointed for each county, and for the cities of Dublin and Cork. With regard to other cities, boroughs, towns or manors, that persons residing within the distance of four miles every way from the centre of each, (within such variations as necessity might demand) should have a right to vote for its representatives, if possessed of a ten pound freehold: that no person admitted to the freedom of any corporation, should thereby acquire such a right, unless he were also seized within the city or town corporate, of a five pound freehold, upon which he or his family resided for a year before the election and admission; that this regulation should not extend to persons acquiring that freedom by birth, marriage, or service: and lastly, that an oath should be taken by every person returned to serve in parliament, that he had not purchased his seat.

However, by this time, all prospect of accomplishing any thing on this subject had disappeared. The hope that had been excited by the unanimous consent of parliament to go into a committee, was disappointed by the rejection of Mr. Grattan's resolutions, and the adoption of Sir John Parnell's amendment; it was completely

blasted by the successive adjournments, which defeated every attempt to render the committee's proceedings of any avail; and the presenting of Mr. Ponsonby's bill, was rather considered as the formal discharge of a promise long since made, than as a step towards success.

At this time the seeds of strife and religious persecution, sown in the county of Armagh seven years before, sprouted forth abundant mischiefs. In order to develop the mines and springs, productive of the calamitous explosions we have experienced, it will be indispensable to investigate the direct and collateral impulses, guiding that awful phenomenon, the French revolution, in its rapid, devious and terrific career, with its impression on this country. The learning and talent of France were a long time active in disseminating principles of freedom and philosophy; but it was the participation of the French armies in liberating America from English government, and the close intercourse of sentiment and reasoning, among the defenders of liberty, that gave not only the French armies serving in the cause, but the nation at large, reading eloquent justifications of the resistance of their allies, practical lessons of reform, and models for imitation. The humiliation of the house of Bourbon, during the administration of the elder Pitt, excited in this powerful monarchy a thirst for retaliation; and the resistance of those very colonies, whose disputes with the French settlements on that continent, caused the rupture, now furnished the wished-for opportunity.

England, and its government, at least the leading part of the English, mortified at the successful issue of the American struggle for liberty, and incensed against the house of Bourbon, for the powerful aid furnished thereto, were equally, in their turn, impatient for revenge. When they reflected on the armed neutrality of the North, together with the lately proved respectability of the French and Spanish navies, interest concurred with their anger, in seizing on the next occasion that might offer, to cripple their power.

Many years did not elapse, when occurrences happened in the rival kingdom, favourable to their wishes. The failure of public credit, the rising spirit of liberty, the prodigality and inconsiderate conduct of the court, were bringing affairs speedily to a crisis there. The partizans of French freedom felt or affected great veneration for the British constitution and people, carried so far as to ape their dress and manners. Their opponents, defenders of the old system, were confident, that the new principles would be reprobated at the court of St. James's, as well as other courts. The influence of England, with both contending parties, was very considerable. Both parties courted the countenance of their jealous rival. The obstinate resistance of the court, nobility and hierarchy, to the regeneration of France, increased the number, power and resolution of the patriots, to attempt it by force; but money, the sinew of war, was wanting. In this emergency they applied to the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and richest

subject in Europe, with the flattering prospect of seating him on the throne of France. Gained by this lure, he arrives in London, and the Orleans collection of paintings is brought to the hammer. Shortly after the duke's return to Paris, entertainments were prepared in the taverns and coffee-houses of that city, for the officers and privates of the garrison, where they were profusely regaled, free of cost, with provisions, liquor and politics. Matters being thus prepared, the Bastille was taken by storm, and the revolution went on, to the tune of "Ca Ira," with irresistible force. The views of the revolutionists, at first, extended no farther than the establishment of a limited monarchy, free from the defects and abuses in the British constitution. This the national assembly established, according to the measure of their judgment, and it might have subsisted, notwithstanding the discontents of the nobility and hierarchy, but for foreign interference; the discontented would, however reluctantly, be obliged to acquiesce in the new order of things. Both parties would not have been driven to the extremity of civil war. The death of the king and queen, infinite murders and confiscations, might have been prevented. The long and disastrous wars, that have afflicted and subdued so great a portion of Europe, would not have taken place; France would have rested within its former limits, and the active genius of that mercurial people would be occupied with internal reforms and ameliorations.

The desire of reducing the extent and power of

the French monarchy, influenced the sovereigns of Europe to encourage the hopes of the French court and aristocrats, to effect a counter-revolution. The royal family, and vast numbers of the discontented, were to emigrate to the Austrian dominions, and, erecting the royal standard, march with the armies of coalesced Europe, to crush rebellious subjects, while the royalists of the interior would assail them in the rear, and prevent their escape. Burke, in his philippic against the French revolution, undisguisedly predicted the intended massacre, when he said, "Whatever will not be battle will be military execution!" The experiment was made, emigrations multiplied, and the royal family were detained in their flight at Varennes, near the frontier.

The first plan so far failing, only strengthened the hands of the revolutionists, by discouraging their opponents, recruiting their numbers, and furnishing reasonable pretexts for confiscation, by the abdication of so many land proprietors. The first counter-revolution plan must now be altered. A monarchy of such long standing, and so much venerated by the people, must have had an immense number of adherents. In the descending scale of patronage, from the palace to the custom-house, various must be the descriptions of persons who subsisted under it; a considerable portion also regretted the confiscation of ecclesiastical estates, their support, while held by the dignified clergy; the numerous dependants of the nobility, may be ranked, in great part, with the vast host of those who were disaffected

to the revolutionists. Add to this mass of concealed, internal enemies, that France was open then to strangers from all quarters, who would not quarrel with the revolution; Germans, Italians, French, Dutch, English, &c. welcome, if they did not condemn, and eagerly embraced, if they applauded the late proceedings. These men could mix in all their assemblies, excite and lead mobs, a formidable instrument in those days. The violent declaimer urging to excesses, is the most persuasive orator to a mob. The agitations between the defeated and victorious parties were directed, by the combined efforts of the discontented and foreign emissaries, to such violent extremes, as to make the cause of liberty odious. Nothing further was wanting but invasion, avowedly in support of, and therefore supposed to have been invited by, a defeated court and aristocracy, to paroxysm to insanity a people, hitherto victorious indeed, but tormented with alarms, plots, some real, more fictitious, and incensed by foreign menaces. The duke of Brunswick entered France at the head of ninety thousand men, and the insolent threats, and bullying bravadoes of his senseless manifestoes, excited universal indignation and contempt. The parties coalesced, except in a few provinces. The armies were embodied that over-ran Europe; the unfortunate Louis was beheaded; monarchy abolished, and France declared a republic. The violent excesses of the triumphant revolutionists, raised a general outcry of indignation against them and their cause. No where was the counter-

revolutionary storm more vehement than in England, where ancient rivalry, and national antipathy, swelled its force. A lordly borough-monger, legislating for and taxing the people, by two, four, &c. proxies in one house, and personally in another, cried out against levellers, who, in their attempt to realize the theory of the British constitution, studied to guard against its practical imperfections and corruptions. Bishops, who, by the grace of God, fatten on the fat of the land: parsons, who live sumptuously on the tithes exacted from the farmer; and who can spare so little time from luxury, company and amusements, that their neglected flock stray after tub-preachers, cried out, unanimously, against the French revolution, saying: All the powers of Europe ought to join against the rascally French. They have destroyed the church!!! Yea, forsooth they have destroyed the church! What sympathy, what sorrow, for the losses of a church, usually stigmatized as popish, idolatrous, antichristian; the very scarlet harlot, whore of Babylon, riding on the beast with seven heads and ten horns, quaffing the golden cup of abominations, and committing fornication with the kings of the earth! Now it is, alas! alas! Babylon the great is fallen! Bishops and parsons are reduced to a moderate income, not sufficient to place them above the discharge of their duty; and tithes abolished in a country accustomed to lead the fashion. Alas! alas! the example desired by most people may be imitated here to our own overthrow! Court, church and state, both houses,

with the whole host of their satellites, retainers, parasites, advocates for things as they are, through all their gradations from the court to the revenue and excise, cried out, with a loud voice, Great is the British constitution, the admiration of the world! It is by its present state, consecrated by time, we gain our bread. French reform is against the good order of society, against religion: it is the war of the giants against heaven. They no longer pay tithes. Their bishops no longer enjoy the splendor, luxury and revenue of princes in stately palaces, nor display their former pomp and magnificence. These robbers have at once swept away the pension-list, sinecure places, secret-service money, perquisites, and all the goodies and douceurs, sweet to the palates of privileged classes, while they cost the people tears! War alone can save us from these, and many more evils. War, only, can save us from parliamentary reform, the greatest of all calamities, which would bring all other evils in its train. Away with the rotten boroughs, sinecure places, and pensions unmerited, or exorbitant church lands and church pluralities, tithes, &c. &c. All these fine things, these flowery blossoms of the best constitution in the world, would be sacrificed to ease the lower orders, born only to toil for their betters. The contagion of French principles is catching; already societies are forming, and publications sent abroad for disseminating them. War against French principles, still more than against French power, is become indispensable in our defence.

The friends of reform in both islands, were overpowered by the counter-revolutionary storm, that set in so furiously against French principles, jacobins, levellers, regicides. Two eminent orators, of Irish birth, sounded the tocsin at the command of Pitt, invited Europe to a new crusade, and the first coalition was formed. While the heaven-born minister was zealously employed in purchasing the veteran armies of Europe, for punishment of foreign delinquency, the suppression of infidelity, and the protection of the catholic church of France, he earnestly laboured to avert the bitter cup of reform at home. How indeed could it be expected, that that boon would be granted to Ireland? for, had reform been granted to the Irish, could it be refused to the people of England? There were further and serious objections against granting reform to Ireland. Besides setting a precedent that could not be evaded, for a fair representation in England, it must include catholic emancipation, as well as the extinction of boroughs; it could not be reformed, or even called an Irish parliament, without this. The late suicide parliament was called unjustly Irish; it was the parliament of the English protestant pale, successor to the parliament of the English catholic pale.

The first act of the triumphant party to stem the progress of reform was to bring in the convention-bill, which they falsely called a bill declaratory of what the law of the land had already been. It had a double object, to check the further progress of catholic emancipation, and prevent im-

portunate applications for parliamentary reform. The castle had so contrived to divide the catholic body, that some noblemen and gentlemen, with lord Kenmare at their head, were inclined and persuaded to prepare a petition of their own, short of the wishes of the body at large. This variance encouraged government to reject the petition of the catholic committee, as not expressing the sentiments of the catholics, nor presented by people deputed by them. Then were they necessitated to have recourse to a convention. If the bill was only declaratory of what the law was before, then the convention was illegal: why not punish, instead of rewarding by ample concessions?—The bill lied. There was no previous law against acting by delegation. The fraud, unconstitutionality, and despotic nature of this bill, now first brought into action, cannot be better explained than was done by Mr. Grattan in its progress through parliament.

I rely upon it, said he, that the declaratory part of this bill has not been, and cannot be supported by law, but that it is a gross and ignorant misrepresentation of the law of the land, which it affects to declare. It is not supported by law, and it is in the face of daily practices. What was the committee of commerce in this country, but such an assembly as is here pronounced illegal? What the delegates from the different counties in England, in 1780, to promote a reduction of the expences of the state? What the conventions in England, in 1782, for the purpose of the reform of parliament? What the

delegates for the procuring the repeal of the test act? What the presbyterian synod? What the delegates of the quakers? What the convention in England, for the purpose of restoring Charles the second? What the convention in Ireland, for bringing about the revolution in 1668; a convention stiled a northern association and general council, to direct the operations of associated bodies, united for the purpose of religion and liberty? But I cannot omit one convention to which the present family owes its crown, and which, if this bill is law, was an act of rebellion: I mean that glorious and immortal assembly, purporting to represent the people of England, that placed the crown on the head of William and Mary: this assembly comes under every clause in this bill, descriptive of illegal assembly: had such a bill as this been the law of England, and been executed, lord Somers and the leaders in the revolution must have been apprehended. I have read much of the proceedings of the catholics at the time of the revolution, but I never before read their justification in the shape of an act of parliament; for if this declaratory bill be law, then the convention of 1668 was against law, and all its proceedings of course, and amongst others the settlement of the crown, illegal, and the resistance of the catholics to that settlement warrantable by law. Who would have thought that the catholics would have found in the defamer of their loyalty, an apologist for their rebellion? who would have thought to have found in a bill, professing to be a strong mea-

sure in favour of power, the seed of a principle which impeacheth the succession of the crown in the present illustrious family? But so interwoven, fortunately I think it, is the title of the king with the liberties of his people, that no man can be the notorious and intemperate and blasted enemy of the one, without at the same time suggesting a question against the other. Such melaucholy and gross ignorance does this act betray of the history of both countries, and such a total and shocking disregard to every trace of sound constitutional principle, without which no man can be a safe lawyer, or a good citizen. Blackstone speaks of this law of redress; the law of redress ascertained as at the revolution, and the law of redress unascertained, as in those cases where the governing powers betray their trust, and conspire against the commonweal, such as the modesty of the law will not suppose, and therefore against which it does not provide a remedy, but leaves the redress open to the exigency; and it is this which lord Bolingbroke means, when he says the constitution of Great Britain cannot be destroyed, even by parliament. Kings, like James II. may abdicate; parliaments, like his parliament, may betray their trust, but the resources of this constitution are such that the people cannot be enslaved, until they themselves are universally corrupt: how then are they to redress themselves when they are betrayed by parliament; how, in such a case? How, but by resorting to what this bill makes a misdemeanor, the appointment or delegation of some body or bodies who may confer and communicate.

This bill, I therefore submit, is not only a declaration of law false and ignorant, but highly criminal and mischievous, as a provision against those popular resources, which Ireland found necessary once, and England found necessary also, and without which neither had been free: resources which should neither be prohibited nor encouraged. Let me suppose, that the persons, who gave their early and almost infant voice against a motion to declare the rights of the Irish parliament, had succeeded so far as to prevent the house, in the end, from adopting that measure: let me suppose, that the same persons, who proposed to give back the substance of those rights, on the question of the memorable propositions, attended as that question was with a senseless petulance of speech, against the character, as well as the pretensions, of Ireland: let me suppose, that they at that time had prevailed: let me suppose, that those who denied the substance of that declaration of right on the question of the regency, and maintained that a British convention could make a law for the people of Ireland, and that this country was governed by the great seal of England: let me suppose, that they had been able, at that time, to impose their empty quibble as law, and their shameless assertion as constitution: let me suppose, that he who had declared, in this house, that the Irish parliament had been once bought for half a million, and that it might be made necessary to buy it again, for the same or a greater sum: let me suppose, that he had been able to establish the

profligacy of this principle, the violence of such measures, or the corruption of such practices, as permanent maxims of government: let me suppose, that those who, by the precipitation of their temper, inflamed, misled, and finally exposed, the protestant interest, as they have since endeavoured to alienate the catholic interest, by the petulance of their language: let me suppose, that they had prevailed in any, and, still more, in all of their desperate enterprises against their country: in such case or cases, might not a convention have been necessary? It is true, the good sense of some of his majesty's ministers has checked the arbitrary genius that inspired such sentiments, governed his temper, and renounced his bigotry, and, by taking reconciling steps, has rendered a convention at present unnecessary, improper and improbable. But in a country where such practices have been resorted to, and such avowal of such profligacy publicly made, shall we say that, in no time to come, there shall ever be a convention? Such a practice, and such an unabashed avowal of such a practice, is the subversion of all government, of English government in Ireland, or of any government, because it is the subversion of those principles, moral and religious, without which there can be no government. The minister, therefore, who proclaimed, that it was the custom of the British government to buy the Irish parliament with half millions, proclaimed, by necessary deduction, the necessity of an Irish convention. Happily, I say, that principle is changed, and a convention unneces-

sary and unwarranted: but in a country where such a thing could even have been publicly advanced by administration, will you pass an act against any convention at any time to come, or any representation of any description of the people, for any specific public purpose? Sir, if this bill had been the law of the land, four great events could never have taken place: the independency of the Irish parliament; the emancipation of the Irish catholics; the revolution in Great Britain; and the great event that flowed from it, the succession of the Hanoverian family. The enacting part is a bill of popular incapacities, instead of a constitution of popular resources; the enacting part is a proviso against future redress, in cases of emergency, as the declaratory part is a declaration against the legality of past redress. In this latter light it must be considered as a libel on the revolution; on your own meeting at Dungannon; on all the proceedings of your volunteers, and on the catholic convention. Where is the use of stigmatising the volunteers by act of parliament, if, in the cause of liberty, they sometimes went too far; if the ardour of youth could not, at all times, command the precaution of old age. Draw a veil over the infirmity; remember the essential service; respect the soldier's memory, and do not now, when he is dead, assemble round his grave with the little enemy of his cause and his fame, to write on his tomb this dirty indictment. Some of the gentlemen who now hear me were of the lawyers' corps memorable committee. Do they recollect it?

That committee was a deputation of armed men, representing armed men, and assuming to represent the knowledge of law, as well as its battalion, for the purpose of questioning and investigating a matter touching the state, and already decided in parliament. I am not defending such a meeting; it stands on its own ground, and distinct from others; but if I had gone so very far as to be a member of that committee, I would not now prove false to my colours, and pay the minister such a compliment, at the expence of my corps and my cloth, as to acknowledge that my proceedings and theirs, influenced by their leaders, were in the face of the law. The catholic convention is another object libelled by this bill. Where is the use of the reflection? Not only they who elected, and they who composed that convention, but his Majesty, who received its deputies, comes in for his share of the obloquy. It is very evident, that one of the many views of this bill is, to attack the catholics. As to any evil designs which the catholics may be said to entertain, I believe they have none; sure I am that the charges which have been made against the body of the catholics are false; if there are grounds, state them. Let that which is to appal us all appear. It has proved nothing but vague assertion; nor can we suppose, that the catholics, who, under the penal code, preserved their allegiance, should become disaffected at the moment in which they had acquired such solid and inestimable advantages, and, through the agency of the government, which they are falsely charged

to wish to undermine. The bitterness of expression, which, in some instances, accompanied that grant, cannot exasperate them against the state, but should be rather a subject of additional thanks to the wiser part of government, who have forced the angry bigot to vote against his speech, with the humiliating privilege of babbling against his vote.

It may be to the catholics further consolation to find, that if they are calumniated, so have been the protestants; they who acted for the liberties of this country; they who since 1782 struggled for bills, which, in part, government has meritoriously acceded to, are, for that very conduct, by the same false witness, vituperated expressly as men endeavouring to foment jealousies and disunion between Great Britain and Ireland. Satisfied with the success of some of their great measures, these men have learned to despise that political jury, whose testimony against public character is now exploded as his principles.

Sir, this bill not only reflects on numbers of his Majesty's subjects as guilty of a misdemeanor, but it involves them in the penalty; it is an ex post facto law of pains and penalties: if this bill be law, every man who composed the catholic convention is now liable to be prosecuted for a misdemeanor; it might so happen, that some of the gentlemen who vote for the bill, might be their jury or their judges; how would they act? Would they on oath, or as on the bench, pronounce those men guilty of a misdemeanor, and which they are now ready to assert

as members of parliament? Those gentlemen may not only happen to try such offenders, but are liable to be tried themselves for such offences; for they were certainly those criminal and illegal deputies described in the act. I do not suppose government will ever think of prosecuting them, but if it should, it will, after the passing this act, have against the legality of their conduct the authority of the legislature and their own. I have objected to this bill as an innovation on the constitution; I object to it also as an innovation on the system of criminal jurisprudence: it puts the peace-officer in the place of the court of justice, in cases where there is neither tumult, nor danger of tumult; it is true, the common law makes him the judge of the imminent danger to which society is exposed, from a numerous body armed and proceeding to execute an illegal purpose, or a legal purpose in an illegal, tumultuous manner; but it is the force, or imminent danger of force, that brings the subject under the cognizance of the subordinate magistrate; the illegality alone would only bring him under the cognizance of the courts of justice. Where there are circumstances of force and horror accompanying an illegal act, then grows the power of the peace-officer; for he is not the guardian of the law, but the conservator of the peace. But this bill gives that officer, as in the instance of a peaceful meeting assembled to do a legal act, or to frame a petition for those who have deputed them so to do, this bill, I say, gives the peace-officer the power to judge of the fact of the deputation; of

the manner of exercising that trust; and of the public nature of the object of it, with right of entry, and a power to call in the military: here is the principle of the act, applied to the peaceful communication of sentiment, and is an innovation of the principles of the criminal law of these countries. The objects of this bill are, to stigmatise the catholic convention, and prevent the reform of parliament; but the pretences for this bill, I think, are three; the Defenders, the United Irishmen, and an imaginary Convention at Athlone: the last is not take place; and, on the two first, the bill will have no operation. Gentlemen must surely know, that either this convention is not to take place, or, taking place, would be feeble and frivolous. Such a convention as I have seen described, would be, indeed, unseasonable; and, I will add, wholly inadmissible. But such a bill as this, is not the way to defeat it. You remember a much more formidable convention than this supposed one of Athlone; a convention of armed men, representing the volunteer army, sitting at the Rotunda with a guard, and preparing plans for parliament: some of the friends of this bill, members of this house, were deputies of that convention; accepted delegation, sat and voted, and whatever evil was incurred, had a full share in it. But how did the then attorney-general act? Did he alter the constitution under pretence of defending it? Did he make use of popular excesses to abridge the liberty of the subject? Did he give an opinion contrary to law, and then get parliament to give

an influenced judgment in support of it, and invade the constitution under pretence of declaring the law? No; when the convention attempted to act, he framed a resolution, which purported the defence of the constitution against all encroachment: the consequence was, the convention dispersed, and the constitution stood unaltered and unimpaired; unimpaired either by the encroachment of a convention, or of a convention-bill. In the present case, the prorogation of parliament cannot interfere, unless government prefers a long prorogation; and sure I am, that if such a thing as the described convention is to take place, it were much better to meet it with the precedent I have mentioned, than with this bill; but it is evident no such thing is now apprehended: the spirit of the people does not beat high, and because the spirit is not high, this bill is brought forward. The friends of the bill have seized the opportunity of public panic, which certain excesses have excited. I condemn both, the excesses and the remedy; instead of either I am for the constitution of England.

On the second reading of the bill, he dives still deeper into its nature and tendency. He was aware that one object was, to shut out for the future catholic claims, and gratify spleen at their past acquisitions. Another, to perpetuate lucrative abuses, and render any application on the part of the people for redress, ineffectual. He saw the violence and excess to which the Irish and English parties were alternately impelled and exasperated against each other. Whether he saw,

at that time, the hand behind the curtain, that communicated those hostile impulses, and inflamed with rancorous animosity the friends and enemies of Ireland, proceeding with cool and cruel policy, until matured into civil and religious warfare, that disgraced, fleeced, and extinguished Ireland from the map of Europe, is more than I can say.

I put a question to the learned gentlemen, said Mr. Grattan: are the two circumstances of delegation and public concernment, sufficient to constitute an unlawful assembly, except that assembly be the house of commons? or in other words, must any delegation of any description of his Majesty's subjects, other than this house, for the purpose of promoting any redress of any grievance in church or state, be considered as an unlawful assembly? They have given me no answer: but they have stated a case which is another case, and which is a quibble, and not an answer. They have said, that a representation of the people, other than the house of commons, is an unlawful assembly: it may be so; yet a delegation for promoting redress in matter of public concernment may not be so, because that delegation may not be, nor assume to be, a representative of the people, but of a certain description thereof—and yet the bill, both in its preamble and declaration, makes such assembly illegal. The case, therefore, stated by the gentlemen, is no more a defence of the bill than it is an answer to my question.

The bill states, that any representation of any

description of his Majesty's subjects for procuring redress in any matter of public concernment, is an unlawful assembly. The learned gentlemen say, that a representative of the people is so—which is not the case of that body who only assemble to represent in a particular matter, a particular province, county, city, town, district, or description of people. The case submitted to the gentlemen, and the case contained in the bill, rest illegality on the act of delegation for procuring in any manner redress in matters of public concernment. The case stated by the learned gentlemen, seems to rest the point of illegality on the generality of the representation, and their reason seems to rest it there still more than their case; for instance, they say a representative of the people, other than the house of commons, is an unlawful assembly; because the house of commons are exclusively the representatives of the people: and, therefore, to attempt to appoint a second house of commons is unlawful, because incompatible with the first. This reason in support of this case is a surrender of the principle of the bill. I do not say the bill is betrayed; but its defence is waved by the law servants of the crown: they acknowledge that there is neither statute nor adjudication in support of the principle of the bill; but they say there is reason, and that reason they allege to be this—that there cannot be at one time two representatives of the people; whereas the principle of the bill is, that any representation not of the people only, but of any description whatever thereof, for a public purpose,

save only this house, is an unlawful assembly.

The case and reasoning of the learned gentlemen would comprehend nothing but a national convention; but the cases, principle, and description of the bill, would comprehend every subdivision of delegation for public matter. The presbyterian committee, of which I read a petition yesterday, and which the protestant dissenters of England have appointed by delegation to promote redress of particular grievances, touching church and state, viz. the repeal of the test act—the delegation of quakers, if that delegation should join in an humble address for the commutation of tythes—the presbyterian synod, if that synod should presume to interfere in behalf of their flock in matters touching abuses in church or state:—all these come within the letter of the act, though by no means within the argument which attempts to defend it. They are all delegations, and in the cases I have suggested, would be employed in procuring redress of some abuses either in church or state.

I have thus merely considered the argument as far as it declined the question I proposed, and must say, that the only sense to be extracted from the argument is, that there cannot be at once two representatives of the people for the same purposes—but for different purposes it does not follow but there may.

The house of commons, whom we will, for argument's sake, suppose the real representatives of the people, is appointed for the exercise of certain powers; powers of impeachment, powers

of grant, and powers of legislation: certainly, any attempt on the part of the people to give a second order of delegates authority to exercise such powers, would in the highest degree be illegal; or what might seem to imply the same thing, the appointment of a second order of delegates to represent the people generally without any specific limitation, would be highly criminal and illegal, because that would imply the powers I have described; but the appointment of delegates for a specific and legal purpose—for instance, promoting the redress of a particular abuse touching the church or state, as the reform of parliament, a limitation of public expences, a repeal of the test act—such delegations, which do or have existed in England and Ireland, would not be an interference with the jurisdiction of the house of commons, nor within the reason of the case of the learned gentlemen. The people, in electing members to serve in parliament, part with some of their powers, and others they retain; the power of petitioning, of instructing, and of delivering their sense on abuses in church and state, they retain; with these powers, they of necessity retain another, that of forming themselves into such voluntary organization, of committee, delegates, representatives, or whatsoever you please to call them, for the purpose either of preparing their petitions, or of framing their resolutions, or calling their dispersed opinions into one consistent instrument, on the object of the particular grievance, with a view to render the exercise of the power they retain, consistent, tranquil and ope-

rative. In the proceedings of such delegation, care must be taken to preserve the peace, and in specifying its object care must be taken to observe the law; but if the destination of such delegation is lawful, and the proceedings peaceful, I know of no law, and the learned gentlemen have adduced neither law nor reason to pronounce it an unlawful assembly. I see plainly the necessity of leaving such powers free; because I see a time may come, we have seen when such a time did come, when the being of the constitution shall depend on the exercise of such a power. Suppose a house of commons, as was the case of the Middlesex election, conspire against the elective rights of the community. Suppose a house of commons, as was the case of the perpetual mutiny-bill, under the influence of the minister, vote the army for ever—are the people to have no power of interfering? or, which is the same thing, no power of communicating, in order to make their interference operative and consistent? It has been said, that representative conventions are illegal; but the question of legality depends on what those representative conventions are. If they are national representative conventions, assuming expressly, or by the generality of their appointment, the functions of the house of commons, they are more than illegal—but if they are representative conventions, appointed for a special purpose, to prepare a petition, or to promote the redress of a particular grievance, such as may obtain in church or state; or such a representative convention as committees of correspondence, or the delegation

of the quakers, or the synod of the presbyterians, or such as the delegates of the protestant dissenters now existing in England—I hold it that such representative conventions are not illegal.

The honourable mover, who had made the observation, made this distinction, for the representative convention he condemned as a mock parliament; plainly intimating, that representative conventions, not in any degree assuming the function of a parliament, did not come within his objection. It would seem, therefore, that it is the assumption of parliamentary functions, and not the act of representation, nor the public concernment, which is its object, that constitutes the illegality; and this observation brings the argument of the honourable member to the same principle with that of his honourable friend, that the law will not tolerate two houses of commons. As the principle of the argument is the same, so shall be my answer, that the assemblies, described in the bill, are not only such as assume the functions of a house of commons, nor such as assume the character of unlimited representation; but such as are descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, however small, met on or for any public purpose whatsoever.

This argument, then, like the other, leaves the bill undefended. But it is advanced, in further support of this argument, that the house of commons would not receive a petition from a delegation; and, it is thence inferred, that the act of delegation is illegal: but it does not strike me in that manner. It would seem that this observa-

tion could only reach delegation, for the purpose of presenting or subscribing petitions, not preparing petitions, nor corresponding, nor digesting resolutions, nor promoting redress of specific grievances, to all which the bill goes, to none of which the argument goes; nor does the argument even go so far as to prove the illegality of any delegation whatsoever: it only proves, that delegation, for the particular purpose of presenting or subscribing petitions, is useless; but it does not prove the delegates to be an unlawful assembly; or that the peace-officers can disperse them, or the crown-officer can prosecute them. You cannot petition parliament by attorney—does it follow you cannot appoint one? Associations for the peace, delegations for redress, clubs for society, are all voluntary conventions, without seal, certificate, or incorporation. Parliament cannot know them by that description which they give themselves; does it follow that the law would punish them as an unlawful assembly?

The object of these meetings has, in general, been to propose matter for petition, or to collect or combine the public mind to one specific mode of remedy, and not in the person of delegates to approach the legislature: and it is against this proceeding the bill is directed. The bill leaves the county meetings free; its design is, to prevent the communication of county with county, and city with city, on the subject of public redress, and the reform of parliament, above all other subjects: and the reason is very obvious; the resolutions of such county or aggregate meetings

have proved generally ineffectual; but the resolutions, formed on representative or delegated meetings, have generally proved effectual. The bill leaves the people such resources as have been abortive, and only takes away all which have been successful.

It has been said, in support of this bill, that the preamble contains in it no point of law whatsoever, but is one proposition, only stating a matter of fact. This I must deny. The preamble contains two propositions; the one, matter of fact, or rather prophesy, which is positive; the other, matter of law, which is implicative. It describes an unlawful assembly in these words: "An assembly purporting to represent the people." But it does not stop here; "or any description or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, complaints, remonstrances, or declarations to the king or parliament for alterations of matter in church or state, alleged grievances, or other public concernment." But, if there was any doubt what the preamble implied, there can be no doubt but that the declaratory part expresses, that any assembly of delegates from any description or number of his Majesty's subjects, for the purpose of procuring by petition, or in any other manner, an alteration in matters established in church or state, is unlawful. Let me ask gentlemen of the bar, what was the committee of the lawyers' corps in 1782? Was not that very assembly a delegation from a certain description of his Majesty's subjects, to procure an alteration

in matters established in state; a delegation to consider a public concernment; a delegation purporting to promote the redress of grievance? There is not a description in the act that delineates an unlawful assembly, under which that committee does not come. Who appointed that committee? A certain numerous description of his Majesty's subjects. What was the object of their delegation? To consider matters of state, then settled by the law; that is, to report whether the measures taken by the parliaments of the two kingdoms were, as unanimously alleged by the parliament of Ireland, adequate, in point of law, to liberate this kingdom from the legislative interference of Great Britain. And what was their determination? In direct contradiction to a settlement concluded by both houses of parliament. They reported, that the remedy which our parliament had deemed sufficient, was inadequate; and they concluded with a redress of their own, namely, that a bill of renunciation ought to pass in the parliament of England, and a bill of right in the parliament of Ireland.

Here is a delegation taking into consideration every thing which this bill forbids—public concernment—redress of grievance, and a particular matter, vitally affecting the state, and just settled by the law; and here is a report of that delegation opening that settlement to procure an alteration therein.

There were, indeed, two circumstances, which distinguish this delegation from others which the bill describes and declares to be unlawful—the

committee were delegated by an armed body, to impeach the sufficiency of a parliamentary settlement. Do I wish to reflect on their motives? No; they thought the independency of this country was a matter of state, too invaluable, though settled by law, to be left entirely to any body of men, even the House of Commons, or to any individual of that House, however well disposed. It was an occasion in which zeal, and even suspicion, was commendable. I differed from the members of that committee, in the doctrines they then advanced against the proceeding of parliament. I differ from some of them in the doctrines they now advance against the proceedings of their own committee; and it is by a singular fatality, that it should fall to my lot to resist, and to theirs to support a bill, whose preamble and whose declaration do, in the fullest and least equivocal manner, pronounce their committee to have been an unlawful assembly, and their conduct to have been illegal.

While I combat the argument, I must give every due praise to the abilities of the learned gentleman who advanced it—for taste as a scholar, knowledge as a lawyer, and extensive, liberal and deep erudition. It has been said, that the bill does not affect committees appointed *bonâ fide* to prepare petitions or other matter, but only such as make petition a pretence for delegation—ridiculous! The bill goes against all delegation for public matter, and provides that the pretence of petitioning shall not cover the transaction.

Gentlemen having, in my humble apprehen-

sion, mistated the law, proceed, to my certain knowledge, to mistate the fact; and they insist, that in England no convention or committee, such as the bill describes, has taken place; and this, they assign, as a reason why in England there is no prohibitory statute. I mentioned yesterday one delegation this moment existing in England, a delegation from no less a description of his Majesty's subjects than the protestant dissenters in England, appointed for the express purpose of procuring an alteration in a matter by law established in church and state—the repeal of the test act. I beg to remind gentlemen of another convention that took place in London; it was a delegation from that description of his Majesty's subjects, which comprehends the manufacturing interest of England, and was deputed to consider matter that related to the state of both kingdoms—the commercial propositions. I beg leave to turn the recollection of gentlemen to other conventions in England—to those that sat in London in 1780, consisting of a deputation from above sixteen counties, delegating representatives for the purpose of forming committees of correspondence, to procure an alteration in matters touching the state; or, in other words, to frame petitions for these several counties for the reduction of the expences of the government; and further, to promote the objects of those petitions, among the number of those delegates were some from the city of London, appointed by an act of the corporation, attended with a resolution, that the Recorder of London should be assistant

to the delegation, a man of great celebrity and knowledge, both as a lawyer and a constitutionalist.

There were other most respectable names, members and chairmen of these committees, the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Mr. Fox, the name of Cavendish, and most of the Whig interest of England. The Duke of Rutland was chairman to one of the committees. There was our Burke, the Marquis of Buckingham, Mr. Grenville, and many others. I do not find any proceeding against these meetings as unlawful assemblies, and yet all these came within the letter and spirit of this bill; they came within the letter of your act, for they were delegations from certain descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, to procure an alteration in matters touching the state, viz. the expences of the king's government. They come within the spirit, because the object of these committees was to procure, as that of the bill is to prevent, concert—concert among the people, in redressing those abuses in the state, which a House of Commons, as it is now returned by boroughs, and influenced by ministers, will not attend to, except when such concert out of doors, as happened in counties in almost all great questions, and did happen in the case of those very committees, renders it necessary to attend and concede. I have shown you the practice in England, and that the advocates of the bill, in matter of fact at least, are entirely mistaken. I think it has been already shown that they are in matter of law; and I beg to ask,

whether it is reasonable to suppose, that such practice, so general, so repeated, and so countenanced, is illegal; and whether such doctrines, as the advocates of the bill have advanced, unsupported by statute, unwarranted by adjudication, and in the face of such a number of precedents, indeed, of daily experience, and of their own memorable example, is law? I must, therefore, conclude this part of my answer by observing, that the arguments of this bill do not appear to have the support either of the law or of fact.

As to the expediency, I beg to speak a few words. This bill is said to be an expedient to restore peace;—why, then, is it a reflection? why do the preamble and the declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate, all the volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the committee of the lawyers' corps, and the corps that appointed that committee—the committee of the catholics, their late convention, and all the catholics who appointed that committee, that is, the whole catholic body, offenders—men guilty of an unlawful assembly, and this moment liable to be prosecuted?—For so much has the bill in object, not the peace of the country, but reflection on great bodies, and the gratification of spleen at the expence of the constitution, by voting false doctrine into law, and the brightest passages of your history into unlawful assemblies.

Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell the insurgents; let them read the bill. It is not a riot act; the riot act seemed for-

gotten until a friend of mine put it into his temporary statute bill; it does not go against riots that are, but conventions that are not. The title of the bill, as first brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults arising from conventions; but as the bill had nothing to say to riots, and no riots appeared to have arisen from conventions, such title was in decency dropped, and the real object of the bill professed—an act against conventions. The bill, therefore, neither is, nor professes to be, a bill against riots, it is only an expedient for peace; as far as conventions now disturb it, sir, there are none.

But gentlemen say, a national convention at Athlone was intended. Sir, I do believe that such a one was intended some time ago, and that now it is not so; or, if now intended, that it would be trifling and contemptible. But if that is the object of the bill, direct the bill to that object. Do not extend the bill to every delegation from any county, city, town, district, from any description of any number of his majesty's subjects appointed to procure redress in any abuse relating to church or state. My objection to your bill is, that it is a trick—making a supposed national convention at Athlone in 1793, a pretext for preventing delegation for ever.

I have already said, that such a meeting as was invited to assemble at Athlone should be withstood. I know not what such meeting would be, except from the summonses read by gentlemen in this house; and such a meeting, I repeat it, as would assemble pursuant to such summonses,

with such a view, and under all the circumstances held out, should be withstood; for such a meeting would not be an assembly to promote the reform of parliament, but to put itself in the place of parliament. But does it follow, therefore, that the people should lose the power of delegation for ever? I acknowledge, the people retain their right to hold such primary assemblies, as meet in the aggregate; but do not we know that such meetings have been inefficacious; the object not of your respect, but of the courtiers' scorn and ridicule? and, therefore, the people have resorted to delegates, who have given to their wishes concert and effect; and, therefore, I fear it is, that a bill has been introduced, when parliamentary reform is in contemplation, to prevent such delegation; leaving to the people such popular meetings as gentlemen flatter themselves cannot have any popular effect.

My apprehension, therefore, is, that the supposed meeting at Athlone is a pretence, and that the real object of this bill is to prevent, in future, all popular effect whatsoever, particularly now, when reform has been proposed in this house; a measure offensive to all men who dislike the people, offensive to most of those who dislike the Catholics, and detestable to those men who hate both. Does it follow, because the supposed national convention at Athlone should be prevented, that all committees of correspondence, on the subject of redress, should be put down for ever? No county, no city, no description of men, can delegate a few individuals to concert the most legal

and effectual method of procuring, in an acknowledged abuse, a temperate remedy.

I am against this bill, because it is not confined to the supposed convention, but is levelled against all popular delegation in all time to come: and as I was against the excesses of some of the people which shook the principles of government, so am I now against the excesses on the other side, which attack the principles of liberty. I consider the bill as one excess reforming another; as the violence of one side attacking the constitution, as that of the other did the government. It seems to me to be compounded of a dislike to the people in general, and the catholics in particular; a concern at past acquisition, and a present apprehension of reform in parliament. It avails itself of the present panic to abridge popular rights; and it finds support in sanguine but weak minds, who know there is a disease, but have not sense enough to discover the remedy, and think that a convention-bill is to restore us all to peace; who think that, in time of local disturbance, the remedy is a bill, not against the particular disturbance, but against liberty and the people.

I must repeat my conviction against this bill, and beg to resort to the memories of gentlemen, wherein to deposit my entire disapprobation of this measure."

In passing this bill, the representatives of the people assumed a power greater than was conferred on them. The people cannot confer on their delegates to the house of commons, greater

power than they possess themselves; nor even the whole of it, without forfeiting their liberty. They must reserve the power of examining the conduct of their representatives, and communicating their opinions to them on political affairs. In modern times, members have taken shelter from such scrutiny and instructions, by alledging, that each member represents the nation at large. That subterfuge cannot take away the rights of the constituents to examine their representatives; and each county and city has a right to inquire into, and approve or condemn public measures. This bill went to deprive the catholics of all hope of further concession; and to deprive the nation at large of the only practicable mode of obtaining parliamentary reform, the quelling of the northern troubles, or the redress of any public abuse or grievance. It may be said, that the despotic governments on the Continent would not permit meetings of such delegates. First, such governments are no models for a free people: secondly, delegates from manufacturers and merchants have been frequently heard by them: thirdly, an assembly of Jewish delegates was held in Paris, during some weeks, under the eye of Napoleon: fourthly, there is no occasion for any meeting of delegates to petition for rights of conscience on the Continent, as they are fully established there already. We need not wonder, that a body of men, who did not represent the people, should hate a truly representative body, for whatsoever purpose, or by whomsoever chosen; that bribery and inflamed party spirit should

outweigh sound argument and truth; or, that a prostitute body, which, rather than submit to reform their abominable corruptions, would sell their country and themselves, should dread the advance of the great majority of the people to a participation of the constitution, which might eventually lead to the reintegration thereof, and put an end to the traffic of parliament. "If the people had a right to petition, as was allowed on all hands, they also must have a right to do so in the most convenient manner, which was evidently by delegation. Why was the house of commons elected? Why did not the people assemble in pleno comitatu, and exercise their rights themselves as a third estate? Because such a proceeding must be attended with a violation of good order, and must be productive of tumult. If, on a matter of general concern, the people, exercising their undoubted right, should meet at large in their respective towns and counties to petition, would not the same inconvenience follow? Could it be criminal then for the people to govern themselves in this instance by the same principle as in exercising their legislative function? Certainly not."*

"If the bill only went to prevent representative bodies from assuming functions peculiar to parliament," Mr. G. Ponsonby said, "he should not have objected; but if any attack should, in future, be made on the liberty of the people by any future government, they were de-

* Speech of Mr. Curran.

prived by this bill of all means of resisting it, but by an appeal to arms."

The embodying of the militia created some disturbances in different places. The peasantry had conceived suspicions of the designs of those who would employ them. They were alarmed, lest they should be sent to foreign parts, never, perhaps, to revisit their friends and native country; meanwhile, to be deprived not only of divine worship, and the other consolations of their religion, but to be compelled, by the terror of corporal punishment, to attend a worship which their consciences did not approve. Numbers collected in the county of Meath, seized the arms of many of the gentry, and swore them to the observance of a neutrality; but the arms thus collected, being insufficient, they commenced the fabrication of rude, and scarcely warlike weapons. The military soon attacked the largest body, which occupied the town of Athboy. The Rev. Mr. Butler, and a company of foot from Kells, first closed with the mob, but were compelled to retreat. The cavalry came up immediately after, and the mob dispersed. A few were seized, and at the ensuing assizes sentenced to be publicly whipped, and three years confinement; a sentence severely inflicted. In this affair, two of the military, and four or five of the peasantry were killed. To remove the fears of the catholics, some catholic officers were appointed, and the militia was embodied without further opposition.

The troubles in the North still raged. These

commenced so early as the year 1784; and arose, like many other tumultuary combinations, from mere accident. Two peasants, presbyterians, at Markethill, in the county of Armagh, in a state of intoxication, quarrelled and fought. The defeated vowed vengeance against a by-stander, a catholic, to whose advice he attributed his disgrace. The friends of each engaged in the quarrel, and the spirit of discord spread from families to villages. Markets, horse-races, and shebeen-houses were, for some time, the theatre of their malignant warfare; but the party of the vanquished appointed a leader, and assumed the name of the Nappach-fleet. This body soon commenced night attacks on the persons and property of their opponents. These formed a counter-association, in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, chose a presbyterian for their captain, and assumed the denomination of Defenders. They were joined by another body from Hamilton's-bawn, stiled the Bawn-fleet, who were equally in dread of the Peep-of-day-boys, or Nappach-fleet. These tumultuous bodies, on Whitsun-Monday, 1785, determined to decide their differences in the field. The Nappach-fleet, 700strong, well armed, were drawn up opposite the Bawn-fleet and Defenders, more numerous, indeed, but greatly inferior in arms; when the timely arrival of John Richardson, Esq. of Rich-hill, member of parliament for the county of Armagh, the Rev. Mr. Barker, of Market-hill, and Mr. Dobbin, of the Waste-land, near Hamilton's-bawn, prevented these deluded men from

weltering in each other's blood. These gentlemen jointly addressed each party, entreated them to disperse, and live in peace; explained to them the consequences that would attend their non-compliance; and had the satisfaction to behold their labours crowned with success; each party returning peaceably to their respective homes. But when once associations of this sort are formed, discord, revenge, even frolic, carries them beyond their original intention, and leads them into new mischief. Accident added the flame of religious dissension, and the warfare increased, under the banners of catholic and protestant. Adam Oliver, a young man, a protestant, on his death-bed sent for a priest, and died a catholic. Shortly after, a halfpenny or penny squib appeared, stating, in substance, the following reason, among others, for his conversion: "That he was favoured with a vision of the world to come, in which he saw none but catholics admitted into heaven, while protestants and sinners were conveyed in an opposite direction." Having seen so much in the year 1787, I viewed it as a most inflammatory, dangerous pasquinade, whether founded in fact or otherwise. The priest, under whose name it was issued, never published a disavowal or retraction. Perhaps he never saw it, as it was circulated in the most contemptible manner, among the lowest classes of the northern weavers, for a trifle, a halfpenny or a penny at most. Certainly the priest's sister, who lived with him when the first of these sulphurous squibs ap-

peared, positively denied that her brother wrote or published them, several years afterwards, in a conversation I had with her on the subject. A sermon was subsequently preached by the Rev. Dr. Crawley, on the death of a young woman, who had left a small legacy to the parish-priest. High-mass, which was also offered for the soul of the deceased, being seldom celebrated in that county, induced many persons, of different creeds, to be present at the solemnity. His animadversions on the Reformation were much censured by those of a different persuasion present; and the multiplied misrepresentations of it, caused the priest to print it. A reply then appeared, in the name of the parish clerk, containing the most provoking abuse of the catholic doctrine, discipline and worship. This, like that of Adam Oliver, circulated at a trifle. These were followed by a series of controversial squibs, penned not in the most polished or conciliating stile. As usual with ignorant disputants, they contained more abuse than argument; more falsification than illustration. These combustibles fell into the hands of the lower orders, and, in conjunction with captain whiskey, kindled abundance of fiery, unchristian zeal. When arguments failed, they set about to determine the controversy with fisty-cuffs and buille vatte. They did not long confine their impious zeal to shebeen-houses; they fought for the love of God, and the pre-eminence of their respective creeds, at markets and fairs, and their warfare was, for some time, as nearly balanced as their folly. But the Peep-

of-day-boys, availing themselves of the laws against papists having arms, paid early visits to their houses, seized whatever arms they found, and frequently ill treated the inmates. The first company of Armagh volunteers issued a manifesto against these practices, and declared their intention of protecting the catholics; yet the disturbances extended to different parts of the county: the fury of these fanatics seemed levelled against all catholics, and the defenders retaliated, sometimes on the innocent. Combinations were also formed for mutual injury; the defenders engaged not to purchase goods from a protestant, who should abet the peep-of-day-boys, and they determined not to traffic with a papist. In this state of irritation, on old May-day, 1788, a great number of the defenders, with many protestants, and the band of the 13th regiment at their head, walked in procession from Blackwatertown to the Moy. The garrison of Charlemont granted them leave to pass, and a mutual salute took place. This foolish parade excited great distrust of them; their numbers were magnified, and their intentions misrepresented. A party of volunteers, imagining the fort of Charlemont would be attacked, joined the garrison, and additional companies of volunteers were formed, for the preservation of public tranquillity. The raising of these companies was some check to the nocturnal depredations; yet, as catholics were not admitted, the defenders considered them an omen of their destruction. Occasional conflicts took place between them, the volunteers, and the peep-

of-day-boys. The governor of the county, the earl of Charlemont, and the grand jury now published a manifesto, prohibiting all papists from assembling in arms; and also persons from disarming them without legal authority. The unhappy differences, however, still increased. The protestants of the county of Armagh were of opinion, that the destruction of the protestant religion was the object of the defenders; and the defenders complained, that all their efforts to procure legal redress were unavailing; that their oppressors were rather countenanced than checked by the civil power; and that they were thus compelled to associate, for the purpose of self-defence. The grand jury and high-sheriff of the county of Armagh, in the spring assizes of 1791, resolved, that the system of illegal meetings among the Roman catholics was truly alarming, and offered five guineas reward for each of the first twenty persons convicted of illegally arming and assembling. The flame spread from Armagh to Louth, to Cavan and to Meath.

In proportion as this association extended itself into districts, where no protestants of inferior rank in life were to be found, and therefore no outrages like those of the peep-of-day-boys to be apprehended, it gradually lost its characteristic of being a religious feud, and became, in fact, an association for procuring a redress of the grievances of the very lowest orders. Even in the counties where it originated, it ceased to be actuated by religious animosity before the end of 1792, in consequence of the exertions of the

early United Irishmen, (whose chief endeavours were always directed to reconcile the protestants and catholics,) together with the influence of some liberal-minded men of both persuasions, and still more from the publications peculiarly adapted to that purpose, which were incessantly circulated through the medium of the Northern Star: for by these means the hatred of sects was lulled, until a subsequent period, when it will appear to have been aroused by fresh aggressions.

The defenders, after their association had changed its type, were bound together by oaths, obviously drawn up by illiterate men, different in various places, but all promising secrecy, and specifying whatever grievance was, in each place, most felt, and best understood. Tythes, therefore, were, in all of them, very prominent. The views of these men were far from being distinct; although they had a national notion, that "something ought to be done for Ireland," yet they were all agreed, that whatever was to be done should be accomplished by force of arms. They, therefore, formed themselves upon a military system; and, in order to procure arms, assembled by night, to take them from the houses of those who they conceived would be eventually their enemies.

These disturbances attracted the attention of the house of lords early in 1793, and a secret committee was appointed to inquire into their causes, to endeavour to discover their promoters, and to prevent their extension.

This committee, in the course of its proceedings, proposed questions, to which it required answers on oath, that might eventually have criminated the persons under examination. A knowledge of this fact had been obtained by the United Irishmen of Dublin, some of whom had been thus interrogated; they alleged, that the researches of the committee were not confined to the professed purpose of its institution, but directed principally to the discovery of evidence, in support of prosecutions, previously commenced, and utterly unconnected with the cause of the tumults it was appointed to investigate. They thereupon published a series of observations, calculated to show that the committee had no such right. They distinguished the legislative from the judicial capacity of the house of lords; denied its right to administer an oath in its legislative capacity; asserted, that, as a court, it was bound by those rules of justice which were obligatory on all other courts, both as to the limits of jurisdiction, and the mode of conducting inquiry; and further insisted, that these rules deprived it of all right to administer an oath, or exact an answer, in similar cases, or to delegate its judicial authority to a committee.

For this publication the chairman and secretary of the society, the Hon. Simon Butler and Mr. Oliver Bond, with whose names it was signed, were brought before the house on the 1st of March. They avowed the publication, and were, in consequence, sentenced by the lords to six months imprisonment, and a fine of £500

each. The society was not, however, deterred from espousing their cause. They were sumptuously entertained, as if in defiance of parliament, during the whole of that time, and their fines paid by the voluntary subscriptions of the United Irishmen.

Well calculated as was the sentence on these gentlemen, to prevent others from disputing the authority of the committee, yet it did not entirely succeed. Dr. Reynolds, a physician from the North, having been summoned before their lordships, professed his conviction of the truth of the observations published by the United Irishmen, and refused to be examined on oath. He was, therefore, committed, and imprisoned for near five months, till the expiration of the session; during which time he experienced the same attentions as were shown to Butler and Bond.

While the report of the secret committee was preparing, lively alarms were excited, and rumours were very current through the metropolis, that it would implicate many leading members of the catholic convention, even to capital punishment—cover the whole of that body with suspicion and odium; and hazard, if not defeat their bill, then only in progress. On the day when the report was expected, it was not made; a noble lord, however, sent a confidential and mutual friend to Mr. Sweetman, the secretary of the sub-committee, to inform him, that, should it appear his life would be exceedingly endangered, and the bill itself run a great risk; but that if he would sign any kind of paper, in the form and

wording most agreeable to his own feelings, acknowledging his indiscretion, and expressing his regret at having connected himself with the defenders, his lordship was authorised to say, the report should never see the light, and all difficulties respecting the pending law should be removed. This, Mr. Sweetman peremptorily refused; but offered, in consequence of the subsequent conversation, to call together the sub-committee, that it might receive any proposal his lordship should think fit to make to them. Accordingly in the course of half an hour they were collected in one room, while his lordship occupied that adjoining. He then offered to them, by means of his friend, the same benefits, if they would disavow their secretary. This they also refused: the report appeared the next day.

Its object was to connect the defenders with all that was obnoxious to administration; and principally to implicate the general committee, or at least the sub-committee of the catholics. This it attempted to do, by inference, from the secrecy and regularity of the defender system, which, it said, seemed as if directed by men of superior rank; from the collecting of money to a considerable amount by the voluntary subscription of catholics, in consequence of a circular letter from the sub-committee, expressing the necessity of raising a fund for defraying the heavy and growing expences incurred by the general committee, in conducting the affairs of their constituents; and lastly, from some letters written by Mr. Sweetman to a gentleman at Dun-

dalk, in which the report states, that the secretary, in the name of the sub-committee, directed inquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the defenders, then in confinement, were accused. One of these letters is given, dated 9th of August, 1792, which mentions, that the brother of a person, whom the secret committee states to have been committed as a defender, left town truly disconsolate at not being able to effect something towards the liberation of his kinsman. This chain of circumstantial evidence was strengthened by the assertion, that Mr. Sweetman's correspondent had employed, at considerable expence, an agent and counsel to act for several persons accused as defenders. The report seeming to presume, that the money used for that purpose was supplied by the catholic committee, and part of the voluntary subscription it had collected, has the candour to state, that nothing appeared before the secret committee, which could lead it to believe, that the body of the catholics were concerned in promoting these disturbances, or privy to this application of their money. The secret committee then couples (but only by the insinuation which results from juxtaposition in their report) the defenders with the volunteers, the reformers and republicans in the North and in Dublin.

This attack on the organ and adherents of the catholics having been generally conceived as aimed in hostility against the bill then depending for their relief, no time was lost in counter-acting its effects. A reply to it appeared almost

directly from the sub-committee, and another from the secretary. The defence by the former stated, that while the religious quarrels were going on between the peep-of-day-boys and the defenders, in consequence of personal application from several protestant gentlemen, three of the committee had an interview in July, 1792, at Rathfryland, in the county of Down, with above twenty respectable protestant gentlemen of that neighbourhood, who admitted, that in no one instance had the catholics been the aggressors; but, on the contrary, had been repeatedly attacked, even in the solemn offices of their religion and burial of their dead. At this interview it was further stated to have been agreed, that the committee should use all its influence with the lower orders of catholics, to induce them to desist from their meetings; and that the volunteers should adopt resolutions, expressing their determination to protect every man equally, without distinction of party or religion. In order to effectuate this agreement, the general committee framed a circular address to that district, stating the agreement and the determination of the volunteers: " Entreating the lower orders of catholics to abstain from parade and meetings, and all other measures that might tend to alarm their protestant brethren; pointing out the embarrassment that would necessarily be thrown in the way of the great catholic objects, by any thing of riot, tumult, or disorder; promising to those who should observe the peaceable demeanour recommended by that address, all possible protec-

tion, as well by applications to government, as by supporting, at the common expence, the cause of those, who, if attacked in their houses, property or persons, should dutifully appeal to the law of the land for redress, where circumstances might not enable them to seek for that protection themselves; but, that the general committee would, in no case, undertake the defence of any man who should assist in any riotous or disorderly meeting, or should not behave himself soberly, peaceably and honestly." The defence further stated, that this address, and the resolutions of the volunteers, restored peace and harmony to that part of the country, which had been harrassed for many years before. It likewise mentioned, that the person alluded to in Mr. Sweetman's letter, was recommended by that gentleman's commercial correspondent, as coming within the description of those whom the committee had promised to support; which, on examining his brother, there was found cause to doubt, and, on that account, all advice and assistance were refused. The sub-committee then solemnly asserted, that this was the only instance of their ever having had any kind of communication with the defenders. As to the levying of money, it specified the different expences which had been incurred in pursuing the catholic claims, and the necessity of voluntary contributions for their discharge. It also denied, that any part of them was ever applied to any other purpose. Mr. Sweetman's refutation dwelt on the same topics, and entered into a minute detail of his communi-

cations with his commercial correspondent, the gentleman alluded to in the report of the secret committee. Notwithstanding the alarms that had been excited previous to the publication of the report, no attempt was made to proceed against any of the sub-committee or its secretary; and it was declared by the earl of Portarlington, one of the committee who framed the report, in the debate on the catholic bill, that the catholic body had no concern whatever in the disturbances created by some of their brethren in the North.

The Roman catholics, sensible of the calumnies attempted to be affixed to them, gave the utmost publicity to their real sentiments, by the following admonition, composed and signed by the Rev. Dr. Troy, Dr. O'Reilly, Dr. Bray, Dr. Bellew, and Dr. Cruise, which was read on Sunday after each mass in Dublin; and copies of it sent all over the kingdom.

Dublin, January 25, 1793.

Dear Christians—It has been our constant practice, as it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest on all occasions, that unshaken loyalty to his majesty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at the present by the same sentiments; but think it necessary to observe, that a most lively gratitude to our beloved sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious king, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened parliament. How can we, dear christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgments for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence

and condescension! Words are insufficient; but your continued loyal and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more satisfactory and pleasing to his majesty and parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot; attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families; fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spirituous and intoxicating liquors; practice the duties of our holy religion: this conduct, so pleasing to heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims, to our amiable sovereign, to both houses of parliament, to the magistrates, and to all our well-meaning fellow-subjects of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice at your being concerned in any disturbance.

We cannot but declare our utmost and conscientious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed, by seditious and misguided wretches of every religious denomination, in some counties of this kingdom: they are enemies to God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to christianity: we consider the Roman catholics amongst them, unworthy of the appellation; whether acting for themselves, or seduced to outrage by the arts of designing enemies to us, and to national prosperity, intimately connected with our emancipation. Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of mercy, that he may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, [By whom kings reign, and law-givers decree just things, Prov. viii. 15.] to direct his majesty's councils, and forward his benevolent intention to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavours for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.

Beseech the Throne of Mercy, also, to assist both houses of parliament in their important deliberations; that they may be distinguished by consummate wisdom and liberality, for the advantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happiness of his majesty's subjects.

Under the pleasing expectation of your cheerful compliance with these, our earnest solicitations, we sincerely wish you

every blessing in this life, and everlasting happiness in the next, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

In order to remove the objections, however unfounded, which had been made to the oath taken by the catholic bishops at their consecration, the catholic archbishops addressed a letter to the pope, wherein they described the misrepresentations that had been recently published of their consecration oath, and great injury to the catholic body arising from them: they expressed their fullest conviction, that the oath, obliging them only to canonical obedience to his holiness, and communion with the centre of unity, was perfectly reconcileable with their loyalty as subjects, and the allegiance they had sworn to their gracious sovereign, king George III. They professed a determination to observe both oaths, and to preserve their communion with the holy see inviolate: reflecting, however, on the ignorance of most protestants respecting the oath, with which they seemed only acquainted from the calumnious publications against it, the prelates above-mentioned suggested to the pope, that some declaration or explanation of the oath, and particularly of the words, "*Hæreticos persequor et impugno*," from himself, or by his authority, would, probably, remove the alarms of well-meaning protestants, and confound the prejudiced; who, by their misrepresentations of the oath, endeavoured to blast the prospects and expectations of the catholics to obtain an emancipation from the penal code; which they had reason to hope for, from the clemency of his

majesty, and wisdom of the legislature. They concluded, with submitting these considerations to his holiness, and requesting an answer, whenever his constant solicitude for the universal church, and occupations would permit.

To this letter an answer was returned from Rome by the congregation of cardinals appointed to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of these kingdoms, intimating, amongst other things, that, by authority of his holiness, an alteration was to be made in the oath, of which alteration the following is a translation.

From an audience had of his holiness on the 9th day of June, 1791.

The archbishops metropolitans of the kingdom of Ireland represented to his holiness, that, from the ignorance or malice of some persons, certain expressions in the form of the oath prescribed in the Roman ritual to be taken by bishops at their consecration, and by archbishops on receiving the pall, have been misrepresented; which has added new perplexities to those which they daily experience in a kingdom, where the catholic faith is not the religion of the state: wherefore, they humbly requested, if it should appear expedient to his holiness, that he would vouchsafe to apply a remedy by some act of his apostolical vigilance. His holiness, on this report being made to him by me, the underwritten, all circumstances of the case maturely considered, was graciously pleased to grant, that the bishops of the kingdom of Ireland at their consecration, and the archbishops on receiving the pall, may use the same form of oath which was taken by the archbishop of Mohilow, in the empire of the Moscovites, by permission of his said holiness; which is as follows:

I N. N. &c. as in the Roman Pontifical to the clause, *All heretics, schismatics and rebels against our said lord and his successors aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, prosecute and oppose*, which is entirely omitted: afterwards the words, *The Cardinal Prefect of the S. Con.*

gregation for propagating the Faith, are substituted, instead of The Cardinal Proponent in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The form concludes with these words, I will observe all and every one of these things the more inviolably, as I am firmly convinced, that there is nothing contained in them, which can be contrary to the fidelity I owe to the most serene king of Great Britain and Ireland, and to his successors to the throne. So help me God and those holy Gospels of God. Thus I promise, and engage.

I, N. N. archbishop, or bishop, &c.

Dated at Rome, in the house of the Sacred Congregation, the 23d day of June, 1791,

L. Cardinal Antonelli, *Præfekt.*

A. Archbishop Adanen, *Sec.*

Soon after the catholic bill received the royal assent, the general committee met on the 25th of April, 1793. After expressing its thankfulness to the king for his interposition on behalf of its constituents, and voted some substantial and honourable proofs of its gratitude to individuals, who had laboured in the catholic cause; it directed its attention towards one of the most degrading and deleterious consequences of the lately repealed popery laws; and appointed a committee to consult, communicate and correspond upon the means of procuring a system of improved education for the catholic youth of Ireland. The general committee further signalised itself by marking, in its last moments, its attachment to the entirely unaccomplished object for which the protestant reformers were so anxious. It "most earnestly exhorted the catholics of Ireland to co-operate with their protestant brethren, in all legal and constitutional means to carry into effect that

great measure, recognised by the wisdom of parliament, and so essential to the freedom, happiness and prosperity of Ireland, a reform of the representation of the people in the commons house." Having done this, it dissolved itself; since, by the restoration of the elective franchise, the catholics of Ireland were enabled to speak individually the language of freemen, and that they no longer wished to be considered as a distinct body of his majesty's subjects.

The persons to whom the general committee entrusted the formation of a plan for the education of the youth of their religion, had determined, that while it embraced the catholic youth, it should not exclude those of any other persuasion; that it should depend on the people for its support, and be subject to the joint controul of the clergy and laity. They had received assurances, that there would be no deficiency of ample resources to carry it into effect. Some of the catholic prelates even made very considerable offers of pecuniary aid. This system of popular education, totally unconnected with government, appears not to have been completely agreeable at the castle. Its inclinations were conveyed to the prelates; and an arrangement made for catholic education, solely conducted by the bishops, under the auspices of government, and the sanction of parliament. The gentlemen, who were preparing the popular plan, were assured they might desist from their labours, and the general system of education was, consequently, abandoned.

To the hostility of the penal laws succeeded

the hostility of administration. Admission was refused to the most eminent merchants of the metropolis, into the guild of merchants, chiefly by the dependents of government; and an irreligious distinction created, more mortifying to the catholic than the penal code itself.

Public attention was also occupied by the distresses of traders and manufacturers, particularly in the cotton line, who were reduced to great embarrassments by the first consequences of the war. Their warehouses were overstocked with goods, which they were unable to send to any market; they, therefore, became incompetent to answer the demands for which they were responsible, and the workmen were reduced to the greatest distress for want of employment. The immediate pressure of this calamity was wisely removed, and credit greatly restored, by advances from government, to such persons as could deposit goods to a sufficient amount, or produce equivalent security. The sum of £200,000 was entrusted to the management of commissioners, who granted out of it, to the different claimants, such sums as they judged necessary.

The session of parliament terminated on the 16th of August. Exclusive of the act for the relief of the Roman catholics, and the act against conventions, the following were passed: an act to encourage the improvement of barren land; another to prevent traitorous correspondence with his majesty's enemies; an act re-vesting in his majesty the estates forfeited in 1688, yet remaining unsold; an act for the trial of treason com-

mitted out of the king's dominions; an act to remove doubts respecting the functions of juries in cases of libel; an act for securing the freedom and independence of the house of commons; an act for regulating the trade of Ireland to and from the East Indies; and an act for the advancement of trade and manufactures.

The spirit of reform, which had been strongly manifested in the north of Ireland and the metropolis, was considerably checked, by the coercive measures of government, and the system adopted by the republic of France. The open mockery of christianity, the profession of deism, was detested by the people of Ireland, who always cherished and respected religion. The murder of the sovereign, the massacre of the clergy, the carnage committed by revolutionary tribunals, the tyranny exercised by the committee of public safety, the defection of the generals, civil dissensions and foreign wars; these crimes and evils, committed and suffered by France, were represented by the opponents of reform, as essentially connected with the march of democracy; and strongly co-operated with the measures of government, in compelling the friends of reform to wait a favourable opportunity, when public reason and public strength should be restored.

The account of these excesses was received by the generality of the Irish with abhorrence. It shocked their most cherished prejudices in a tenderly, sensible part; and, in proportion as protestants appeared to rejoice, catholics lamented those deplorable transactions, that disgraced and

threatened downfall to their religion, where it appeared most secure, honoured and established. While suffering for their profession at home, vilified and trampled by divers pains and penalties, it was some consolation to hear of its being professed and protected by the most powerful monarchy in Christendom. Its temporary prostration was heard as afflicting news, a heart felt sore. Neither were the means nor the instruments, employed in the overthrow of the throne and the altar, of a nature to mitigate the painful sensations excited thereby. They bore too great resemblance to the sanguinary tragedies of the seventeenth century in these islands, still fresh in remembrance, and felt in their oppressive consequences, not to embitter the reflections they led to. Irreligion, profanation and sacrilege, were but ill calculated to excite the sympathy, or win the affections of a religious people, attached to their tenets with a warmth commensurate with their sufferings for the same, and the natural fire of their temperament. These excesses also spoke forcibly to the passions, and aroused the exertions of the aristocracy to stifle the expression of sentiments favourable to freedom. The grand lodge of Irish free-masons yielded to this influence, and on the 3d of January, 1793, issued the following admonition to masonic lodges, prohibiting them from discussing and publishing their opinions on religious and political subjects.

The grand lodge of Ireland, as the constituted authority and guardians of the craft, deem it incumbent on them, to

remind the respective lodges of this kingdom, that it is utterly inconsistent with the fundamental principles, the ancient charges, and the uniform practices of free-masons, to permit any discussions or publications on religious or political subjects among them; because these, of all others, are known to arouse the worst passions of men, and excite among the kindest brethren the most rancorous and lasting animosities. True masonry prefers no sect, and acknowledges no party. A mason's religion is the faithful worship of God; his politics a strict obedience to the laws of the country in which he resides, and a most cordial and unremitting attachment to his sovereign.

Free-masons have sufficient opportunities of expressing their religious and political opinions in other societies and in other capacities, and should not, under any pretence whatsoever, suffer such topics to invade the sacred retirement of a lodge, which is peculiarly appropriated to improve moral duties, correct human frailties, and inculcate social happiness.

The grand lodge, therefore, in discharge of their duty, and actuated by the most anxious solicitude for the prosperity, honour and unanimity of the whole masonic body of Ireland, earnestly exhort and require all the lodges of this kingdom to refrain from religious and political discussions, and publications on such subjects.

Little remarkable occurred in the short session of 1794. The opposition, in almost every case, melted itself down into the common mass of ministerial advocates. The first motion was made by Mr. Grattan, on the 20th of February, for equalizing the duties, payable in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, on the imported manufactures of each respectively. What proposition more reasonable? yet the secretary of state moved the previous question, and Mr. Grattan declined pressing his motion, lest a distraction of sentiment should seem to exist in the house. Mr. Duquerry's state of the trade of

Ireland, nevertheless, deserves insertion. He said, " The right hon. gentleman who had proposed the resolution, had brought it forward with that temperance, and accurate knowledge of the subject, becoming the representative of the first city in the kingdom. The right hon. member was one, who deserved the gratitude of the country, and he was sure no idle compliment from either one side of the house or the other, would make him swerve from his duty. But he professed himself astonished at the conduct of a right hon. gentleman on the opposite side of the bench, (secretary Douglas,) in moving the previous question, on a proposition for opening the ports of Great Britain to the manufactures of Ireland. He was sorry it did not occur to the noble lord, who preceded him in office, to move the previous question on the India bill. He was sure none of the members, who attended the debate on that bill, could forget the expressions of the noble lord, then ostensible minister, that, if the house consented to the act like men of honour, and like Irishmen, he was sure British magnanimity would not hesitate to concede equality of commerce. He recollected well the noble lord said, that he could not deliver the sentiments of the British cabinet on the subject; but if, in our concession of the India trade, nothing of a petty bargain should appear, he was sure every reasonable request of Ireland would be acceded to by Great Britain. The right hon. gentleman, who has succeeded him, now tells the house, the question has become irritating in the sister country;

Great Britain, however, was not irritated when we surrendered up to her the India trade.

“ Will any man tell this house, that Great Britain is of so haughty a character, that she must be fawned upon, and courted to do justice? He did not blame the right hon. gentleman for moving the question of adjournment. From his manner, he seemed to do it with regret and concern. He considered him only as the commissioner of the British cabinet, in whose councils he did not share, and who is only to execute their orders as directed. It would be, therefore, unjust to attach any blame to him. If the house should accede to the resolution, we would not thereby get the British tariff: it must be considered first by the parliament of England; and, if it appeared improper to them, they would stop it in limine. In voting for the resolution, the house would give to the British parliament an opportunity of discussing the question, and of exposing that commercial folly, which, it was said, existed. He thought, therefore, they ought not adjourn the question, until a comprehension of mind was restored to the people of Great Britain.

“ He did not doubt but Great Britain had a regard for Ireland! She ought to have it. If she had been formerly impressed with the same sentiments, she would, at the present day, be the most powerful empire on earth. At that inauspicious period, when the woollen trade of Ireland was surrendered to British monopoly, there were but thirty-four gentlemen in this house to come forward in behalf of their country: and, if the

house should this night vote for the question of adjournment, he did not think they would be much better. He could not help impressing on the mind of the right hon. gentleman the injustice of admitting France to commercial advantages from which Ireland is excluded. To give an idea of the commercial disadvantages under which Ireland labours, in her intercourse with England, it might not be unnecessary to state a few items from the tariffs of both countries. How then stand the tariffs on woollen cloths, or what is called old drapery? In Great Britain there is an import duty of forty shillings and six pence per yard on Irish woollens, while the duty on English woollens, imported into Ireland, amounts to no more than fifty pence per yard! On woollen stuffs and mixed goods, or what is called new drapery, the same system of hostility to the manufactures of Ireland has been followed by the parliament of Great Britain. The import duty from Ireland into England is six shillings per yard; and from Great Britain here only three halfpence! Cotton goods were admitted here at a duty of 10 per cent.; in England the duty is 30 per cent. Printed linens, notwithstanding all that is said of the protection afforded by Great Britain to the linen manufacture of Ireland, are subject to an import duty there of 65 per cent., while here they are admitted at 10 per cent. One manufacture has been considered sufficient for upwards of four million of people; but, he would beg to know, was not such a disproportion of duties calculated to destroy even that? Ireland

had not been more than thirty years in possession of the manufacture of printed linens, when England laid on a heavier duty, to enable her to rival us. After trying the experiment, she found she could not; and, the consequence was, that the trade went into the hands of the Germans, the Hollanders, and the Swiss. Thus the trade was lost to Ireland, without being the smallest advantage to Great Britain. The manufacture of sail-cloth, in like manner, was rising in this country, about the year 1750, to a very flourishing state, until checked by the monopolizing spirit of England; which, however, has not been productive to the latter nation of any advantage. So that Ireland might, with respect to these particulars, tell Great Britain, ‘you have robbed us of that which not enriched you, but makes us poor indeed.’

“When, in the year 1785, this nation was given to understand, that a commercial adjustment with Great Britain was about to take place, £140,000 annually, of new taxes, were imposed on that presumption; and, to this day, the nation remains without any equivalent. We cheerfully acceded, last sessions of parliament, to the monopoly of the India company for twenty-one years; and, at that time, the noble lord, who conducted the affairs of government, said the accommodation should take place.

“He made no doubt but some gentlemen would be highly gratified that the session should pass over without any debate: these might, however, find themselves disappointed. Nations were

born to assist nations, in like manner as men were born to assist men; and the more exactly Great Britain and Ireland squared their reciprocal commercial and political intercourse by this maxim, the more prosperous would be the common affairs of both. England was peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of fine woollen cloths, and might, therefore, leave to Ireland the advantages on coarse. It begins now to be known, that the spirit of monopoly is as injurious to trade, as that of conquest is to the happiness of society. It is better for mankind to assist than destroy each other. The tendency to the former is natural to the human heart, and is done by the wisdom of God; the latter proceeds only from the depraved policy of man. The consequence of depriving Ireland of the woollen manufacture was, to throw that trade directly into the hands of France, to the detriment of Great Britain. Sir Matthew Decker, than whom no higher authority on the subject of trade can be adduced, is of opinion, that the rivalry of France would not have become so formidable to Great Britain, but for the restrictions laid on the woollen trade of Ireland: and, if the two nations would not suffer themselves to be divided in sentiment, on account of the narrow gut of ocean which separates them, they would both become more great and prosperous. This session a great subsidy had been voted to Great Britain, for the purpose of carrying on the war with the greater effect. Are we then to be joined in war with Great Britain, but excluded from her commerce? The linen manu-

facture may, perhaps, be sufficient for Ulster; but is Munster to droop in poverty? He entertained too high an opinion of the British ministers, to think they would yield to the folly of the manufacturers, or be thereby induced to postpone measures, which, they must be convinced, are for the common interest of the empire. When a commercial adjustment was in discussion in the year 1785, the British manufacturers only mentioned their doubts to the ministry, with respect to the manufactures of glass, pottery, and a few other trifling articles. He would be glad to know, what new circumstance had produced the present alleged irritation? The resolution proposed by the right hon. gentleman did not go to agitate any political question. It went only to procure the British duties to be lowered to the Irish tariff, which must be finally adjusted in the parliament of Great Britain: and he thought that, in voting the resolution, we were but doing our duty as the representatives of Ireland."

The only instance where opposition seemed to assume any thing of its former tone, was, in the debate upon Mr. Ponsonby's reform bill, on the 4th of March; but even then that party was particularly careful to mark its abhorrence of democracy, of French principles, and universal suffrage. Sir Laurence Parsons, indeed, very strikingly pointed out what he called the imposture and mockery of the existing representation. "When the Americans were deliberating," said he, "on their new constitution, if any one had got up among them, and had proposed such an

institution as our present borough representation, and had said, there is a certain ruin in Virginia, let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Washington shall appoint; and there is a certain tree in Pennsylvania, let it send two representatives, to be named by any twelve persons Mr. Franklin shall appoint; and so on. Would not the man have been deemed mad, who made such a proposition? An institution, then, which any rational set of men upon earth would deem a man mad for having proposed, can it be sound sense in you to retain?"

Mr. Grattan too, among other arguments in support of the plan before the house, asserted, that ninety, or, as he believed, about forty individuals, returned a vast majority in the house of commons. "Of property," said he, "it will be found, that those who return that majority, (it is, I believe, two-thirds,) have not an annual income of three hundred thousand pounds, while they give and grant above three millions; that is, the taxes they give are ten times, and the property they tax is infinitely greater than the property they represent." But his speech was most particularly remarkable for a series of epigrammatic invectives against the society of United Irishmen of Dublin, their plan of reform,* and the principle of universal suffrage.

"Worse even than the abuses so defended," said he, "is a plan I have seen for their reformation, personal or individual representation.

* For this plan of reform, see p. 414, &c. of this volume.

“ The principle of such a plan is a complete, avowed, and unqualified departure from the vital and fundamental article of the British constitution, in practice and in theory; and I must say, such an outset requires no small degree of mischievous and senseless temerity. With equal folly does this plan violate the dearest rights of man, for if there be one right of man entirely indisputable, it is that which gives to the individual in particular, and the community in general, the fruits of his and their industry; thus the passenger through your field, or the labourer on your farm, has no right to make rules for the management of the same, nor have the aggregate of labourers or of non-proprietors a right to make rules or ordinances for the land, farms, or trade of the community.

“ This reasoning applies very strongly to the case of Ireland, because it appeared on the hearth-money survey of the last year, that those who were to be exempted from the hearth-money for want of property were more than half of our inhabitants. It was, besides, insisted upon by the objectors to reform on the principle of property, that such a principle excluded the majority; it follows, that the plan, which gives votes to all the inhabitants, and gives away to that majority the fruits of the industry of the community, gives away the estate of the landholder, the farm of the freeholder, the lease of the leaseholder, and the trade of the citizen, to be ordered and disposed of by a majority, who are confessed to have neither estate, nor farm, nor lease, nor

trade. That is the plan that robs the individual and the community of the fruits of their industry, and destroys the representation of property. Under the pretence of establishing a representation of existence, it destroys a principle which is real and sacred, to establish a concert which is affected and nonsensical.

“ But it is not merely to those who have neither farm, freehold, nor trade, that this plan extends the right of voting; it gives the return of members to serve in parliament to all the common soldiers, to the resident army, horse, foot and dragoons; to the police, to the scavenger. It goes farther, it gives that right to all hospitals, to almsmen, to Channel-row, and every beggarman in the kingdom of Ireland. It goes farther, it gives that right to every criminal, white-boys that break laws, and defenders who steal arms; and would thus present you with a representation of felony as well as of paupers. To such a monstrous constitution, whose frenzy, folly and wickedness must excite at once your scorn and horror, the objection is not merely that such persons would be represented, but the persons who have no property in land, lease, freehold, or trade, being confessedly the majority, it follows under such a plan, that such persons alone would be represented, and that the landholder, leaseholder, farmer and tradesman, confessedly the minority with their one vote only, this plan allows them no more, would not be represented at all; it follows, that those who have nothing in land, lease, farm, or trade, would return the parlia-

ment; that is, those who had nothing in the common stock would make the laws, and the men who receive alms would vote the taxes.

“ To destroy the influence of landed property is the object of individual representation, but its immediate effect would be to extinguish the people. The rich might, for a time, make a struggle; they might, in some places, buy a mob, who by such a plan would be all electors; they might beset the hustings with their retainers, who by such a plan would be all electors, or they might purchase the votes of that great body of electors introduced by such a plan into the constitution, all the beggars in the neighbourhood. The minister too, for the short time such a plan suffered king or minister, could, in the corrupt confusion of such election, preserve some influence by the application of the treasury and the command of the army, he could have all the swords and votes of all the common soldiers. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of those advantages, and, indeed, what farmer or citizen would go to the hustings of a medley of offenders met on a plan, where bayonets, bludgeons and whiskey elected the house of commons? In the mean time, the respect which the landlord and candidate now pay to the farmer and to the citizen would be at an end, and instead of resorting to the farmer for his vote and interest, the squire would go to the farmer's dung-yard and canvas the boys of his lawn, who would have more votes, though neither farm nor freehold; the consequence of the citizen would be at an

end also, and instead of going to his shop to ask the tradesman for his vote, the candidate would apply to the beggar on the bridge, or the scavenger in the kennel, or to the hospitals or Channel-row, and those places where the poor are now wisely supplied with bread, instead of being intoxicated with hand-bills, offering, in the place of bread, the hopes of returning the parliament, and becoming a third constitutive part of the legislature.

“ Such would be the state of election under this plan of personal representation, which from a revolution of power would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion; for if you transfer the power of the state to those who have nothing in the country, they will afterwards transfer the property, and annex it once more to the power in their own persons; give them your power and they will give themselves your property; of such a representation as this plan would provide, the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery, murder.”

The United Irishmen immediately attempted to justify their plan of reform, by the following address to the people of Ireland.

The society of United Irishmen in Dublin to the people of Ireland.

We submitted to your consideration such a plan for your equal representation, as would, in our judgment, if carried into effect, give you your just and constitutional weight in the legislature. We exulted in the thought, that our exer-

tions had contributed to raise the public mind to that elevated point, from which it might view its widely extended rights; from which it might discover the real insignificance of every proposal towards reform, that should not seek the full measure of justice; which should not give to all, who were in any degree bound by the law, the power of choosing those who made the law. We thought the simplicity of the plan the best test of its honesty, and that its appeal to the common sense of the nation rendered any explanation of its principles unnecessary. We are, however, now called upon to justify its primary principle by the objections which have since been raised against it; and, should we succeed, our triumph must be that of argument over invective; of reason over prejudice; and of justice over power.

It is an apprehension with some, that should every man be allowed to vote for a representative in parliament, the monarchy and the aristocracy of the constitution would soon be overborne and destroyed by the exorbitant power and republican spirit of the democracy.

Let it be remembered, that the British constitution has amply provided against the probability of such an event. It has appointed a sole executive officer, invested with prerogatives to strengthen that executive power, and with a certain portion of legislative authority to defend those prerogatives. It has instituted a substantial aristocracy, not deriving all its weight and authority merely from the king's patents, but hereditary, and possessing a mass of property, by which, backed and supported, if necessary, by the executive prerogatives and legislative authority of the crown, it is enabled to withstand the attacks of the democracy. Away then with the idle apprehension. Can any danger attach upon so much influence and so much power? On the contrary, can any thing short of pure democracy maintain against them the integrity and independence of the house of commons?

But it is said, that the lower classes of the community being without property, have no stake in the country, and, therefore, ought not to vote for any part of the legislature. In consequence of the representative system, every man is supposed to be either individually, or by his delegate, a party to making the laws by which he is to be bound. The elective right cannot, therefore, be denied, on constitutional prin-

principle, to any one, and even the poorest should be allowed the exercise of that right, as they are bound by law as well as others. Laws operate on life, liberty and property. Why is property represented? Because it is valuable to the possessor, and may be affected by the law. Why should liberty and life not be represented? Are they not more valuable to their possessor, and may they not also be affected by the law? Since liberty and life are the most important objects of legislation, the poorer class have a right to some controul over the legislature, and it is just that they should exercise it. The spirit of many of our laws is aristocratic, and by no means calculated for the protection of the poor. To pass over the remarkable instances of the game-laws and the stamp-act, the latter of which, by operating on legal proceeding, shuts the door of justice against the poor, we shall refer to a much more important system, our criminal code.

If the lower classes of the community had been represented in parliament, when their necessities first urged them to insurrection and outrage, under the denomination of white-boys and defenders, parliament would have inquired into and redressed their grievances, instead of making laws to punish them with death. The acts, which are prohibited by many of our laws, are unquestionably great crimes; but the punishments, inflicted by those laws, are still greater crimes. The reason of this disproportion is, that the rich man is never guilty of sheep-stealing, and the poor man has no one to plead his cause in the senate.

If, however, it be a principle, that no man who does not contribute to the support of government, should be immediately concerned in legislation, such principle would be no exclusion of the poor, for they contribute in proportion to their means.

The poorest man in the land pays taxes for his fire, his candle, for his potatoes and clothing: and the poorer he is, the greater occasion he has for a vote, to protect what little he has, which is necessary not to his qualification merely, but to his very existence. He has a property in his labour, and in the value it will bring in the market, the field, or the manufactory; a property, on account of its smallness, of more real value to him than thousands of pounds to the rich and luxurious; a property, which must render him more in-

terested in the honest disposal of the public money, since one additional tax may crush him, than those can be who receive that public money by virtue of places without employment, and pensions without merit.

Property is merely the collection of labour; it possesses the very same qualities before as after it is collected into a heap, and the scattered labour of the lowest ranks is as real, and ought to be as really represented, as the most fixed and solid property. Reason, we think, says this; and sad experience has manifested, that giving political power exclusively to property collected, not to the mass of living labour, has been, in all ages, and particularly in modern times, the true cause of feudality, of vassalage, and of aristocratic despotism.

It is also used as an argument, that although in theory every man has a right to vote, yet the exercise of that right among us would be impracticable, or attended with outrage from the multitude of voters. To that we answer, that the practicability of the measure depends on a few regulations, which we apprehend, can be easily contrived to render elections practicable and tranquil. Let there be a division of the kingdom into parts, sufficiently small, and, as nearly as possible, equal with respect to population, and let the several elections annually commence and conclude throughout the kingdom on one and the same day.

Some friends to universal suffrage in a new country, urge a local objection to its being applied to Ireland. They say, that the lower classes of people in this country are peculiarly unfit for the exercise of suffrage, on account of their extreme ignorance. We know of no description of people unfit for the exercise of their rights; and, if we did, we would fit them for it by giving it to them. What has made those classes so extremely ignorant? The privation of those rights, which, if enjoyed, would have procured them knowledge. Apply the reverse of that which has debased, and it will exalt them. Give them the elective franchise, and let them exercise it immediately. It is not just to judge of what the people would be, when embodied into the constitution of their country, from their present state of debasement, in which they feel themselves unconnected with it. We trust that our countrymen, even the poorest, who are now stigmatized with the appellations of swine, wretches and rabble,

would, if restored to their rights, evince an elevation of sentiment, which, setting every species of corruption at defiance, must humble the pride of wealth by the superior lustre of virtuous poverty.

Opposition seem surprised that the people should view their debates with indifference. We will tell them the reason. It is, because nothing passes of a nature to animate and interest the people; nothing from which an individual can promise himself more happiness, or the community more splendour; it is, because enthusiasm no longer lights up the countenance of Grattan, and swells every heart with something great and good, and with the prospect of something greater and better; it is, because there appears no internal spring of action, no fixture of character, but good and bad qualities, as it were, external, and neither virtues nor vices their own; it is, because once in seven years the people are treated as majesty, and, in the interval, maltreated as mob.

We have not, in our plan of reform, paled in little parks of aristocracy. Our plan has not been described with a pair of compasses, nor have we defaced, with childish circles, the system of nature, and the chart of the constitution. There is no truth in any political system, in which the sun of liberty is not placed in the centre, with knowledge to enlighten, and benevolence to warm and invigorate; with the same ray to gild the palace and illuminate the cottage. "The earth moves," said Galileo, "and the sun stands still." He was imprisoned for the heretical assertion, for a libel against the law of nature, and for exciting sedition among the stars; but the earth moves notwithstanding; and, in spite of fine, imprisonment, pillory and transportation, the rights of man are the immoveable centre of the British constitution, that has hitherto regulated time, and determined revolutions.

Indeed the local circumstances seem to us rather in favour of introducing it into Ireland. We have lately had occasion, in considering the catholic claims, to examine into the foundations of government. The catholic has taught all Ireland, that to be taxed or legislated for, without being represented, is an oppression, which sinks the sufferer into a slave. He insisted on his right to the elective suffrage, because he was bound by the laws, and contributed to the expences of the state. The doctrine, once broached, can never be forgotten;

and the remaining slave, whom reform shall not have raised to the rank of citizen, will remember the argument of the catholic, and ask himself, "Am I not bound by the laws; and do I not, in my humble sphere, contribute to the expences of the state? Why am I not represented? Is it not my right; and shall I not insist upon my right?"

Sooner or later the measure must come. The eternal principle of justice will be repeated in louder and louder tones, until at length it must be heard and observed. Why not now? Why leave behind a source of new reforms, perhaps, of convulsions? If reform only communicate power to a greater number, and do not give liberty to all, it will only strengthen the ruling and weaken the oppressed body; so that when the slave shall have acquired sufficient courage to speak, the obstinacy of the citizen will compel him to act. We cannot forget the language made use of to intimidate the catholic from prosecuting his claims, and that those very claims, shortly after having been rejected with scorn, were admitted with respect. The same line of prudence and wisdom will, we are persuaded, be pursued in the case of reform, whenever convincing proof of the public sentiment shall be received on that subject, and the kingdom, by the restoration of universal suffrage, be delivered over to uninterrupted peace and happiness.

Contemplating this grateful prospect, we smile, with much internal satisfaction, on hearing those intemperate and abusive expressions, which the members of opposition make use of against this society. We smile at their inability to conceal the vexation and disappointment they have felt on finding themselves forsaken by the people; that people, whose majesty they insult, but whose forbearance they at the same time solicit, on finding themselves fallen, like the ostentatious balloon, from that height, to which they had risen by a sort of inflammable levity, and there sustained solely by the breath of popular favour.

We smile at the curious coalition of political parties against our society; to see them all club their wisdom and their wit, to manifest to the whole country that we are really formidable; but we are rather inclined to pity that forced fraternity, that monstrous conjunction, which, in spite of the horror of instinct, and the antipathy of nature, can join, in

one common effort, the highest genius with the lowest ribaldry. How great must be the panic that can unite such extremes! We can bear, as we have borne, the common-place invective against this society; but we feel some indignation, when they, who should look on themselves as the purchased property of the people; to whose fortune every man, even "the beggar on the bridge" has contributed; whom the "shouts of the mob" have raised to the height of their fame; when such men inveigh against armed beggary and shabby sedition, we cannot but remember a time when the usual adjunct to their own names was, "Shabby and seditious incendiaries." It is not manly, it is not decorous to deal out this contumelious language against the great mass of mankind. The use of contemptuous terms disposes to contemptuous treatment, and those, whom we vilify as mob, we soon learn to slight as men. It is the unequal partition of rights, and what results from this, the arrogance of power, and the abasement of poverty, which make mob, instigate to tumult, and goad to insurrection.

If the people were respected, they would revenge the constituted authorities; but to gain this respect, they must possess those rights, which are the prerogative of their nature, and the worth of manhood.

This defence of the objects of the United Irishmen, was their last effort. Equally dreaded and execrated by each division and subdivision of the aristocracy, government determined to extinguish the only body, that persevered in the pursuit of reform, and presumed to brave its power. This the sheriff, Mr. Giffard, accomplished; seizing the books of the society, and dispersing the members, on their usual day of meeting, in the Tailor's-hall, Back-lane, Dublin.

"This society," says Dr. Mac Neven, "from its first formation had been a mark for the abuse of government and its adherents. To the perseverance and exertions, however, of the

United Irishmen of Dublin, may be attributed much of the change which took place in the public mind in favour of the catholic claims. Just before the existence of their society, the followers of that religion would not be permitted, in an address of loyalty to the viceroy, to express a hope of relief: and not a member of parliament could be found even to present a petition to the legislature, praying that their case might be taken into consideration: yet the institution had not been eighteen months established, when, in spite of denunciations of war from the protestant ascendancy, and with only the ungracious and constrained assent of the Irish government, the popery laws, the disgrace and scourge of a century, were reduced to a few comparatively insignificant restraints. A reform in parliament seemed at one time too on the point of being conceded to that spirit, which the same society had been very instrumental in exciting, and was always among the foremost to evince. Whether that spirit be characterised as patriotism and firmness, or as faction or sedition, if all the friends of reform had concurred in displaying as much of it as was shown by the United Irishmen, and had marched *pari passu* with them, there can be no reasonable doubt, but that their efforts would have been crowned with complete success.”*

At the close of the session on the 25th of March, the speech from the throne expressed his Majesty's satisfaction in the zeal and unanimity

* Pieces of Irish History.

which governed the proceedings of parliament; and the cheerfulness with which liberal supplies were provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the state. It also stated, that his Majesty felt with the most cordial pleasure, the loyalty of the people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always shown to stand or fall with Great Britain.

Shortly after the Rev. William Jackson was arrested on the novel charge of high-treason, and Mr. Rowan escaped out of Newgate. It appears that the French, soon after war commenced between the republic and his Majesty's dominions, sent an emissary to Ireland, to endeavour to induce the people to attempt the dissolution of the connexion with Great Britain, by offers of assistance. This agent communicated the proposal to the leading members of the United Irishmen, but those persons, though then eminently obnoxious to government, rejected the offer. Aware, however, of the importance of creating a diversion in their favour, in the heart of the dominions of their most formidable enemy, France renewed the attempt the following year, and the application was favourably received. For this purpose they employed the Rev. William Jackson, a dissenting clergyman, whose mission included England and Ireland. In London, by means of a merchant, Mr. Stone, he was enabled to ascertain, that all parties would unite to repel invasion; consequently, that the invasion of England was hopeless. He then determined to proceed to Ireland; but first made

Mr. Cockayne, an attorney, who had been his acquaintance many years, privy to his mission. Mr. Cockayne directly communicated the intelligence to the English ministry, and was directed to accompany Mr. Jackson, that he might report his proceedings. On their arrival in Dublin, in the April of 1794, a gentleman, who had known Cockayne in London, accidentally met and invited them to dinner. Mr. Jackson there formed an acquaintance with Mr. Lewines, by whom he was introduced to Mr. Rowan, then in Newgate, and by him to Mr. Tone and Dr. Reynolds. To them he communicated the motives of his journey, and showed the paper he had procured in England. These gentlemen now readily entered into his views, and Mr. Tone drew up, for the purpose of being sent to France, the following statement of what he conceived to be the actual state of the people of Ireland.

“ The situation of Ireland and England is fundamentally different in this—the government of England is national, that of Ireland provincial. The interest of the first is the same with that of the people—of the last directly opposite. The people of Ireland are divided into three sects; the Established Church, the Dissenters, and the Catholics; the first, infinitely the smallest portion, have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honours of the country exclusively, and a very great share of the landed property. They are of course aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decided enemies of the French revolution. The Dissenters, which are much more numerous, are the most enlightened body of the nation; they are steady republicans, devoted to liberty, and through all the stages of the French revolution have been enthusiastically attached to it. The

Catholics; the great body of the people, are in the lowest degree of ignorance, and are ready for any change, because no change can make them worse. The whole peasantry in Ireland, the most oppressed and wretched in Europe, may be said to be Catholic. They have within these two years received a certain degree of information, and manifested a proportionate degree of discontent by various insurrections, &c. They are a bold, hardy race, and make excellent soldiers. There is no where a higher spirit of aristocracy than in all the privileged orders, the clergy and gentry of Ireland; to countervail which, there appears a spirit now rising in the people which never existed before, but which is spreading most rapidly, as appears by the Defenders as they are called, and other insurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4,000,000, as it seems probable they are, the Established Church may be reckoned at 450,000, the Dissenters at 900,000, the Catholics at 3,150,000. The prejudices in England are adverse to the French nation, under whatever form of government. It seems idle to suppose the present rancour against the French is owing merely to their being republicans; it has been cherished by the manners of four centuries, and aggravated by continual wars. It is morally certain, that any invasion of England would unite all ranks in opposition to the invaders. In Ireland, a conquered, oppressed and insulted country, the name of England and her power is universally odious, save with those who have an interest in maintaining it: a body, however, only formidable from situation and property, but which the first convulsion would level in the dust; on the contrary, the great bulk of the people of Ireland would be ready to throw off the yoke in this country, if they saw any force sufficiently strong to resort to for defence until arrangements could be made; the Dissenters are enemies to the English power from reason and from reflection, the Catholics from a hatred of the English name; in a word, the prejudices of one country are directly adverse, of the other directly favourable to an invasion. The government of Ireland is only to be looked upon as a government of force, the moment a superior force appears, it would tumble at once, as being founded

neither in the interests nor in the affections of the people. It may be said, the people of Ireland shew no political exertion. In the first place, public spirit is completely depressed by the recent persecutions of several, the Convention-act, the Gunpowder, &c. &c. Declarations of Government, Parliamentary Unanimity, or Declarations of Grand Juries, all proceeding from aristocrats, whose interest is adverse to that of the people, and who think such conduct necessary for their security, are no obstacles; the weight of such men falls in the general welfare, and their own tenantry and dependants would desert and turn against them; the people have no way of expressing their discontent *civilliter*, which is at the same time greatly aggravated by those measures; and they are, on the other hand, in that *semi-barbarous* state, which is of all others the best adapted for making war. The spirit of Ireland cannot therefore be calculated from newspaper publications, county meetings, &c. at which the gentry only meet and speak for themselves. They are so situated that they have but one way left to make their sentiments known, and that is by war. The church-establishment and tythes are very severe grievances, and have been the cause of numberless local insurrections; in a word, from reason, reflection, interest, prejudice, the spirit of change, the misery of the great bulk of the nation, and above all, the hatred of the English name, resulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries, there seems little doubt but an invasion in sufficient force would be supported by the people. There is scarce any army in the country, and the militia, the bulk of whom are catholics, would to a moral certainty refuse to act, if they saw such a force as they could look to for support."

" Mr. Jackson was so pleased with this paper and its author, that he pressed him very strongly to go to France, and enforce in person its contents; promising him the utmost success, both as a public and private man. At first Mr. Tone agreed to this proposal; but afterwards declined it, on account of his wife and children. Mr.

Rowan then suggested, that Dr. Reynolds should go on the same mission, which he was not unwilling to do, but was discountenanced by Jackson, who wished it to be undertaken by no other person but Tone, of whose consent he had not entirely despaired. While this was going on, government was minutely informed of every particular by the intervention of Cockayne; and having intercepted some of Jackson's letters, enough to form a body of evidence against him, he was arrested the latter end of April. Dr. Reynolds shortly after got privately to America. Mr. Rowan escaped from Newgate on the night of the first of May, and was conveyed on board a small vessel in Dublin harbour, that had been secured for him by a friend. A proclamation was directly issued by government, offering £1000 reward for his apprehension, and another by the corporation of Dublin, from whose gaol he had escaped, offering £500 for the same purpose. The sailors of the ship in which he was concealed, knowing whom they had on board, showed him the two proclamations, to which he answered, "lads, my life is in your hands;" and made them fully acquainted with the cause of his danger and flight. They instantly assured him, they never would betray, but would protect him to the last extremity. Accordingly, on the first change of wind, they put to sea, and landed him safely in France. Tone, on the other hand, made no attempt at concealment or escape. It was not at first ascertained that Cockayne was an informer, and even after he had reason to be

otherwise convinced, he persuaded himself that no more could be proved against him, than misprision of treason, in concealing a solicitation to go to France, which he had rejected. In this opinion he was probably mistaken, but the point was never tried, owing to the interposition of private friendship.*”

At this period is to be dated the commencement of the society of United Irishmen, embodied for the establishment of an independent republican government in Ireland. The first traces of this institution are to be found in Belfast, among mechanics, petty shop-keepers, and farmers. One of the three societies of United Irishmen, that had been formed in this town, escaped observation by the obscurity of its members, and continued its sittings; a union was formed between it and another club of men, principally in the same sphere of life, some of whom had been United Irishmen. This association adopted the name of United Irishmen, and their test, but so altered, as to embrace the objects they had in view. 'This test did not simply bind to the use of abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; but “to persevere in endeavouring to obtain a full and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland;” thus leaving ample room for the efforts of republicanism. Secrecy and mutual confidence now became essentially necessary; and the laws, which

* Pieces of Irish History.

stood in the way of the pursuits and objects of these societies, must also be disarmed of their terrors. For this purpose it was made part of the admission oath, that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, should ever induce the person taking it, directly or indirectly to give evidence against any member of those societies, for any act or expression pursuant to the spirit of the obligation.

Such was the plan and test, adopted and taken by the two Belfast clubs, in which town and vicinity several similar ones were speedily formed, during the summer and autumn of this year. Their constitution was as follows.

I. This Society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty.

II. Every candidate for admission into this society shall be proposed by one member, and seconded by another, both of whom shall vouch for his character and principles. The candidate to be ballotted for on the society's subsequent meeting; and if one of the beans shall be black, he shall stand rejected.

III. Each society shall fix upon a weekly subscription suited to the circumstances and convenience of its numbers, which they shall regularly return to their baronial by the proper officer.

IV. The officers of this society shall be a secretary and treasurer, who shall be appointed by ballot every three months; on every first meeting in November, February, May and August.

V. A society shall consist of no more than *twelve* members, and those as nearly as possible of the same street or neighbourhood, whereby they may be all thoroughly known

to each other, and their conduct be subject to the censorial check of all.

VI. Every person elected a member of this society shall, previous to his admission, take the following test; but, in order to diminish risk, it shall be taken in a separate apartment, in the presence of the persons who proposed and seconded him only, after which the new member shall be brought into the body of the society, and there vouched for by the same.

Test.—"In the awful presence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of *every* religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full and adequate representation of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards or punishments shall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies, for any act or expression of theirs, done or made, collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

VII. No person, though he shall have taken the test, will be considered as an United Irishman until he has contributed to the funds of the institution, or longer than he shall continue to pay such contribution.

VIII. No communication relating to the business of the institution shall be made to any United Irishman on any pretence whatever, except in his own society or committee, or by some member of his own society or committee.

IX. When the society shall amount to the number of twelve members it shall be equally divided by lot, (societies in country places to divide, as may best suit their local situation,) that is, the names of all the members shall be put into a hat or box, the secretary or treasurer shall draw out six individually, which six shall be considered the senior society, and the remaining six the junior, who shall apply to the baronial committee, through the delegates of the senior society, for a number. This mode shall be pursued until the whole neighbourhood is organized.

Order of business at meetings.—I. New members read declaration and test, during which subscriptions to be col-

lected.—II. Reports of committees received.—IV. Candidates ballotted for.—V. Candidates proposed.

Constitution of committees.—Baronial committees.—

I. When any barony or other district shall contain from four to ten societies, the secretaries of these shall constitute a lower baronial committee; they should not exceed ten, and be numbered in the order of their formation.

II. An upper baronial to consist of ten secretaries from ten lower baronials.

III. Baronial committees shall receive delegates from societies of a contiguous barony, provided said barony did not contain four societies.

County committees.—I. When any county shall contain four or more upper baronial committees, their secretaries shall assemble and choose deputies to form a county committee.

II. County committees shall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if said counties do not contain four baronial committees.

Provincial committees.—I. When two or more counties shall have county committees, two persons shall be elected by ballot from each, to form a provincial committee for three months.

II. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if such provinces do not contain two county committees.

National committee.—That when two provincial committees are formed, they shall elect five persons each, by ballot, to form a national committee.

Society's first meetings in November, February, May and August, to be on or before the 5th; baronial committees on or before the 8th; county committees on or before the 25th of the above months.

Baronial, county and provincial committees shall meet at least once in every month, and report to their constituents.

Names of committee men should not be known by any person but by those who elect them.

Test for secretaries of societies or committees.—"In the awful presence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that as long as I shall hold the office of secretary to this I will, to the utmost of my abilities, faithfully discharge the

duties thereof.—That all papers or documents received by me as secretary, I will in safety keep; I will not give any of them, or any copy or copies of them to any person or persons, members or others, but by a vote of this and that I will, at the expiration of my secretaryship, deliver up to this all such papers as may be then in my possession."

Recapitulation.—Societies to consist of not less than four, nor more than twelve, complete twelve; under baronials of not less than four secretaries of societies, nor more than ten, complete one hundred and twenty; upper baronials of not less than four baronial secretaries, nor more than ten, complete one thousand two hundred.

But an apparently fortunate change of men and measures, in the administration, nearly extinguished these revolutionary societies in their birth. The Duke of Portland and his friends entered into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's administration, under the idea that the general administration and management of Ireland should be vested in his grace. The superintendence of this country having been vested in the duke, he seems to have been seriously intent on remedying some of the vices in its government. The system of the government, he said, was execrable; so execrable as to threaten not only Ireland with the greatest misfortune, but ultimately the empire. So strong was this opinion on his mind, that he seemed determined on going himself to reform those manifold abuses; if he could not find some one in whom he might have the most unbounded confidence, to undertake the arduous task. Such a person he found in lord Fitzwilliam, his second self, his nearest and dearest friend. This nobleman was far from desirous of undertaking the

herculean office; but he was urgently pressed and persuaded by the duke of Portland. They both had connexions and political friends in Ireland, members of the opposition, whom they wished to consult on the future arrangements, and whose support lord Fitzwilliam conceived of indispensable importance. Mr. Grattan, Mr. William Ponsonby, Mr. Denis Bowes Daly, and other members of that party, were therefore invited to London. They had frequent consultations with the duke of Portland and lord Fitzwilliam, at which Mr. Edmund Burke also occasionally assisted.

These consultations lasted for some months; and when the opposition leaders had determined upon their project, it was communicated to the British cabinet, as containing the terms upon which they were willing to take a share in the Irish government. Mr. Pitt wished, and indeed tried to obtain, that some of those measures should be at least delayed in the execution for a season; but Mr. Grattan and his friends insisted that they should be brought forward the very first session, in order to give eclat to the commencement of their administration. In the propriety of this demand the duke of Portland uniformly concurred, and even Mr. Pitt himself, who had previously kept in the back ground, and avoided personal communication with lord Fitzwilliam's friends, was present at some of the latter interviews, and certainly did not prevent its being believed, that he acquiesced in those demands, with which it was impossible to doubt

his being acquainted. The members of opposition had no great experience of cabinets; they conceived, that they were entering into honourable engagements, in which every thing that was allowed to be understood, was equally binding with whatever was absolutely expressed. They rested satisfied that their stipulations were known and acceded to; they neglected to get them formally signed and ratified, or reduced to the shape of instructions from the British cabinet to the viceroy; they put them unsuspectingly in their pockets, and set off to become ministers in Ireland. Dr. Hussey too, an Irishman and a catholic ecclesiastic, who, it is said, had more than once been entrusted with important missions by English administrations, was sent over by the cabinet, to superintend and frame a plan for the education of the Irish clergy, in coincidence, it was supposed, with the other benefits intended for the members of that religion.

Mr. Grattan and his colleagues were scarcely arrived, when, finding that public expectation, particularly on the catholic question, had been awakened by the negotiations in England, and by lord Fitzwilliam's appointment, they determined to begin without delay the system of conciliation, for which, as they conceived, they had received sufficient authority. It was therefore communicated so early as the 15th of December, to some of the most active members of the late catholic committee, that lord Fitzwilliam had full powers to consent to the removal of all remaining disabilities; but that, as opposition to

that measure was naturally to be expected from the protestant ascendancy, it behoved the catholics to be active in their own cause, and to be prepared with petitions from all quarters. This intimation overcame a resolution formed by very many of that persuasion, that they would never again consent to meet as a distinct body. On the 23d, the former sub-committee, therefore, advised the catholics to petition in their different counties and districts, for the entire restoration of their rights.

On the 4th of January, 1793, lord Fitzwilliam took possession of the government of Ireland. The principal streets of the metropolis were illuminated on his arrival, and the public exultation, as he was understood to possess the inclination, and a plenitude of power to satisfy the wishes of the Irish nation, was unbounded. Addresses of affection and respect were framed in every corner of the kingdom; all descriptions of persons, all political and religious opinions, blended in one unanimous expression of reliance upon his excellency's virtues and the principles of his administration. Of these principles, then publicly known, the Irish Protestant Dissenters conveyed their approbation in the following address.

To his Excellency William, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ We beg leave, in the name, and by the appointment of his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland, to present our sincere congratulations to your Excellency on your safe arrival in this kingdom.—

While we approach your Excellency with peculiar satisfaction, as the approved friend of civil and religious liberty, and the inheritor of the virtues of your illustrious kinsman, the late Marquis of Rockingham, we cannot but deem your Excellency's appointment to the high station you now hold, a distinguished mark of his Majesty's paternal regard for the interests of this country.

"Deriving from our ancestors a high and sacred veneration for the principles of the glorious revolution, which placed the august house of Hanover on the throne of these kingdoms, we humbly trust that our conduct will on every occasion secure your Excellency's favourable representation of our affectionate and steady attachment to the person, family and government of our most gracious Sovereign.

Permit us to express our conviction, that your Excellency's administration will be directed by that enlightened wisdom, which cannot fail to promote the true dignity of his Majesty's crown, and your Excellency's highest honour, as inseparable from the real welfare, prosperity and happiness of Ireland."

The address of the catholics of the city of Dublin was presented with unusual pomp. A numerous and respectable assemblage of this description of his majesty's subjects, assembled at the Rotunda, and proceeded thence, in a train of carriages, led by the chairman of the late general committee, Edward Byrne, to the castle. The deputation was received in the most gracious manner, and the procession returned in the same order to the Rotunda.

To his Excellency William, Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

"May it please your Excellency,

"We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of the City of Dublin, beg leave to approach your Excellency with our most sincere and heart-felt congratu-

tion on your appointment to the high and important office of lord lieutenant of this kingdom.—We entreat your Excellency to believe, that it is with more than ordinary gratitude we receive this additional proof of the paternal goodness of our most gracious Sovereign, in deputing a Nobleman who, from his character, situation and talents, his intimate connexion with, and extensive property in this country, we entertain the most founded hopes, will strenuously and successfully promote the interests of Ireland—and our gratification is still heightened by the strong impression we feel, that those men will stand foremost in your Excellency's confidence, who have on all great occasions appeared the most powerful supporters of the interest of their country—and to whose exertions the Catholics of Ireland are so peculiarly indebted.

“Relieved, as we have been recently, from the pressure of many severe and degrading incapacities—we hope to manifest to your Excellency, that our gratitude is commensurate with the benefits we have received, of the value and extent of which we are deeply sensible—and we can, with confidence, assert, that when it shall seem good to the legislature to remove those disabilities which yet remain, our demeanour will be that of men worthy of receiving complete relief from a gracious and beneficent Monarch, and a liberal and enlightened legislature.

“We entreat your Excellency to receive our sincere professions of loyalty to our Sovereign, to whose paternal recommendation we feel so much indebted—and of inviolable attachment to the principles of our most excellent constitution, into whose bosom it is our utmost ambition to be admitted; and we trust that to your Excellency's administration is reserved the glory of completing the benevolent wish of the Father of his People, for the union of all his subjects in sentiment, interest and affection, by an abolition of all partial restrictions, founded only on religious distinction;—thereby insuring security and protection to the Catholics, and strength, honour and prosperity to Ireland.”

The eventful session of 1795 commenced on the 22d of January. The speech from the throne

distinctly, yet cautiously, alluded to the measures of his excellency's administration.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I earnestly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have constantly taken to cultivate all your domestic advantages in commerce, in manufactures, and in such public works as have appeared directed to promote those important objects. These are the true foundations of all public revenue and public strength. Your endeavours have had their fruit. The great staple manufacture of this kingdom has increased beyond the most sanguine expectations: an advantage principally owing to the constant superintendence and wise provisions of the parliament of Ireland; and, next to those, to the assured, liberal, and most merited encouragement which it receives in the rich and extensive market of Great Britain; a circumstance tending to cement the union, and to perfect the harmony which happily subsists, and, I trust, will subsist for ever, between the two kingdoms.

“ Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration the state of education in this kingdom, which, in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may require some new arrangement. Considerable advantages have been already derived, under the wise regulations of parliament, from the Protestant Charter Schools, and these will, as usual, claim your attention: but as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, it is hoped, that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it in the manner most beneficial, and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose his Majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland.

“ We are engaged in an arduous contest. The time calls not only for great fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. You are engaged with a power, which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has assumed a new shape; but, with the same ambition, with much more exten-

sive and systematic designs, far more effective, and, without comparison, more dreadful in the certain consequences of its eventual success, it threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe. An enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animosity against these kingdoms, not only as the natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but also, because by the possession of a legal, humane and rational freedom, we seem to reproach that false and spurious liberty, which, in reality, is an ignominious servitude, tending to extinguish all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, disorder and ferocious manners, and to end in wretchedness and general desolation.

“To guard his people from the enterprises of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the protection of all civilized society against the inroad of anarchy, his Majesty has availed himself of every rational aid, foreign and domestic; he has called upon the skill, courage and experience of all his subjects, wheresoever dispersed, and you must be duly sensible, in such a crisis as the present, which rarely occurs in the course of human affairs, of the advantage of his Majesty’s thus endeavouring to profit of the united strength and zeal of every description of his subjects.

“I have to assure you of his Majesty’s most chearful concurrence in every measure which your wisdom and comprehensive patriotism shall point out for this salutary purpose.

“On my part you shall find me, from principle and from inclination, thoroughly disposed to concur with his Majesty’s paternal wishes, and with the wise measures of his parliament. On a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct suitable to that sentiment, I wish to found my own personal estimation, and my reputation in the execution of the great trust, committed by the most beneficent of sovereigns to my care.”

The address was moved by Mr. Grattan, who after recommending with the greatest energy, the most ample support of Great Britain, in a vigorous prosecution of the war, against the principles and power of France, returns to the

state of Ireland. "To be attached to Great Britain is of no avail, unless you are also attached to one another; external energy must arise from internal union, and without that your attachment to England, and your allegiance to the king, though extremely honourable, would be entirely useless.

"His majesty, therefore, in the second part of his speech, recommends national harmony; he bids perpetual peace to all your animosities; he touches with the sceptre those troubled waters, which have long shattered the weary bark of your country, under her various and false pilots, for ages of insane persecution and impious theology; it is a continuation of that pious and profound recommendation, which enlightened the speech of 1793, when the olive descended from the throne; on the experiment of that advice, he congratulated the liberality of parliament; he spreads his parental wing over all his children, discerning with parental affection and a father's eye, in the variety of their features, the fidelity of their resemblance; he therefore overrules the jingling jargon which disgraces your understanding, and that poverty of pride which is vain of mutual degradation, and creates a real poverty of condition; and he calls forth all the public and private energies of all his people, neither resting his throne on the monopoly of allegiance, no more than he rested your fortunes on the monopoly of commerce. That mildness with which his majesty governs his people, his excellency recommends as a mode to them which

they should observe to one another; certain, that attachment to his majesty never approaches the throne with so much effect or dignity as when accompanied by an attachment to themselves, and a union among one another, founded on a common interest, a free and proud condition; under a reign, whose glory it has been to give to his subjects in this country, privileges and protection. In the same mildness, his excellency enters into the spirit of the legislature, in its act of liberality; and teaches you to expect, that, in the administration of the government, he will second the bountiful intention of the laws, the spirit in which they were made, and the liberality in which they were recommended; these recommendations are accompanied by a certain stile of love, and tone of graciousness, coming as it were from a breast too just to injure, and manners too high to insult.

“ The union of all the property of the country in support of the laws, and all the talents in support of the property, with measures to redress and to unite, accompanied with a graciousness of manner to the subject, that he may feel not only a privilege under the government, but a pride in the condition of being a subject; another pledge of his allegiance, is an experiment worthy of a wise government, whose primary object is your prosperity, and whose secondary object is your love; a government, looking in its arrangement of measures for the constitution, a solid strength, and for itself an honest power, to administer the country according to its confidence in pursuit of

its advantages, with a spirit too high for resentment, and alike superior to plunder or proscription."

This speech of Mr. Grattan's clearly unfolds the principles of his excellency's administration, of which the emancipation of the catholics formed the leading feature. The address to his majesty, though opposed by lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Duquery, who condemned the war, was carried without a division; as was also the address to the lord lieutenant, proposed by Mr. Connolly.

Two days after the opening of parliament, Mr. Grattan presented the petition of the Catholics of the City of Dublin. It stated, that, in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious and paternal recommendation of the situation of his catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of his parliament, which was, in the course of the session of 1793, pleased to remove many of the disabilities, pains and penalties, under which the Catholics of Ireland had so long laboured, by a repeal of divers severe and oppressive laws, peculiarly affecting that body; that while the petitioners feel the deepest and most lively sense of the wisdom and goodness of parliament, manifested in the repeal of the said penal and restrictive statutes, they cannot, in justice to themselves, refrain from most humbly submitting, that the Catholics of Ireland have been, and still are, in a number and variety of instances, prevented from enjoying the full benefits of the constitution of their country, by the existence of certain disabilities and restraints,

which the petitioners do now, with all humility and deference, presume to hope, on every principle, as well of expediency as of justice, it will no longer be thought necessary to retain; that the petitioners do most humbly presume to suggest to the wisdom of the house, that the most effectual mode to unite in sentiment all his Majesty's subjects of Ireland in support of our most excellent constitution, agreeably to his gracious and paternal wish, will be to extend to them its blessings, by the abolition of those incapacities and disqualifications, of which the petitioners presume most humbly to complain; and therefore praying the house, taking the situation of the petitioners into consideration, their loyalty to their Sovereign, their respect to the legislature, and dutiful and obedient submission to the laws, may be pleased to restore them to a full enjoyment of the blessings of our most excellent constitution, by a repeal of all the penal and restrictive laws now affecting the Catholics of Ireland.

Petitions from every distinct body of catholics throughout the kingdom, were soon after presented, praying the adoption of this measure, to which no serious opposition was expected. Parliament seemed at length ready to render justice with an unsparing hand; the protestants no where raised a murmur of dissatisfaction, and a petition in favour of this expected liberality was once more presented by the indefatigable town of Belfast.

The important business of supply soon engaged the attention of parliament. On the motion of Mr. Grattan, £200,000 were voted for the pur-

pose of raising men in this kingdom, for the purpose of manning the navy: the military establishment was also raised to 41,000 men, regulars and militia. The grants for these purposes received the unanimous concurrence of parliament, and were cheerfully acquiesced in by the nation, confident of the attainment of the measures to which administration stood pledged.

These measures, indeed, Sir Lawrence Parsons, on the opening of the budget, the 9th of February, wished to be particularly specified. After expressing the highest confidence in the noble lord at the head of the government of the country, and in the administration who aided his councils, there was a degree of confidence, he said, which he could not, as a representative of the people, place in any administration. As such it was certainly his duty to know on what ground he was to vote away very large sums of the people's money; what measures were to be adopted for the improvement of the constitution, when he was told what supplies would be necessary. It was with the utmost respect that he therefore entreated of gentlemen in the confidence of government, according to the ancient usage of parliament, that redress of grievance and the supply should go hand in hand, to state what measures they intended to bring forward for the melioration of the constitution. Are they determined, he asked, to persevere in that system, and those principles, which they year after year had inculcated on the country? will they give those particular measures which they have so often recommended?

We have been asked by the Hon. Baronet, replied Mr. Grattan, whether the principles which we professed when not in the confidence of government will be the ruling principles of our councils now? To that question I answer explicitly for myself, and for those with whom I act, they certainly are. But the first principle is the defence of the country, and to that all others must be postponed. This answer not appearing sufficiently specific, Sir Lawrence thought it his duty to call for a public declaration, whether the measures they had supported when out of office they would promote now that they are in? He would be glad to know, for instance, whether the convention-bill would be repealed? whether the reform-bill would be brought forward? He wished to know whether any reduction of the expences of the country was to take place? whether all places, granted within a certain period, and which it had been often said were created but for purposes of corruption, were now to cease? He would be very happy to know too, whether the trade of the two countries was to be put exactly upon the same footing, and whether the revenue-officer's bill was now to be proposed. He wished to hear whether these specific measures were now to be given, that, as a representative of the people, he might be able to announce some remuneration for the great sums which were to be levied on them. Mr. Grattan, having consulted his colleagues, observed, that it would be a very unfounded presumption for gentlemen to suppose that nothing was to be given to the country; but

he submitted whether it would be right, at this moment, to give a detail of every bill which was meant to be proposed? It would be, in his mind, not only premature and unnecessary, but, in a certain degree, presumptuous, to say that such and such measures should be given; as it would imply that ministers possess an influence over that house which no minister should dare avow. The question was, however, fair, so far as it was general; and in answer to it he again declared, and he was authorised by the gentlemen around him to declare, that the principles which the gentlemen in administration had entertained when they were not in office, they adhered to in their present situation, and that they would do every thing in their power to carry them into effect. In a subsequent part of the debate, Mr. W. B. Ponsonby, (who had introduced the reform bill the year before,) said, he held it right to notice some expressions that had been thrown out in the course of the night, in order to sound whether the gentlemen who possessed the confidence of administration, were determined to persevere in the same line of conduct which they observed while out of office, and to endeavour for a redress of grievances. For his own part, he believed and trusted they would go as far as possible to reform abuses, to obviate popular complaints; and he should only say, that if not convinced that they were of the same sentiments with himself, they should never have his support.

On the same day, the 9th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer made his annual

financial statement. The income of the country he stated to have considerably increased; yet he was sorry it was still found necessary to recur to the liberality of the country for a very large sum. The circumstances of the times, and of Europe, would, he hoped, justify the demand. Having stated the increased expences, he proceeded to show, at one view, the whole of the expenditure, and the revenue of the year, by which it appeared, that £1,600,000 should be raised by loan, exclusive of a lottery.

Mr. Duquery animadverted on this statement. The chancellor of the exchequer now tells the house, he said, that it is a striking mark of thriving, that the country is obliged to get annually £1,500,000 in debt; for under this glowing sun of prosperity, which now enlightens and enlivens this happy country, this sum, the chancellor of the exchequer tells the house, it is necessary to borrow! But the manner in which this sum is to be borrowed most happily illustrates the prosperity of Ireland. England is to be called on for £1,100,000, while rich and prosperous Ireland is able only to lend herself £400,000. Going on at this rate we must become amazingly prosperous, indeed; like a salamander, we must live in the midst of fire. To come to a true knowledge of the real state of Ireland, he would ask a simple question: have the revenues of Ireland for March 94, been equal to those of March 93? He would answer for it, they were not. Every man who knew business knew that the Custom-house quay was a parade; that the

Custom-house itself was but for show; a monument of Irish folly and corruption. So far were the revenues of 94 being equal to those of 93, that the difference was not less than £78,000. The military establishment of the country, six years ago, was less by some hundred thousands of pounds than the establishment of this year, which was £800,000. How was the debt of the country in the year 1791? It was £2,231,000. In 93, it amounted to £2,344,000! There is another proof of the growing prosperity of the country! Taking all those proofs of prosperity, they amount to this, that as your establishments increase, your incomes diminish, and your debt accumulates; you become a great and a happy nation, and are raising yourselves to a proud eminence! It was, he said, to this practice of getting in debt, that all the wars in which Britain has engaged since the reign of Anne, may be attributed; and, though it has been so long the fashion, yet Ireland is the only country that has been obliged to travel from among its own people to borrow: but Ireland now is obliged to send her chancellor of the exchequer, with his knapsack upon his back, like a mower, to bring home wherewith to support herself. We are, indeed, said Mr. Duquery, in a situation from which we cannot extricate ourselves; but if we must support the contest in which we are engaged, let us at least see our situation in its true light; and let us not believe that we are advancing towards prosperity, while we are hurrying headlong to ruin. All our funds are fallen; it cannot be

helped; I agree in the necessity of our situation; but if it must be borne, let us not tell the people that we are growing like a flower in a hot-house; tell them rather, that when they give the sum you call for, they are giving their last shilling; that they are sinking, and that years will not bring them up."

Three days after Mr. Grattan proceeded to carry into effect the expected measures. Leave was given to bring in a bill for repealing the police laws, which were extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants of Dublin. He also obtained leave to bring in the catholic bill, which was resisted only by Dr. Duigenan, Mr. Ogle, and colonel Blaquiere. On the same night, in pursuance of the same plan, it was announced by the chancellor of the exchequer, that a new arrangement would be made of the duties on beer and spirits; in order to restrain the abuse of spirituous liquors, and substitute a wholesome and nourishing beverage for a liquid poison. He also stated, that a new arrangement of the hearth-tax would form a part of the financial system, for the purpose of exempting, absolutely and unconditionally, all houses having but one hearth. On a day or two after, Mr. Boyd brought in a bill for the better regulation of juries.

On the 23d of February, the new administration brought forward their proposed regulations of the treasury board. Lord Milton obtained leave to introduce a bill on that subject, founded on some resolutions proposed by Mr. Forbes, the scope of which was, to give to the Irish board

an equally efficient controul with that possessed by the board of treasury in England; to compel the payment of balances by public officers; to exclude the commissioners of the treasury from sitting in parliament; to establish, in correspondent officers, the mutual checks and controul with which the auditor, clerk of the rolls, and teller of the exchequer in England are vested; and that all money arising from the receipt of the revenues should be paid into the bank of Ireland. On the following day Mr. Grattan suggested the propriety of revising the revenue laws, and bringing the whole code within the compass of one consistent act.

The supplies to an unprecedented amount being voted, and the Irish parliament exhibited in the leading-strings of the British minister, the political parties in the legislature also completely committed, and the breach widened between the adverse partizans of ascendancy and emancipation, the last act of this political plot was performed; Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled, and the great measure of catholic emancipation rejected. This conduct of the heaven-born minister, and its consequences, was ably exposed in the commons, when Sir Laurence Parsons vainly attempted to limit the duration of the money bills on the 2d of March. He said, he rose unconnected with any body of men, to submit his ideas on the situation of the country, and of the measures that ought in that situation to be adopted. He might not please all parties, nor any party; but he would rest satisfied with having discharged his duty,

convinced as he was, in his own conscience, that he was doing right.

The state of the kingdom was most alarming. The people, under the auspices of their old friends, had been taught to expect measures, which, he feared, would very shortly be resisted. How far his apprehensions were founded, the gentlemen opposite to him (the treasury-bench) were better able to explain; but if the hopes of the nation were blasted, he could not, without sensations of the greatest horror, look to the consequences. He had always the highest respect for the revered nobleman at the head of the government, and the firmest reliance on the gentlemen he had called to his councils. He never doubted of their sincerity; but he had universally entertained doubts of the sincerity of the British cabinet, and concluded that administration would not have it in their power to do all the good that they intended. The first objection, he was aware, that would be made to his motion was, that it would go to limit the supplies; and, of course, shake not only all the establishments of the state, but our system of defence. He anticipated the argument, in order to disprove the consequences. In 1779 the same measure had been taken by the house of commons. No injury arose from it; on the contrary, public credit experienced new life. In 1783 a similar occasion called for a similar remedy; and then again so far from the discontent and jargon that were employed to deter the constitutional check of the house upon the evil advisers of the crown having foundation, the

credit of Ireland arrived at a pitch which it had never known before. With these two experiments in favour of a short money bill, he hoped that no one would assert, that resorting to that alternative in the present eventful moment, would have an ill effect upon public credit. Upon what does public credit depend? Upon the confidence of the people in the parliament. And upon what does that confidence depend? Upon the character of parliament—upon their disdain-
ing to be the servile tools of every British minister, who may one day put forward one set of men and one set of measures, and the next other men and other measures, and oblige you to go through the business of supporting all. This assembly, if it assents to such dictation, will be the most degraded and debased that has ever yet claimed to be the representatives of the people. Public credit was not, in any degree, affected by the length of the grant, unless the wicked advisers of the crown meant to deal unfairly by both people and parliament. For no one would suppose, that at the expiration of the time, the quantum for the year having been voted, that the house would not renew the duties for such time as they should judge expedient. What then could they effect by a short money bill, unless that they might secure the sitting of parliament, without injuring the security of the lender of money. Another objection might be, that the house was pledged to the supply; it was true, that they were pledged in a certain degree, but to no power on earth were they pledged to make

a grant for twelve months. He had, indeed, himself stated, when the grant was proposed, that the constitutional practice ought to be kept in view, and that the grant of supplies and the redress of grievances ought to go hand in hand. His intention was, to have proposed certain measures, which nothing but his implicit confidence in the integrity of administration prevented.

If it should be said, that the supply having been once granted, he was too late; he would answer, then all the forms of parliament were nonsense, and never intended as checks upon rashness and precipitation. The contract had been broken on one side, and he could not see, therefore, in justice, why it might not be departed from in the other. It was repugnant to common sense to suppose the contrary; or, that in the private dealings of life, a man was bound to fulfil his part of an engagement when the person with whom he had dealings shrunk from what might be understood to be the terms. But the great object of the motion which he meant to make was, to calm the public mind; to give the people an assurance, that the measures which were proposed would not be abandoned; that parliament would keep the means in their hands till they were accomplished; and, that they would not be prorogued until they were fairly and fully discussed. He did not pretend to say specifically what these measures were. The first he believed to be the catholic bill; and if a resistance to any one measure more than another was likely to promote dreadful consequences, it was this. He

said nothing as to the original propriety of the measure, but this much he would say, that if the Irish administration had countenanced the catholics in this expectation, without the concurrence of the British cabinet, they had much to answer for. On the other hand, if the British cabinet had held out an assent, and had afterwards retracted, if the demon of darkness should come from the infernal regions upon earth, and throw a fire-brand among the people, he could not do more to promote mischief. The hopes of the public were raised, and in one instant they were blasted. If the house did not resent that insult to the nation and to themselves, they would, in his mind, be most contemptible; for although a majority of the people might submit to have their rights withheld, they would never submit to be mocked in so barefaced a manner. The case was not as formerly, when all the parliament of Ireland was against the catholics, and to back them the force of England. Now, although the claim of the catholics was well known and understood, not one petition controverting it had been presented from protestants in any part of Ireland. No remonstrance appeared; no county meeting had been held. What was to be inferred from all this, but that the sentiments of the protestants were for the emancipation of the catholics? A meeting was held on Saturday last, of the merchants and traders of the metropolis, at the Royal Exchange, which was as numerous attended as the limits of that building would admit. The governor of the bank of Ireland was

in the chair. An address was resolved on to his excellency, Earl Fitzwilliam, full of affection; and resolutions, strong as they could be, in countenance of the catholic claims. He would ask them, was the British minister to controul all the interest, talents, and inclinations in this country? He protested to God, that in all the history he had read, he had never met with a parallel of such ominous infatuation as that by which he appeared to be led. Let him persevere, and you must increase your army to myriads; every man must have five or six dragoons in his house. The horror of the calamity——Mr. Marcus Beresford moved, that the gallery be cleared.

After a short pause, Sir Laurence resumed, and declared he would speak no longer on the catholic question. He then proceeded to the other objects in contemplation, and attempted to persuade the house to take measures to secure their accomplishment. What will you say, said he, to your constituents? You have voted additional taxes, to the amount of £250,000 a year, and what did you get? Nothing. We have been duped, and we cannot tell by whom. He concluded by moving, “that the words in the money-bill, the 25th of March 1796, be expunged, and the words, 25th of May 1795, be inserted in their room.” Mr. Tighe, jun. seconded the motion. After a long debate this was rejected. They, however, resolved, that his excellency had merited the thanks of the house, and the confidence of the people.

The commencement, conduct, and fatal termination of this administration, were soon disclosed by the letters of earl Fitzwilliam to the earl of Carlisle. In these his lordship states, that the catholic question was not the cause of his recal; and that in the whole proceedings relative to it, he acted agreeable to the original outline settled with his majesty's ministers, previous to his departure from London. Being decidedly of opinion, says this enlightened statesman, that the catholics should be removed from every remaining disqualification; an opinion in which the duke of Portland concurred; I found the cabinet, with Mr. Pitt at their head, strongly impressed with the same conviction. Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government. I then proposed that the additional indulgences should be offered from the throne. This was objected to, and it was agreed that the catholic question should not be brought forward by government; but, that should it be pressed by the catholics, lord Fitzwilliam should support it. This the catholics did; and the British ministers were made acquainted with the opinion of lord Fitzwilliam, that the measure of catholic emancipation ought no longer to be deferred, in a fortnight after his arrival. The regular correspondence was continued, in which the dismissals and appointments of the viceroy were discussed; though the catholic question was not glanced at. But after leave was given for bringing in the bill for the relief of the catholics, "came a letter from the secretary of state, touching at length

on this important subject, and bringing it, for the first time, into play, as a question of any doubt or difficulty with the British cabinet: then, as if the question had been started for the first moment between us, as if it never had been the subject of any former consultation, plan, or arrangement whatever, he writes, of enabling the king's ministers to form their judgment, as to the policy, expediency, safety and necessity of that measure: then, as if he had never before heard from me on the subject, he cautions against committing myself by engagements, or even by encouraging language, (so minute is his grace) to give my countenance to the immediate adoption of this measure. Then, for the first time, it appears to have been discovered, that the deferring it would be not merely an expediency, or a thing to be desired for the present, but "the means of doing a greater service to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least since the union." All former opinions, all former discussions, all former agreements, the leading principle of our being all convinced of the necessity, as well as fitness of the measure taking place at no distant period, of which I reminded the ministers in my letter of the 15th of January, all were forgotten; and he feels it his duty, for the first time, in consequence of the discussion in the cabinet the day before, to exhort me to use those efforts which I had expressed an intention of trying; efforts, of the efficacy of which I had expressed the strongest doubts, on the 8th of January, when I first men-

tioned my intention of trying them; efforts, every hope from which I had relinquished on the 15th, when I warned them of the necessity of immediately giving way, when I earnestly called upon them for peremptory instructions, which if I should not receive I should acquiesce. Efforts, which they knew from the whole series of my correspondence, it was impossible ever to attempt, without evident and certain danger.”*

His excellency immediately wrote to the duke of Portland, expressing his surprise, that, after such an interval, when the various details were transmitted to him, advising him of the hourly necessity of bringing forward the catholic question, and the impolicy and danger of resisting it, he should now be pressed, for the first time, to defer the question till some future occasion. He refused to be the person to run the risk of such a determination; he refused to be the person to raise a flame in the country, that nothing short of arms could be able to extinguish. This was accompanied by a letter to Mr. Pitt, containing a justification of his dismissals, which concluded with his determination to persist in them, and left to Mr. Pitt a choice between his excellency and Mr. Beresford. Shortly afterwards, he received two official letters from the duke of Portland, entering into a detail of the catholic question, and a private letter of his own, in which his grace dwelt particularly on the necessity of information on this measure, and a detailed plan

* Letter to Lord Carlisle.

of all the advantages intended to be conceded to the catholics. He further observed, "that if the consideration of this great question could be deferred till peace was established, he should have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other supposeable cause;" but, he added, "that it was surely going too far, to infer from any thing that he said, that I was desired to undertake the task of deferring it to that period. If the cabinet were to accede, what they desired was, to be justified in that accession by a free and impartial investigation of facts, of circumstances and of opinions; among which, as of reason, mine would have the most decisive weight; and as I had expressed a wish to have the mode considered in England, whilst it was still within my reach to have it limited or modified, before the bill was introduced, and before the plan was known to the catholics, he wished to have this plan and the heads of the bill transmitted for consideration."

At the moment of his writing this letter, there was not a fact, a circumstance, or an opinion, that could be transmitted to him, of which his grace was not in possession. He had acknowledged, and frequently referred to his excellency's letter of the 10th of February, in which the plan, wherein every thing that regarded the constitution, the ecclesiastical establishment, and the settlement of property was stated. He had the prime's opinion on some ideas that his grace had suggested; and still more ample details were im-

mediately forwarded; but for these details, which were to have the most decisive weight, no delay was made. A cabinet meeting decided that the lord lieutenant should be recalled; and this decision the duke of Portland was made the instrument of communicating.

To the catholic question, however, earl Fitzwilliam by no means attributed his recal; for, did it require, he says, that this letter should be accompanied, as it was by one from Mr. Pitt, of the same date, accepting, in fact, the alternative I proposed to him, (the dismissal of the Beresford party, or his recal,) declaring himself prepared for the worst, however he might lament it. "It is true, indeed, that for the very first time, he mentions the catholic business, and declares his concurrence in the general desire of the cabinet, to prevent any further progress being made in Mr. Grattan's bill, till they should receive and consider the information which they thought it their duty to call for; but by the desertion of all my friends, and by the prospect of my falling alone, Mr. Pitt was prepared to throw out this, as a matter on which to amuse his colleagues for the moment, and the public at a future period; while to myself, without allowing a moment's further deliberation, he boldly and peremptorily pronounces on what I had determined to be the point to decide on my government. On the subject of arrangements, he felt bound to adhere to these sentiments, not only with respect to Mr. Beresford, but to the line of conduct adopted in so many instances towards the former sup-

porters of government; by these sentiments, he must, at all events, be guided, from a regard to the king's service, and to his own honor, however sincerely he might lament the consequences which must arise from the present situation."

The recal of this nobleman was no sooner credited, than an universal despondency seized the nation. Meetings were held throughout the kingdom, in order, if possible, to avert the national calamity. The freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, agreed to petition the king, and transmitted it by delegates; the catholics of Dublin did the same. The merchants and traders also, with Mr. Abraham Wilkinson, the then governor of the Bank of Ireland, at their head, expressed their sorrow at the unfortunate event, and their entire concurrence in the removal of all religious disabilities. These remonstrances being too voluminous for insertion, the following may serve as a specimen of the popular feeling on this ominous occasion.

Address of the Catholics of Dublin to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, on the 27th of February, 1795.

Sir,

We are instructed by the Catholics of Dublin, to offer you their humble tribute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent services you have rendered to this kingdom, on various occasions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cause. It is not easy to do justice to the merits of a man, whose name is connected with the most brilliant events of his time; and who has already obtained the highest of all titles, the Deliverer of his Country. But, though it is impossible to add to your fame, by any terms we can employ, it must be grateful to you to learn, that you have a place,

not only in the admiration, but in the affection of your countrymen.

To be thus loved and admired, is surely an enviable distinction. It may not, perhaps, be sufficient to preserve or purchase station and power, at court, but, to a well-formed mind, it is a source of purer satisfaction, than the favour and protection even of monarchs or their ministers.

Few men have had it in their power to do so much for their native land, as you have done for Ireland. When you first entered into public life, garrison habits, and provincial prejudices, were opposed to Irish interests and feelings; and, what was still more discouraging, the different descriptions of people in this country, far from being ready to meet in a common point for their mutual advantage, were kept asunder by perverse and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into this chaos of contradictions, you infused your spirit, and brought order, in some measure, out of confusion.

The first effort of your eloquence was, to rouse the Irish parliament to assert its own independence; and, notwithstanding the habits of subjection which particular causes had induced, you were successful.

At present, you are engaged in a pursuit, equally honourable to your head, and still more to your heart. As mover of the Catholic bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of moderation and justice, where you before inspired courage; and urging men who triumphed over foreign supremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and difficulty, a sacrifice of the prejudices of their youth and education.

In this work, so full of genius and public spirit, and which goes to the creation of a people, as your former exertions went to the forming of a constitution, you have already made considerable progress; and when you and your illustrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous viceroy, we looked with confidence to the accomplishment of your patriotic intentions.

Some enemy, however, to the king and the people, has interposed his malignant and wicked suggestions, and endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we are far from giving way to sentiments of despondency and alarm. We feel the justice of our pretensions,

and we are persuaded, that what is just will prevail over the arts of perfidy and falsehood.

What gives us the most sensible satisfaction is, the general union of sentiment that pervades all ranks and descriptions of Irishmen on the present occasion. Never before did Ireland speak with a voice so unanimous. Protestants and Catholics are at this moment united, and seem to have no other contest, but who shall resent most the outrage that has been offered to Irish pride, in the intended removal of a patriotic viceroy from the government, and you and your friends from the councils of this kingdom.

For our own part, it shall be our study to cultivate an union so happily begun. We have no selfish or narrow views: we do not wish to acquire privileges for ourselves, in order to abridge the privileges of others; for we know, that in matters of liberty and constitution, to give is to gain.

With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the situations which you and your friends are about to lay down, if, unfortunately for this country, such an event should happen, we shall only say, that we do not envy them the sensations which they must take up at the same time. That man's temper must be of steel, who can hold up his head amidst the hisses of a betrayed and irritated nation.

As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not disturb the serenity of your minds. The veneration and gratitude of the people will attend you in retirement, and will preserve you from reflections, which must be the portion of those who may be your dismal and melancholy successors.

THOMAS BRAUGHALL, Chairman,
JOHN SWEETMAN, Secretary.

To which Mr. Grattan returned the following answer:

Gentlemen,

In supporting you I support the Protestant; we have but one interest and one honour, and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Protestant already begins to perceive it; a late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country from the folly of religious schism to the recol-

lection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. Your emancipation will pass—rely on it, your emancipation must pass—it may be death to one viceroy; it will be the peace-offering of another, and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves, while you are fighting to preserve the blessings of a constitution, have really and bona fide those blessings.

My wish is, that you should be free *now*. There is no other policy that is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power, with which, for a moment, I was supposed to have been possessed.

When his Majesty's ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet, I hope, with the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to public advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition. Measures, therefore, public measures and arrangements, and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us, were promised in one quarter, and, with assurances, they were not resisted in another.

In the service of government, under his excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the kingdom and the empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws, the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great supply, with the consent and confidence of the people. These were not the measures of courtiers; they were the measures of ministers.

His excellency Lord Fitzwilliam may boast, that he offered

to the empire the affections of millions; a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the British cabinet; but if services done to Ireland are crimes, which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospect for both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of government as the only honour an English minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom. His firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution. If he is to retire, I condole with my country; for myself, on that occasion the pangs I should feel on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those *dreadful* guardians, who are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old task-masters; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice: should such a combination, (at once inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British court, and by the reprobation of the Irish people,) return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that *they will extinguish Ireland, or Ireland must remove them*. It is not your case only, but that of the nation; I find the country already committed in the struggle; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issue of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and faith in some quarter of another country that would have prevented such catastrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wisdom, to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident, with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or

fall with the British nation, it is, I say, no proof of wisdom nor generosity to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Pitt's scheme for a union was discerned at this time from the printed correspondence between Earls Fitzwilliam and Carlisle. The catholics of Dublin, at a meeting held in Francis-street chapel, on the 9th of April, to receive the report of the delegates who presented their address to his Majesty, lamented the recal of their favourite viceroy, and loudly protested against the projected union. A passage from the correspondence above alluded to being read, to the following effect: "Then, for the first time, it appears to have been discerned, that the deferring the catholic question would be, not merely an expedient, or a thing to be desired for the present, but the means of doing a greater service to the British empire than it has been capable of receiving since the Revolution, or at least since the Union!" And also another passage, "That if the consideration of this question could be deferred until the peace was established, his Grace should have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages, which, perhaps, are not to be hoped for in any other supposeable case." It appearing that those expressions, supposed to be those of a personage in a high official station, can admit of no import or meaning, other than that of a meditated Union between this country and Great Britain:

Resolved unanimously, That we are sincerely

and unalterably attached to the rights, liberties, and independence of our native country; and we pledge ourselves, collectively and individually to resist, even our own emancipation, if proposed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquiescence in the fatal measure of an Union with the sister kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That while we make this undisguised declaration of our sentiments, in order to satisfy the public mind, we are of opinion, that a measure so full of violence and ruin will never be hazarded; convinced as we are, that no set of men will arrogate to themselves a power which is contrary to the ends and purposes of all governments, a power to surrender the liberties of their country, and to seal the slavery of future generations.

This meeting of the catholics was attended with a remarkable circumstance, peculiarly characteristic of the public feeling. Addresses of congratulation are invariably presented to every viceroy, on his arrival, by the university of Dublin. This day was appointed for presenting that to lord Camden. When the procession had reached the Castle gate, the students, with one consent, broke off, leaving the provost and fellows to make what appearance before his excellency they might think fit, and turned into a coffee-house, where they prepared the following address to Mr. Grattan. This they presented directly, and then repaired in a body to Francis-street chapel. They entered while Mr. Keogh was speaking, who instantly seized the incident,

and hallowed the omen. They were received with the most marked respect and affection, the catholics taking that opportunity of showing, that the language of union and brotherly love, which they were uttering, only expressed the sentiment nearest their hearts.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

We, the Students of the University of Dublin, entering with the warmest sympathy into the universal feeling and interest of our countrymen, beg leave to unite our voice with theirs in declaring our admiration of your great and uncommon talents, and a reliance on your steady patriotism and unshaken integrity. We have with sorrow beheld the removal of a beloved viceroy, whose arrival we regarded as the promise of public reform, and his presence the pledge of general tranquillity.

If this event should be accompanied (as we have reason to apprehend) by your removal from his majesty's councils in this kingdom, our regret will have received the last additional circumstance of aggravation, and our despondency will be complete. Relying, however, on the wisdom and benignity of his majesty, we yet entertain a hope, that the nation will not be deprived of the salutary measures flowing from your councils and advice, and that the harmony and strength of Ireland will be founded on the solid basis of Catholic emancipation, and the reform of those grievances which have inflamed public indignation.

We therefore intreat you to persevere in exerting the full energy of your splendid talents for the attainment of those objects, which the present alarming posture of affairs, and the consenting wishes of the nation, so loudly demand.

THOMAS MOOR, Chairman.

W. H. ELLIS, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Ingenuous young Men, for this effusion of the heart I owe you more than ordinary gratitude, and am proud to sympathize in your native, honest, and unadulterated impressions.

I receive your address as the offering of the young year, better garland than the artificial honours of a court: it is the work of disinterested hands, and the present of uncontaminated hearts. May that ardour, which glows in your breasts, long exist, and may the sentiments, which you breathe, long prevail; they are founded in principle, enlightened by letters, and supported by spirit.

The subjects which you mention and recommend I feel and shall pursue.

I lament the recal of a patriot viceroy. Assisted by men much abler than myself, the reform of that system you condemn, I shall not fail to attempt, bound, as I now am, to the rising as well as the passing age, and happy as I shall be, to go on in the service of both.

I join in your fullest wishes for the Catholics, and I feel the important service, which you now render them, by marking in their favour the sentiments of the rising generation, doing, at the same time, so much honour to yourselves, when you give, I had almost said, your first vote in favour of your country.

I am bound to your university by every tie of affection and duty. The sentiments of your address give me a new and just opportunity of saying to her, through you, "*Esto Perpetua*," thou seat of science, and mother of virtue.

I am, with the sincerest regard,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

On the 25th of March lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland, when the grief and indignation of the people were most strongly marked. It was a day of general gloom: the shops were shut, and the whole city in mourning. The lord-primate and the lord chancellor were sworn lords-justices, and held the reins of government till the 31st, when earl Camden arrived, and assumed the vice-regency.

The contrast that soon after appeared in the

public papers, between the administrations of lords Westmoreland and Fitzwilliam, are interesting, inasmuch as they lead to the detection of Pitt's treacherous duplicity.

Lord Westmoreland's administration.—Session 1st. Sale of peerages; creation of fourteen new parliamentary places to buy the members. Attack on the rights of the corporation of Dublin. Protection to the abuses of the police. Rejection of place bill, pension bill, responsibility bill, and revenue officers bill.

Session 2d. Evasion of plan proposed to encourage the brewery, and discourage the excessive use of spirits. Resistance to an East India trade. Protection of the abuses of the police. A rejection of the above bill, and defence of fiats.

Session 3d. Rejection of the catholic petition. Instruction to the grand juries to enter into resolutions against the catholic franchise. Defence of the abuses of police, and rejection of the above bills.

Session 4th. Gunpowder bill, convention bill, and protection of the abuses of the police. On the other hand, the pension bill, and, in an imperfect shape, the place bill of the opposition at last adopted; together with another measure of the opposition, a relief, but a partial one, to the catholics. The East India trade given up for a more ample possession of the West. All the regular army sent out of the kingdom. A Treasury board established in expence, but not in power nor utility.

Session 5th. Recommendation to the bishop of

Cloyne to the provost, who was to have been also bishop of Ossory, and to have had two boroughs for the use of government. Plundered of every great reversion in the country. Breach of law by the illegal expenditure of money without account or authority. Leaving the country without an army or arms; and that most scandalous and swindling business, the new regiments.

Lord Fitzwilliam's administration of six weeks. Hearth-money taken off the poor. Excise taken off the beer and ale. All restrictions, pains and penalties, taken off the trade of a brewer. Check given to the excessive use of spirituous liquors. Responsibility in the expenditure of public money established. Abuses of the police abolished. Inquiry into the expences of collecting the revenue permitted. Forty-three thousand men proposed for the defence of the kingdom. Roman catholic emancipation propounded. The oppressive office of first commissioner of the revenue abolished. The primacy rescued from a monopolizing brood of jobbers, and given to learning and piety. The college rescued from a stranger, an intruder, and a jobber, and committed to the care of one of its own body.

The despotism of clerks deposed, and the triumph of vice in private as well as in public, interrupted.

For the crown they got a greater body of force than ever was before granted, and a greater supply than formerly. After all done in favour of trade and the poor, yet on a calculation it appeared they raised the revenue £200,000 per an.

This contrast is strong enough, but a reflecting reader may notice, that the merits or demerits of the two administrations, are not so much imputable to the two noblemen, as to the different instructions they acted by. The only imputation to them lies in a reasonable supposition, that the character of each was congenial with the plan of his orders and government.

If it be asked, wherefore the premier encouraged by his agents in the castle, a stern opposition to catholic claims in parliament, supported by the resolutions of corporations and grand juries, sturdy lives and fortunes men, and afterwards gave the catholics a temporary fallacious gleam of halcyon days, soon closed by mortifying disappointments. He wished to widen the breach between the adverse partizans of ascendancy and emancipation. He succeeded in this wish, and, in inflaming the opposition between the two parties in the legislature. Lord Fitzwilliam undoubtedly acted agreeably to the powers entrusted to him, in turning out of office the veteran hacks of the government party. Hereupon the whole phalanx of corruption took the alarm, and keenly applied for redress to their usual employers. Pitt having humbled that unpopular party, by showing them he could rule Ireland without them, and confer pre-eminence on their adversaries, thus humbled to his views, and implacably hostile to the catholics and the patriots in parliament, whose joint influence had turned them out, and threatened the downfall of their whole party, they rushed headlong to exe-

cute whatever orders were transmitted to them. Thus he agitated, irritated, and committed the contending parties, religious and political, with increasing animosity. He had one thing to whisper to the patrons of ascendancy; another and opposite he spoke to the delegates of the catholic convention; back again to the protestant, and again to the catholic; until he set them together by the ears: these were among the means he employed to lead Ireland gradually to that provincial state, long planned by English statesmen. According to the fore-mentioned letter, deferring the catholic question would be the means of doing a greater service to the British empire, than it has been capable of receiving since the revolution, or at least since the union!!! And the other passage, if the consideration of this question could be deferred until peace was established, his grace should have no doubt but it would be attended with advantages, which are not to be hoped for in any other supposable case. No other intelligible meaning can be extracted from these two passages, but the legislative union, since accomplished. For why should deferring catholic emancipation be necessary for attaining to Britain so great an advantage, as great at least as the union with Scotland? The advantage must be gained over Ireland, through her divisions and agitations, to which deferring, after promising emancipation, would necessarily supply fuel. On the other hand, possession of equal rights would greatly tend to produce unanimity in the land. For when neither party pos-

essed ascendancy, any rights to withhold or claim from the other, their agitations would subside into internal calm. Now as the human mind cannot totally stagnate, but must be moved by the opposite springs of hope and fear, salutary while moderate, the different factions, finding no aliment for mental exertion in pretensions extinguished by justice, would turn the activity of their minds on the greater concerns of national importance. They would see, they had a common interest, as well as a common country; common grievances to redress, common rights to demand, and common injuries to repel. Therefore it is, that the real enemies of Ireland, have always opposed the restoration of catholics to their rights; and, for the same reason, the recal of Fitzwilliam, and the delay of the emancipation, until the great advantage was obtained over Ireland, equal in magnitude to the revolution, or the union with Scotland. It was unanimity obtained great advantages to Ireland, during the American war: it was, shortly afterwards, by driving them to the contrary course of strife, division, and civil war, to despoil them not only of their acquisitions, but of legislative power, that no saucy demand of rights should ever again be made. The incorporate union was here manifestly alluded to; equally so in the second passage, why it was expedient to defer emancipation, i. e. to prolong the divisions of the Irish, until the establishment of peace, for the sake of gaining the great advantage. The English cabinet entertained little doubt of the conquest, or at least of

the humiliation or crippling of France, in such sort that she might no longer be able to interfere in the disputes of Britain with any of her dependencies or colonies. In such an event, she might with ease and safety obtain the great advantage. During the attempt it was thought hazardous; consequently, it was such a measure as might provoke national resistance, and therefore the union. Certainly, had not the fleets of France been greatly disabled, the experiment might have proved hazardous, even with the assistance of an Irish rebellion.

END OF VOL. IV.

